HARVARD UKRAINIAN STUDIES

Камень Краєжгъльнъ

Essays presented to
EDWARD L. KEENAN
on his sixtieth birthday
by his colleagues and students

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RHETORIC OF THE MEDIEVAL SLAVIC WORLD

Essays presented to
EDWARD L. KEENAN
on his Sixtieth Birthday
by his Colleagues and Students

Edited by

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TABULA GRATULATORIA

Jane Burbank
Stephan and Maria Chemych
Maria Cholewchuk
Anna Chomyn
John H. Coatsworth
Timothy J. Colton
Marius Cybulski
Abbott Gleason
Marshall I. Goldman
Loren Graham
William A. Graham
Patricia Kennedy Grimsted
Lubomyr Hajda
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Andrei Harasymiak
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John Wegera
Dr. Stephan Woroch
Jon Zorn

Rowland, as well as many of the contributors—is that Ned Keenan represents for us the innovator, who laid the foundation for many of our own views. He opened the windows and let us breathe the fresh air of invigorating ideas. He did this by somehow almost always providing the perceptive, and sometimes surprising, insight we needed whenever we would come to him with research problems. I will cite three brief but significant examples from my own experience.

In the fall of 1973, when I was beginning full-time research on my dissertation, I had a meeting with him in his office. I was stymied by the contradictory evidence the primary sources were providing me. During the course of the conversation, he remarked that I had two kinds of sources. A simple insight perhaps, but one that cut to the core of the issue. As it turned out, the fault line of contradictory evidence lay exactly along that division of the sources. It was at that moment that the main argument of my dissertation on the 1503 Church Council emerged.

Another, more codicological example. The next year, I was in Moscow doing research on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century manuscripts. Part of what I was trying to do was figure out how each codex was put together. The simple ones were easy—quires sewn and bound together in the sequence in which they were copied by the scribe. Others were not so easy, especially the rearranged and rebound ones. One codex in particular, with many water and grease stains, as if it had been dunked successively in vats of water and oil, was giving me fits because it seemed to have no beginning or end. As in *Finnegan's Wake*, the first line on the first folio began in the middle of the sentence and completed the last sentence of the last folio. I wrote a letter to Ned about this peculiar phenomenon, and wondered how it could have happened. From over four thousand miles away, he wrote back with the answer: the monks had taken the codex apart, thrown away the beginning and end folios (that is, those most badly damaged), and, then, in the rebinding, had simply reversed the two remaining parts. When I read his letter, I thought he must be wrong. But when I reexamined the manuscript, I found a telltale water stain line, which I had not seen before, that indicated this was exactly what had happened.

Finally, it would be remiss not to mention the impact his lecture course on Muscovite history has had on me. For those of us raised on the stuffy certitudes of Solov′ev and the Akademiia nauk SSSR, Ned's lectures were mind-openers. I credit him with planting the seed in the fall of 1973, when I first sat in on that course, for my own theory of Muscovite political culture. In that course, Ned eloquently described the sophistication of nomadic society in general and of the Mongols in particular. Yet despite his best efforts to awaken the sensibility of all his students to this important point, I did not integrate it into my comprehension of Muscovy. Other influences at Harvard University also prodded me in the direction of looking at both Turkic and Byzantine influences. Nevertheless, my

mind remained obdurate. Then, in the summer of 1987, two events occurred in juxtaposition. I was teaching early Ukrainian history at the Harvard University Summer School and reading a recently published history of Muscovy. In the course, I was contesting the views of Ukrainian nationalist historians that Muscovite government was despotic and the Russians were servile because of the Mongols, while Ukrainians were not because they had escaped the worst influences of the Tatar Yoke. At the same time, I was trying to understand the exact nature of the impact of the Mongols on Muscovy. If not what the Ukrainian nationalist historians were asserting, then what? It was here that the idea that Ned had so elegantly planted in my mind almost fourteen years earlier coalesced with my own research on Church history.

In some measure, then, to return the favor of the many remarkable insights that he has given us, we present him with this festschrift, with pages that are not as yet stained with water or grease—pages that are, instead, filled with ideas in honor of the numerous ideas he has provided us over the years.

Don Ostrowski

Notes on Edward L. Keenan as a Historian

A skeptic, in the traditional Russian understanding, is a skeptic, and Keenan is such a skeptic. To him a nation's history is not a collection of assorted treasures, not a cabinet of curiosities nor a strongbox of precious gems, but an arena for never-ending debate. He knows how to debate, and if something does not satisfy his understanding of history, he is prepared to subject commonly accepted ideas to scrutiny, even ideas which are thought to be indisputable. He reexamines the accepted, although the scrutiny is not done for its own sake. Rather, he seeks out what is weak in strongly held beliefs, or what is minor in a grand theory. Things that have long been a matter of firm belief among scholars he holds up to the cold light of reason. He never follows the path of deduction, moving from the general to the specific in a text. Nor does he allow himself an inductive analysis on the basis of a single source. But rather he places a source in the context of all that history has preserved for us—with everything that culture and tradition transmit to us. What shall we call his style? The difficulty in analyzing his work comes from the fact that what is most important in a text is often not said, it is implicit. He knows that his subject, early Slavic history, is embedded in texts in which the meaning lies hidden beneath the surface. Therefore a very important place in his

life is occupied not by what is written, but rather by the element of the spoken, the narrated, the recounted.

In typical American style, Keenan came late to his subject, when he was well past twenty-five. The search for his field began with the study of languages; an article about the revolutionary movement in Baku (1962); an article about young Americans abroad (1963); reviews of the finest books on Russian history, published in Russia; Slavic-Muslim contacts; a dissertation (1965) written of a "pragmatic history," which apparently did not entirely satisfy its author; a few translations of Evtushenko, done with John Updike. And after that followed a period of "Sturm und Drang."

This was the period of the works about the *History of Kazan'* (1968), the *Iarlyk* of Ahmed Khan (1969), the correspondence of Ivan the Terrible with Prince Kurbskii (1971, published as a book, which won a prize and gave its author a permanent position at Harvard), about paper production for the tsar (1971)—an intermission—about the Council of 1503 (1977, with Donald Ostrowski; I at the time was especially influenced by this students' collection), the *History of the Grand Prince of Muscovy* (1978), about Russian political culture (1979), the beginning of work on the biography of Ivan the Terrible (1981–) and on the process of the creation of *Slovo o polku Igoreve* (1994–).

The intervals between articles became longer, finished works fewer, and themes increasingly sweeping. During this time he spoke, taught, gave lectures, and told jokes, while others took down his words. How can one define his style of searching? He understands history to be the history of texts. His works do not describe social and political processes and events. It is the history of language, of style, of consciousness. He has been attracted by the philological approach of Roman Jakobson (*Slovo o polku Igoreve*, and the entire tradition of Russian humanities research, all the way back—and forth—to OPOIAZ); by Omeljan Pritsak's grasp of different spheres of research (Altaic studies, Eastern studies of Medieval Rus', the German and Ukrainian traditions); by Father Georges Florovsky's profound understanding of confessional problems in history (his book of 1937, and mostly his conversations; he was a conversationalist, like Keenan himself, and his wife, constantly reproving him, grumbled that: "Father Georges has two passions: tobacco and books, and they are both filth.") Sometimes Keenan says about himself: "I am a structuralist." But not in the sense of the Tartu school of Lotman and Uspenskii, but a structuralist of the French anthropological school like Claude Lévi-Strauss.

First and foremost he has remained outside the gravitational field of the state school, hence the rare independence of his views. In his work there are no parallels between Russia and Western Europe, but only with the Golden Horde, and its splinter groups—the smaller hordes of the East (Kazan') and the South (Crimea). Keenan's lecture course is an analysis of the archaic society of the Eastern Slavs

using the methods of anthropological research, not the usual course of lectures, a narrative bound together with general conceptions that fleetingly embrace facts and events in a swift progress through "Russian" history. In his concrete historical and philological investigations one finds a critical analysis of the most basic humanist myths, the most characteristic problem of which is the tendency to blur distinctions between the Western European and Russian middle ages, and thereby smoothing over all the zigzags of Russian history. However, Lenin, revolution, socialism, the dictatorship of squadrons of semi-intellectuals, the Marxist experiment in the twentieth century—are these not in fact proof of just the opposite? Does all this not beg the question of dissimilarity, not virtual identity?

Keenan's Russianness often finds expression in the everyday life of the men of the sixties, the time when he lived as a student in Leningrad and easily passed unnoticed in a crowd (a facility which the officers of the KGB found unpardonable). In his intonation, his use of certain words (*glukho kak v tanke, zdorovo khorosho, briaknut'* in lieu of *pozvonit'*), Keenan is a man of the sixties in the positive Russian sense of the word, a representative of the generation of Evtushenko and Voznesenskii, an admirer of Okudzhava, a believer in reason, in the normality of human existence, in the inevitable Europeanization of Russian society.

At the same time he is an Irishman who does not want to remain Irish in America ("like my father," he says; "my father never wanted to be an immigrant and he never went into Irish bars"), and a Democrat.

Keenan is a historian of the other. Distinctions are more important to him than similarities. Otherness is his life's blood, the subject of his research and of his debates. His discourse is the discourse of things which are different, of things which will never be similar. Like history itself, like human life, everything happens only once, and nothing can return. Keenan is a historian of borders and limits, of contingent spaces and times. He knows what goes here, and what goes there, where others do not dare to look. His Russia is not an open space, though it is not enclosed upon itself: it simply comprises the intersection of different cultures, and stands on the border. That is why the medieval Russian court culture is so accessible and interesting to him, the culture of rulers as the conjugation of different traditions, as the gathering of different cultures.

His students agree that he is a remarkable teacher, not only a professor who lectures because he is obliged to, but a Teacher, a raconteur, an aide, an expert on almost every subject under the sun, an inveterate squash player. People emulate him, people are always observing him, how he talks, how he walks, what he is wearing, what he is reading, whom he is arguing with. I have not been one of his students, but I think of the whole course of our relationship as an extended lesson, a single unending explanation of the various complexities of our profession. Certain moments of that lesson were altogether unexpected and at the same time absolutely inevitable. I remember a Masonic cemetery in Maine, not far from his

summer home, where we wandered among the graves and read the headstones, and he related how in the last century a craze developed for iced drinks, and local families became millionaires turning water into money, on the transport of ice across the sea, and thus created a new way of life for themselves.

The second lesson I heard from him was in Moscow, in the lobby of the Slavianskaia Hotel, where we talked about the secret nature of the *Slovo*, and he was excited by a new hypothesis and, having found someone to try it out on, kept repeating: "It is high time, at last, for Russians to have a normal history, without forgeries and political mythmaking." A man of the sixties, an incorrigible man of the sixties.

Andrei Pliguzov

Translated from the Russian by Abby Smith

Edward L. Keenan: An Appreciation

Edward L. Keenan has been at the center of a reinterpretation of Russian history in the early modern period so thorough that it warrants the term revolution in the making. Naturally, he has not accomplished this task by himself, but, through his hard work behind the scenes to sustain the field, his skeptical approach, his evocative and stimulating rhetoric, and, most important, his imaginative and unconventional reconstructions of the Muscovite past, he has done more than anyone to inspire an overall revision of the period.

Keenan's dismay with the received wisdom (still largely based on the turn-of-the-century master narrative of V. O. Kliuchevskii and the even earlier work of S. M. Solov'ev) that dominated the field when he began his scholarly career struck a responsive chord in many scholars of my generation. While reading for an undergraduate degree in Modern History at Oxford University, I attended a course of lectures by Sir Dimitri Obolensky on Muscovite history. Since my studies focussed on the early modern period in English and "foreign" (i.e., European) history, I was struck over and over again with the similarity between Professor Obolensky's picture of Muscovy and the picture of early modern England drawn by historians around 1900. I reasoned that if these views had long since been proved inappropriate for England, they must be even less appropriate for Russia. I was therefore on the lookout for new images of the Muscovite past. Although individual historians were revising important parts of our picture of Muscovy, the overall scheme remained alarmingly intact, at least from my point of view. For me, Professor Keenan's greatest contribution was, and is, his insistent questioning of

almost every part of the received picture and his often astonishing alternative hypotheses. In spite of many hours spent discussing with him this or that point about Muscovy and listening to his lectures, I still am frequently amazed, even flabbergasted, at his totally unexpected answer to a question that had seemed to me quite routine. Although I have not agreed with every detail of his revolutionary hypotheses, each has forced me to rethink my old assumptions and to reexamine the sources on which those assumptions were based. A great many of these ideas have become so integrated with my own conceptions that I often forget that they are not my own. I would be surprised if the great majority of the contributors to this volume did not have similar experiences.

Professor Keenan's methods for inspiring this revolution have been as unconventional as his views on Russian history. His published work, the usual means of influencing an academic field, has obviously played a major role. He has devoted an enormous amount of attention to demonstrating that the famous correspondence (and other works) traditionally ascribed to Ivan the Terrible and Prince A. M. Kurbskii were in fact written in several stages during the seventeenth century. He has examined with equal skepticism (but in less detail) a whole series of other texts crucial to our conceptions of Muscovy. Although I, like the other editors of this volume, remain convinced that he is right on these questions, most of the scholarly community has resisted his conclusions, a resistance that has surely been a source of great frustration to him. Nevertheless, no one can treat any of these sources with the easy assumption of authenticity that was routine before. This generally heightened sensitivity to source problems is a giant step forward; in particular, we no longer place the "Kurbskii/Groznyi" Correspondence at the center of our discussions of sixteenth-century Russian political views, and are bringing in other important texts, visual as well as verbal, to take its place. Professor Keenan's other major scholarly venture to date, his reappraisal of Muscovite-Tatar relations, has quietly been accepted by most scholars. His most wide-ranging essay, "Russian Political Folkways," which circulated for years in manuscript and was finally published in the *Russian Review* in 1986, though no less controversial than much of his other work, has attracted a great deal of attention and is likely to influence grand theorizing about Russia for years to come. (His incisive reviews also offer seeds of revisionist views on a wide variety of subjects, but, scattered over time and space, they have received much less attention.) Finally, Professor Keenan has spent more energy than many of his professional colleagues addressing larger questions for a wider, non-professional audience. He has published in the *New York Times* and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* as well as in the *Slavic Review*, and has given talks at the Metropolitan Museum of Modern Art and the State Department as well as at professional conventions and at other universities. He has undertaken these tasks in part because he is keenly aware of the dependence of all of our efforts on the support

of the larger society, on public and private financial support, and on library resources. He has worked tirelessly, over many years, behind the scenes and on official committees, to defend the interests of the field of Slavic studies as a whole. My own experience has led me to appreciate in particular his efforts on behalf of Slavic and East European library collections not only at Harvard, but all over the United States.

This last point obviously leads us beyond Professor Keenan's remarkable publications. I would argue that Professor Keenan's unpublished ideas have had a larger impact on reshaping our ideas of Muscovite Russia than his published ones, that his indirect effect on the field has been even greater than his direct effect. Most obviously, several of his students have become mature scholars in their own right and have produced an impressive body of work which has, among other things, revolutionized our views of the boyar elite and the origins of the Old Believer movement. His influence through his own students is now extending to a fourth generation: Valerie Kivelson, a student of Ned's student Nancy Kollmann, now has her own Ph.D. students at Michigan. One of the most remarkable aspects of Ned's academic career has been his role in the intellectual formation of those who were not formally his students. For decades now, he has attracted students from other universities either doing final work on their dissertations or at an early stage in their careers. Three of the four editors of this festschrift benefited from Ned's generosity in this way. He was (and is) incredibly generous with his time, providing detailed comments and often crucial interpretative ideas for our early projects. In many cases he helped us find money or employment while we revised our work and prepared for the job market. At that point, he tirelessly wrote us recommendations, and later welcomed us back and helped us arrange other visits, often through two remarkable institutions: the Ukrainian Research Institute and the Russian Research Center (now the Davis Center for Russian Studies) at Harvard. In this way he has become a patron to a whole generation of scholars in Muscovite history.

Why did these young historians come to Harvard, and what did we find when we got there? First, there was Keenan himself, with his intellectual agility, his dazzling linguistic gifts, his knowledge of things (like the history of the Steppe) that most of us knew very little about. Then there were his undergraduate lectures. It is hard to convey to the reader the excitement, the pleasure, even the astonishment that engulfed me as I listened to each lecture. Many familiar subjects had disappeared altogether, some were presented in barely recognizable form, and a host of unfamiliar (or scarcely familiar) topics, like the taste of the Muscovite court for ceremonial military objects, occupied whole lectures. Each lecture would be carefully dissected and argued over by a small circle of formal and informal students. These discussions were sometimes given a slightly more formal tone at regular meetings with Keenan over lunch, where we could discuss

each other's work and construct in our imaginations new master narratives encompassing the discoveries and new insights that we fondly imagined, rightly or wrongly, that we were all making. Naturally, the riches of the Harvard library system and of the Harvard community in general played a major role in whatever progress we made, but it was the intellectual energy generated by Keenan and the small but intense group of Muscovite historians clustered around him and largely sustained by his efforts that made our time at Harvard such a heady experience and had such a lasting effect on so many of our most basic ideas about Russian history.

Why was Keenan able to exercise this remarkable influence? Among the many intellectual qualities mentioned above and by my editorial colleagues, I would single out two: his emphasis on rigorous source criticism and his rhetorical skill. The advantage of the first quality is obvious to any historian, at least at a theoretical level, but Keenan's thorough-going scepticism and his unparalleled mastery of the various skills needed in source criticism have made his contributions to our knowledge of the source base for Muscovite history uniquely valuable. His rhetorical skill, though much less important in Professor Keenan's own view, has also played a major role. History is at its base a story, and Professor Keenan is a master storyteller. His texts, and even more his lectures and discussions, are studded with striking and illuminating metaphors that in a flash make an abstract idea about a remote society seem not only very clear, but very convincing. His comparison of the Scandinavians of Kievan Rus′ with the Mafia is perhaps the best-known example. His love of language and its expressive capabilities allows his interlocutor, even in the context of an informal conversation, not only to see just what he means, but to sense and somehow buy into the intellectual excitement of his point.

Because of this unique combination of intellectual daring, rhetorical brillance, unequaled knowledge in many spheres, generosity to all who display a sincere desire to learn, and selfless devotion to Muscovite history and to Slavic studies in general, Professor Keenan has had a profound impact on our field and on our lives. We are proud to offer him this volume.

Dan Rowland

Thoughts on Mentoring

Ned Keenan first got me thinking about genres by making the point that if you only know the genre of limerick, it's going to be hard to write a love letter (at least one that gets you anywhere in romance). This was with regard to cultural borrowing and Muscovite literary life, as I recall. Well, this particular genre—of homage to

one's mentor—is particularly challenging, because it's so open-ended. It's not easy to be specific enough to encapsulate what makes Ned Keenan the unparalleled mentor and teacher that we all know, particularly when you're blessed with only the mere mortal's abilities to write the English language, compared to Ned's own sublime and wittily crafted art. But it is fairly easy to paint the broad strokes, for his talents are manifest.

Take, for example, the evidence gathered here, of the breadth of participation in this collection. Many of the contributors were not "officially" Ned's students, that is, not formally enrolled Ph.D. candidates at Harvard. Many who consider themselves his students, or who credit him with deeply influencing their thinking, came specially to Harvard from other programs to study at his feet, or encountered him as undergraduates or in the Russian Research Center's Soviet Union Program, and were forever changed. We are all here gathered because of his generosity of spirit—he welcomed all serious comers, he shared his knowledge, he treated us all as colleagues, no matter how ignorant many of us felt at the start. That's the first trait of a great mentor—generosity and respect.

Those qualities probably grow out of another great characteristic that leaps to my mind about Ned, and that is his deep commitment to our common intellectual endeavor, the study of Russian history. Ned loves ideas and loves to share them—he seems most energized when he's mixing it up intellectually with other people, whether in class, at lunches for the "medievalists" at the Faculty Club, or offering a quick consultation while rushing across campus to yet another meeting. (He also seems to love being a dean, but that's so inscrutable a taste for me that I won't even begin to fathom it. I'm just grateful that the many departments, programs, institutes, and committees that have benefitted from his leadership have never succeeded in wooing him away from teaching, research, and writing.) I have vivid memories of working through sixteenth-century Muscovite chronicles with Ned in seminar, puzzling over translations, or gleaning every bit of meaning from those intentionally opaque texts. Many of us have "memories of a lifetime" of participating in the 1973 seminar on documents associated with the 1503 Church Council—about ten of us attacked those documents with a zeal inspired by Ned's obvious enthusiasm for ferreting out the provenance and textual history of each and every text.

Many people who haven't studied with Ned have the wrong idea about him—they think he's an iconoclast or a nihilist, desperate to discredit any and all old Rus′ texts just for the sake of debunking. I never read him that way—in fact, it makes no sense to me. What drives Ned intellectually, I think, is a quest not to destroy knowledge but to create it from the bottom up, clearly and self-consciously. A mantra I carry with me from him is, "What do we know and how do we know it?" In other words, are our hypotheses, questions, logical leaps and conclusions built on primary sources or on received secondary opinion? How solid is that received

word? How dependable are the primary sources? That, by the way, is where genre comes in—he taught us to be sensitive to the dictates of genre, not to take literally statements that might be formulaic tropes, not to read more into a source than it can give. And he taught us to start from the primary sources, to build one's history from the texts—which is of course what keeps it alive for us. There is nothing like the face to face encounter with real voices from the past—directly quoted in legal cases, muted through layers of artifice in historical *povesti* and *vitae*. It's that encounter, and the quest to decode the puzzles of language, genre, and context, that seems to drive him and inspire us.

Another mantra that I owe to Ned Keenan is, "What's really going on here?" applied to the art of book reviewing (remember *Kritika*?) as well as to broad interpretation. When all is said and done, has the historian noticed the big picture? asked the fundamental question? moved historical understanding farther into the clear? Or has he or she simply replicated what the historiography would have predicted? Ned has an uncanny ability to figure out "what's really going on here" by thinking freshly, or perhaps by thinking like the people whose history is under study in a given question. He wants us to see in particular the strangeness of premodern societies to modern sensibilities, how unlike us they and their institutuions were, how differently they lived their lives, thought about themselves, organized their politics and associated in groups. He has an anthropologist's keen awareness of the way any outside observer, let alone centuries of them, contaminates the data as he or she reports it. It's as if studying the historical past meant having to machete our way through the tangle of meaning in primary and secondary sources alike, meanings all the more tangled because arising from the dictates of genre, from the hindsight of the present and the mentality of the premodern past. With so bold a conception of historical analysis, it's no wonder he rankles guardians of traditional historiography. But isn't that what research is supposed to do?

Not many fine scholars are great mentors and teachers. Ned is, because of his basic decency towards others. I certainly have benefited from his generous support—he goes the extra mile for his students and colleagues. I once learned through the grapevine (thank you, Mary Towle) that Ned had intervened to see that I wasn't displaced from my RRC office the year I was writing my dissertation; the tale was that he had to go head to head with a senior professor who coveted that space (thank you, Ned). But I was his student, after all. More remarkable is that we've all benefited from his willingness to help regardless of our particular status. We've seen his generosity to other people in their careers, heard him temper his intellectual critique of a colleague with sincere kindness and empathy. He could have been the aloof and respected Harvard scholar in the old ivory tower—instead, he touches people not only intellectually but personally.

Perhaps he's such an unusual teacher and mentor because of his ability to engage—to engage people on a personal level, to engage with ideas, to engage with the past. We all feel like mere shadows in the light of his vast erudition, originality, linguistic prowess, not to speak of wit. But none of us were crumpled by the dominance of such a mentor. Rather, he gave us all the skills and confidence to think on our own, to pursue our own interests, to consult and disagree with him, to make our own paths in the exciting task of decoding the mysteries of the past. That is a great gift to us, and we are grateful.

Nancy S. Kollmann

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF EDWARD L. KEENAN

Note: The following list attempts to be comprehensive with regard to published work, and also to reflect work in (or *once* in) process (indicated by italics, e.g., *1963b Review*). Public lectures are included only when they represent versions of such work; not represented are several dozen occasional lectures on diverse subjects.

ABBREVIATIONS

Bd = Band; H = Heft; *JfGO = Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*; n = number, numbers; p = page, pages; *SR = Slavic Review*; v = volume, volumes

1958

1958a Article

[Douglas W. Bryant], "The American Scholar and the Barriers to Knowledge," *The Library Quarterly*, v 28, n 4, 1958, p 239–253.

1960

1960a Lecture

"Русский старообрядческий остовок в Америке," Pushkin House, Leningrad, February 15, 1960. [See *Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы*, v 18, p 596.]

1962

1962a Article

"Remarques sur l'histoire du mouvement révolutionnaire à Bakou (1904–1905)," *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, v 3, n 2 (Avril–Juin), 1962, p 225–260. (Reprinted; see 1973c.)

1962b Lectures

"Советский Союз в прошлом и настоящем," Lecture series in Indiana University Slavic Workshop. (Repeated 1963–64, filmed 1965.)

1963

1963a Article

[N. N.], "You Do Your Job, I'll Do Mine," *Young Americans Abroad*, ed. Roger Klein, New Yrk: Harper & Row, 1963, p 62–91.

1963b Review

Nicholas Poppe, Jr., *Uzbek Newspaper Reader*, Indiana University Publications, v 10 of the Ural-Atlantic Series, Bloomington, 1962.

1963c Paper

Се татарский язык. [Some conjectures about a Russian-Tatar wordlist.]

1964

1964a Review

A. A. Zimin, *Реформы Ивана Грозного*, in: *Kritika*, v 1, n 1, 1964, p 6–15.

1964b Review

I. U. Budovnits, *Общественно-политическая мысль древней Руси (XI–XIV вв.)*, in: *Kritika*, v 1, n 3, 1964, p 1ff.

1965

1965a Dissertation

Muscovy and Kazan', 1445–1552: A Study in Steppe Politics. (Ph. D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1965, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan).

1966

1966a Articles

"Boyar," "Boris Godunov," "Bogdan Chmelnicki," [sic!] "Golden Horde," and other articles in *Encyclopedia Americana*.

1966b Review

Полное собрание русских летописей, vols. 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, in: *Kritika*, v 3, n 1, 1966, p 1–12.

1967

1967a Article

"Muscovy and Kazan': Some Introductory Remarks on the Patterns of Steppe Diplomacy," *SR*, v 26, n 4 (December), 1967, p 548–558.

1967b Translations

[With John Updike] Two Poems by Evgenii Evtushenko, "Restaurant for Two," and "Ballad about Nuggets," *Life*, February 17, 1967, p 33, 38. (Reprinted; see 1971f.)

1967c Review

B. A. Rybakov, *Первые века русской истории*, and M. N. Tikhomirov, *Средневековая Россия на международных путях*, in: *Kritika*, v 3, n 3, 1967, p 1–11.

1967d Review

M. G. Safargaliev, *Распад Золотой Орды*, in: *Kritika*, v 4, n 1, 1967, p 1–9.

1968

1968a Article

"Coming to Grips with the *Kazanskaya Istoriya*: Some Observations on Old Answers and New Questions," *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States*, v 9, n 1–2 (31–32), 1964–1968, p 143–183.

1968b Article

"The Soviet Invasion of Czechoslovakia" [commissioned but not published by *Ramparts*, which went into bankruptcy].

1968c Review

M. W. Thompson, ed., *Novgorod the Great: Excavations at the Medieval City, 1951–62*, in: *Speculum*, v 43, n 3 (July), 1968, p 542–544.

1968d Review

G. A. Fedorov-Davydov, *Кочевники Восточной Европы под властью золотордынских ханов*, and S. A. Pletneva, *От кочевий к городам*, in: *Kritika*, v 5, n 1, 1968, p 1–10.

1969

1969a Article

"The *Jarylyk* of Axmed-xan to Ivan III: A New Reading," *International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics* (The Hague), v 12, 1969, p 33–47.

1969b Review

Peter Kawerau, *Arabische Quellen zur Christianisierung Russlands*, in: *Speculum*, v 44, n 2 (April), 1969, p 304–305.

1969c Review

Nora K. Chadwick, *The Beginnings of Russian History: An Enquiry into Sources*, in *SR*, v 28, n 1, 1969, p 124–125.

1969d Lecture

"Studying the Tatar Influence: Notes for a Methodology," Columbia University Department of History, Fall, 1969.

1969e Lecture

"Once Again to the Question of Kurbskii's First Letter to Ivan IV," Russian Research Center, May 23, 1969.

1970

1970a Review Article

"Recent Developments in Paleography and Diplomatic," *Kritika*, v 6, n 2, 1977, p 55–77.

1971

1971a Book

The Kurbskii-Groznyi Apocrypha: The Seventeenth-Century Genesis of the "Correspondence" Attributed to Prince Andrew Kurbskii and Tsar Ivan IV (with an Appendix by Daniel C. Waugh), Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971.

1971b Article

"Paper for the Tsar: A Letter of Ivan IV of 1570," *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, New Series, v 4, 1971, p 21–29.

[See also: A. A. Sevast′ianova, "Американский историк о первой русской бумажной мельнице," *Вопросы истории*, n 6, 1972, p 174–175, Жовтень, (L′viv), n 10, p 145; Sokrat A. Klepikov, "О допетровской бумаге и `бумаге для царя (письма Ивана IV)′ Э. Кинана," *Книга. Исследования и материалы*, сб. 28, Moscow, 1974, p 157–161; J. R. Dashkevych, "Literatur," *IPH Information. Bulletin of the International Association of Paper Historians*, v 15 n 4 1981, p 133–134; V. Bondarenko, "Бумага," *Книжное обозрение*, n 13 (619), 31 March 1978, p 12.]

1971c Article

"Письмо американского ученого Э. Кинага в редакцию 'ЛГ'," *Лутературная газета* (Moscow), n 29 (July 14), 1971, p 7.

1971d Review

Frank Kämpfer, trans. and ed., *Historie vom Zartum Kazan*, in: *JfGO*, Bd 18, H 4, 1971, p 615–616.

1971e Review

N. E. Nosov, *Становление сословно-представительных учреждений в России*, in: *Kritika*, v 7, n 2, 1971, p 67–96.

1971f Reprint

Reprint of 1967b in Yevgeny Yevtushenko, *Stolen Apples*, New York: Doubleday, 1971, p 156–162.

1972

1972a Article

"Russia and the Soviet Union, History of," in: *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1972 and subsequent printings. [To ca. 1700; volumes and pages vary.]

1972b Review

A. H. van den Baar, *A Russian Church Slavonic* Kanonnik, in: *Speculum*, v 47, n 3 (July), 1972, p 563–569.

1973

1973a Review

V. L. Ianin, *Актовые печати Древней Руси X–XV вв.*, in: *JfGO*, Bd 20, H 2, 1973, p 280–285.

1973b Review

G. Stökl, *Testament und Siegel Ivans IV*, in: *SR*, v 33, n 1, 1973, p 129–130.

1973c Reprint

Reprint of 1962a in Jacques Baynac, ed., *Sur 1905*, Paris: Editions Champ Libre, 1973.

1973d Lecture

"On the Rhythms of Muscovite and Kazani History," Lecture delivered at Annual Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, New York, April, 1973.

1974

1974a Article

"The Trouble with Muscovy: Some Observations upon Problems of the Comparative Study of Form and Genre in Historical Writing," *Medievalia et Humanistica. Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Culture*, New Series, n 5, 1974, p 103–126 (reprinted; see 1992d; translated into Russian; see 1993f.)

1974b Article

"On Some Historical Aspects of Early Book Printing in the Ukraine," *Recenzija*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, v 5, n 1, p 1–11.

1974c Review

R. G. Skrynnikov, *Переписка Грозного и Курбского. Парадоксы Эдварда Кинана*, in: *Kritika*, v 10, n 1, 1974, p 1–36.

1974d Review

A. L. Shapiro et al., *Аграрная история северо-запада России. Вторая половина XV–начало XVI в.*, in: *Kritika*, v 10, n 2, 1974, p 60–69.

1974e Lecture

"Kurbskij's First Letter Reconsidered," Harvard Seminar in Ukrainian Studies, October 3, 1974 [summarized in *Minutes of the Seminar in Ukrainian Studies held at Harvard University during the Academic Year 1974–1975*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1974–1975, n 5, p 6–9]

1974f Lecture

"Kurbskii's First Letter," First International Congress of Slavists, Banff, Alberta, September 3, 1974. See also 1977b.

1974g Lecture

"The Tsar's Two Bodies," Columbia University Seminar on Slavic History and Culture, fall 1974.

1975

1975a Article

"Isaiah of Kamjanec'-Podol'sk: Learned Exile; Champion of Orthodoxy," in Andrew Blane, ed., *The Religious World of Russian Culture: Russia and Orthodoxy. Volume II: Essays in Honor of Georges Florovsky*, The Hague/Paris: Mouton, 1975, p 159–172.

1975b Article

"Reply," *JfGO*, Bd 22, H 4, 1975, p 593–617 [reply to several articles in the number of *JfGO* devoted to discussion of *Apocrypha* (1971a)]

1975c Article

"Believing is Seeing," introductory essay in *Academic International Press Antiquarian Advisory*, n 43, 1975.

1975d Review

A. Kappeler, *Ivan Groznyj im Spiegel der ausländischen Druckschriften seiner Zeit*, in: *JfGO*, Bd 22, H 2, 1975, p 118–122.

1975e Review

Russian Fairy Tales Collected by Aleksandr Afanas'ev, in: *The New Republic*, v 173, n 18 (November 1), 1975, p 34–35.

1975f Review

J. Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan: Conquest and Imperial Ideology* (Mouton, 1974), in: *SR*, v 34, n 3, 1975, p 585–588.

1975g Lecture

"The Literary Context of Kurbskii's *History*," International Conference of Muscovite Historians, Oxford, September 1, 1975 [See also 1978a].

1975h Lecture

"Russian History," Harvard Alumni Association Lecture Tour to Leningrad, August, 1975.

1975i Lecture

"US-Iran Collaboration in Planning an Iranian Graduate University," International Policy Seminar, Harvard University, 1975.

1975j Lecture

"Мовознавець який знає не тільки мову українознавства, а й мову Гарварду," October 24, 1975 [printed in *Внутрішній обіжник ФКУ*, n 91]

1975k Lecture

"Muscovite and Russian Political Culture," State Department Staff Seminar, September 1975 [See 1986a]

1976

1976a Article

"Soviet Time Bomb," *The New Republic*, v 175, n 8 & 9 (August 21 & 28), 1976, p 17–21.

1976b Article

"Russian Political Culture," prepared for the U. S. Department of State, July 1976 [See also 1986a.]

1976c Review

S. O. Shmidt, *Становление российского самодержавства*, in: *American Historical Review*, December 1976, p 1170–1171.

1976d Lecture

"The Academic Exchange, 1958–1975," Airlie House Conference on US-USSR Cultural Exchanges, May 1976.

1977

1977a Article

"History is Relevant," *The New York Times*, Op-ed page, September 26, 1977 [see also 1986b]

1977b Articles

Three contributions ("Opening Remarks," p 212–216; "Comment on Dr. Auerbach's Paper," p 252–255; "Further Observations," p 256–259) in Don Karl Rowney and G. Edward Orchard, eds., *Russian and Slavic History: Selected Papers in the Humanities from the Banff '74 International Conference*, Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers, 1977.

1977c Article

"On the Textual History of Ivan IV's First Letter to Kurbskii" [a full-scale study of the versions of the Letter; later reflected in 1977d and 1985a, but still not fully published]

1977d Article

"On the Textual History of Ivan the Terrible's First *Epistle*" [submitted to *Russian Review* but not published]

1977e Review

J. L. I. Fennell and A. Stokes, *Early Russian Literature*, in: *Speculum*, v 52, n 3 (July), 1977, p 659–660.

1977f Introduction

The Council of 1503: Source Studies and Questions of Ecclesiastical Landowning in Sixteenth-Century Muscovy. A Collection of Seminar Papers. Editor (with Donald G. Ostrowski) and author of Introduction (p v–vii), Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1977.

1978

1978a Article

"Putting Kurbskii in His Place, or: Observations and Suggestions concerning the Place of the *History of the Grand Prince of Muscovy* in the History of Muscovite Literary Culture," *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte*, Bd 24, 1978, p 131–162.

1978b Article

"Vita: Ivan Vasil'evich. Terrible Czar: 1530–1584," *Harvard Magazine*, v 80, n 3 (January–February), 1978, p 48–49.

1978c Article

"An Iranian Culture Term on the Upper Volga: **kantha-*, *kitež*, *kidekša*, and *kitaj-gorod*," *Studies in Honor of Horace G. Lunt on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday = Folia Slavica*, v 2, n 1–3, p 154–178, Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers, 1978.

1978d Review

S. G. Barkhudarov et al., *Словарь русского языка XI–XVII вв.*, in: *Kritika*, v 14, n 1, p 1–20 (translated into Ukrainian; see 1979f)

1978e Article

"Changing Times Call for Change in International Studies," *Institute of International Education Report*, v 4, issue 1 (December), 1978, p 1–4, 9.

1978f Lecture

"Muscovite Royal Style, Behavior, and Self-image," Columbia University, May 5, 1978 [see 1979a.]

1978g Lecture

"Human Rights and Great Russian Political Culture," Council on Religion and International Affairs, New York, September 23, 1978 [see 1980b and Dileep Padgaonkar, "Detente and Human Rights," *The Times of India*, June 18, 1977]

1978h Lecture

"Russian Politics and Russian Culture," Dalhousie University, April 1, 1978.

1978i Lecture

"The Russian of History and the History of Russian," lecture prepared for delivery at the University of Washington, Seattle [not given because of travel problems].

1979

1979a Article

"Royal Russian Behavior, Style, and Self-Image," in: Edward Allworth, ed., *Ethnic Russia in the USSR: The Dilemma of Dominance*, New York, Pergamon Press, 1979, p 3–16.

1979b Article

"The Correspondence of Two Corners," *Studies in Soviet Thought*, v 19, n 4, 1979, p 275–283.

1979c Reply

"Some Observations on R. G. Skrynnikov's Views concerning the Kurbskii-Groznyi Apocrypha," *SR*, v 38, n 1 (March), 1979, p 89–91.

1979d Review

Alexandre Bennigsen et al., *Le Khanat de Crimée dans les Archives du Musée du Palais de Topkapi*, Paris: Mouton, 1978, in: *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, v 14, no. 1 (Spring), 1980, p 104–105.

1979e Review

Antonio Possevino, S.J., *The Muscovia of Antonio Possevino, S.J.*, translated, annotated, and with an introduction by Hugh F. Graham, UCIS Series in Russian and East European Studies, University of Pittsburgh, 1977, in: *SR*, v 39, n 1 (December), 1979, p 111–113.

1979f Reprint

"Словник російської мови 11–17 століть," *Сучасність* (Munich), July–August 1979, p 208–215 [Ukrainian translation of 1978d]

1979g Lecture

"The Exchange and the Study of Russian History," Conference on Scholarly Exchanges with the USSR and Eastern Europe, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, DC, May 12, 1979 [published as IREX Occasional Paper, v 1, n 5, p 23–28]

1979h Lecture

"Royal Taste and Style in Muscovy," Trustees' Lecture at opening of Exhibit "Treasures of the Kremlin," Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, May 19, 1979; same lecture given at opening at Smithsonian Institution, Washington, August 1, 1979.

1980

1980a Article

"Kazan'—'The Bend'," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, v 3/4, 1979–80, p 484–496.

1980b Article

"Human Rights in Soviet Political Culture," in: Kenneth W. Thompson, ed., *The Moral Imperatives of Human Rights: A World Survey*, University Press of America, 1980, p 69–80.

1980c Review

L. V. Cherepnin, *Земские соборы Русского государства в XVI–XVII вв.*, in: *Kritika*, v 16, n 2, 1980, p 82–94.

1980d Obituary

"Alexsandr A. Zimin, 60: Top Russian Medievalist," *New York Times*, March 14, 1980, p D13.

1980e Obituary

"In Memoriam A. A. Zimin," *Kritika*, v 16, n 1, 1980, p 1–4.

1980f Lectures

"Ivan the Terrible and His Women," Kathyrn W. Davis Lecture Series, Wellesley College, January 31 and February 21, 1980.

1980g Lecture

"Looking Ahead from a Crouch: Some Thoughts about the 'Eighties," Phi Beta Kappa Induction, Queens College, May 27, 1980.

1980h Lecture

"Second and *n*-th Thoughts on the Kurbskii-Groznyi *Correspondence*," American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Philadelphia, November 6, 1980.

1980i Lecture

"Anomie, Autonomy, and Ottomanization," Joint Seminar on Political Development, Harvard Center for International Affairs, November 5, 1980.

1981

1981a Lecture

"The Search for Ivan the Terrible," Colgate University, Hamilton, N.Y., May 1, 1981.

1981b Lecture

"The Language of the Russian Cradle and the Cradle of the Russian Language," Conference on 'Language and History in the Middle Ages,' Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto, November 6, 1981.

1981c Lecture

"The Decline of Ideology and the Rise of Russian Nationalism," International Communication Agency Conference on Soviet Nationalisms, Kennan Institute, May 8, 1981.

1982

1982a Article

"Limitations of the Model," *SR*, v 41, n 4, 1982, p 620–623 [comment on: Marc Raeff, "Seventeenth-Century Europe in Eighteenth-Century Russia?" in the same number]

1982b Review Article

"Apocryphal—Not Apocryphal?—Apocryphal!" *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, v 16, n 1, 1982, p 95–112 [occasioned by the appearance of Niels Rossing and Birgit Ronne, *Apocryphal—Not Apocryphal? A Critical Analysis of the Discussion Concerning the Correspondence between Tsar Ivan IV Groznyj and Prince Andrej Kurbskij*, Cophenhagen, 1980]

1982c Memorial Minute

[With George H. Williams] "Georges Florovsky," *Harvard University Gazette*, v 78, n 5 (October 1, 1982).

1982d Lecture

"Muscovite Perceptions of Other East Slavs before 1654—An Agenda for Historians," Paper delivered at Conference on Ukrainian History, Hamilton, Ontario (see 1992c)

1983

1983a Review

A. A. Zimin and A. L. Khoroshkevich, *Россия времени Ивана Грозного*, in: *Kritika*, v 19, n 1 (Winter), 1983, p 1–6.

1983b Lecture

"Unanswered Questions in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Muscovite History: An Agenda for Historians," Stanford University, January 6, 1983.

1984

1984a Review Article

"Russian History and Soviet Politics," *Problems of Communism*, v 33, n 1 (January–February), 1984, p 68–72 [see also next item]

1984b Letter

Problems of Communism, v 33, n 4 (July–August), 1984, p 90.

1984c Lecture

"Is it Time To Sum Up? Sum Up What?" Ivan Groznyi Quatercentenary Conference, University of Chicago, March 24–25, 1984.

1984d Lecture

"Making Russian History Make Sense," NEH Conference on Russian and Soviet History, New York, December 1, 1984 [repeated in New Orleans in 1985; see 1987a]

1985

1985a Article

"The Karp/Polikarp Conundrum: Some Light on the History of 'Ivan IV's First Letter'," in: Daniel C. Waugh, ed., *Essays in Honor of A. A. Zimin*, Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers, 1985, p 205–231.

1985b Lectures

"Just So Stories: Some Thoughts on Russian History," two lectures at the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, Washington, D.C., August and September, 1985.

1986

1986a Article

"Muscovite Political Folkways," *The Russian Review*, v 45 (1986), p 115–181 [see also 1987c]

1986b Article

"Slavists in the Computer Age: Is Anybody Out There Interested?" *AAASS Newsletter*, v 26, n 2, p 1–2.

1986b Review Article

"A Landmark of Kurbskii Studies," in: *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, v 10, n 1/2 (June), 1986, p 241–247.

1986c Reprint

Reprint of 1977a in *Expository Writing Reader*, Florida Council on the Humanities, 1986.

1987

1987a Article

"An Approach to Russian History," in: Abraham Ascher, ed., *Studying Russian and Soviet History*, Boulder: Social Science Education Consortium, 1987, p 1–8.

1987b Article

"Foreword," in William T. Shinn, Jr., *The Decline of the Russian Peasant Household*, New York: Praeger, 1987, p vii–x.

1987c Article

"Reply," in *The Russian Review*, v 46, 1987, p 199–210 [reply to critics of 1986b]

1988

1988a Article

"The Millennium of the Baptism of Rus′ and Russian Self-Awareness," *The Harriman Institute Forum*, v 1, n 7, July 1988, p 7 (reprinted; see 1989c)

1988b Edited Volumes [General Editor]

The Paul M. Fekula Collection: A Catalogue. New York: The Estate, 1988, 2 v.

1989

1989a Article

"Semen Shakhovskoi and the Condition of Orthodoxy," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, v 12/13, 1988/1989, p 795–815.

1989b Research Report

"Soviet Citizens Comment on *America Illustrated*," U. S. Information Agency, December 1989. p. 37.

1989c Reprint

Reprint of 1988a in: *The Soviet Union: Essays from the Harriman Institute Forum, 1988*. New York: Crane Russak, 1989.

1990

1990a Article

"Authorial Ghosts, Dogged Editors, and Somnolent Scribes: The Case of the Spurious 'First Letter of Ivan IV to Andrej Kurbskij'," *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte*, Bd 44, 1990, p 27–60.

1990b Review

A. N. Grobovskii. *Ivan Groznyi Sil'vestr (Istoriia odnogo mifa)*. London, 1987 in: *American Historical Review*, v 95 (October), 1990, p 1246–1247.

1990c Map (Principal Consultant)

"The Soviet Union," Supplement to v 177, mp. 3 of *National Geographic*, March 1990.

1991

1991a Article

"Rethinking the USSR, Now That It's Over," *The New York Times*, September 8, 1991, Section 4, p E3.

1991b Reprint

Reprint of portions of 1971a in James E. Person, Jr., and James P. Draper, eds., *Literature Criticism from 1400 to 1800*, v 17, Detroit: Gale, 1991, p 401–402.

1992

1992a Article

"Help Russia but Hold the Pizza," *The New York Times*, November 23, 1992, p A17.

1992b Article

"Muscovite Perceptions of Other East Slavs before 1654—An Agenda for Historians," in Peter J. Potichnyj, Marc Raeff, Jaroslaw Pelenski, and Gleb N. Zekulin, eds., *Ukraine and Russia in Their Historical Encounter*, Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1992, p 20–38 [unrevised version of 1982d, published without author's final approval]

1992c Reprint

"Rossiiu pitstsei ne nakormish'," *N'iu-Iork Taims nedel'noe obozrenie*, December 22, 1992, January 4, 1993 [abbreviated translation of 1992a]

1992d Reprint

Reprint of 1974a in: Nancy Shields Kollmann, ed., Major Problems in Early Modern Russian History, New York: Garland Publishing, 1992, p

1993

1993a Article

"Ivan IV and the 'King's Evil': *Ni maka li budet?" Festschrift for Nicholas Valentine Riasanovsky = Russian History/Histoire Russe*, v 20, n 1–4, 1993, p 5–13.

1993b Article

"Spirituality and Russian Self-Awareness," in: *America and the Russian Future*: Transcript of a Conference Cosponsored by the Embassy of the Russian Federation in the United States and the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, c1993. *Occasional Papers (Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies)*, v 252 [abbreviated and unrevised transcript of paper prepared in Russian ("*Dukhovnost' i russkoe samosoznanie*") but delivered in English]

1993c Review

Review of Dmitrii S. Likhachev, *Reflections on Russia*, trans. Christina Sever, in: *Russian History/Histoire Russe*, v 20, n 1–4, 1993, p 274–277.

1993d Revised edition

"Russia, History to 1700," in *New Encyclopedia Britannica*, 15th edition [volume and page vary with printing]

1993e Encyclopedia article

"Ivan IV" [article submitted, accepted, and set up in type, then rejected "because our fact-checkers could not corroborate some statements"]

1993f Translation/reprint

Kinan, E. L., "Problema Moskovii. Nekotorye nabliudenia nad problemami sravnitel'nogo izucheniia stilia i zhanra v istoricheskikh trudakh," in: *Arkhiv russkoi istorii: Nauchnyi istoricheskii zhurnal*. M., 1993, vyp. 3, p 187–208 [translation into Russian of 1974a]

1994

1994 Article

"On Certain Mythical Beliefs and Russian Behaviors," in: S. Frederick Starr, ed. *The Legacy of History in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1994, p. 19–40.

1995

1995a Paper [Unpublished]

"Avvakum, la Folie, et la déraison." Manuscript of paper prepared for the Old Belief Conference at St. Olaf College organized by Georg Michels. Finished but not delivered.

1995b Address

"What Have We Learned? (What Have We Taught? What Have We Forgotten? What Must We Not Forget?) Presidential Address, American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, *Newsnet*, v 35, n 1, January, 1995, p 1, 3–6.

1996

1996a Obituary:

"Jakov Solomonovich Lur'e, 1921–1996," *SR*, v 55, n 3 (Fall), 1996, p 723–724.

1997

1997a Article

"Afterword. Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy," in: Samuel H. Baron and Nancy S. Kollmann, eds., *Religion and Culture in Early Modern Russia and Ukraine*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois Press, 1997, p 199–206

1997b Review Article

[Review of Hieronim Grala, *Ivan Mikhailovich Viskovatyi. Kar'era gosudarstvennogo deiatelia v Rossii XVI v.*, Moscow: Radix, 1994.] To appear in *Russia medievalis*, 1997. Approx. 10 pages.

Correspondence concerning the "Correspondence"

> I no longer have to take the corrupt, incomplete, and dirty product of my mind, the marked-up draft, and hand it to a young woman to clean up—in effect—to wash the shirt. I do the cleaning myself, and can with the push of a key get the product printed as a letter, untouched by a secretary.

What changes we have seen since the Harvard Graduate Society *Newsletter* published those comments of Ned Keenan's in 1980 in its lead story under the sensational title "Dean Keenan Uses Word Processor." How fortunate I feel to have begun my acquaintance with Ned before the advent of the word processor. My Keenan file includes a version of his *Apocrypha* replete with cuttings, pastings, and handwritten editorial changes, and much of a correspondence that began in 1968 and like the book manuscript reveals something of the "corrupt, incomplete and dirty product of [both his and] my mind[s]." At one point, I scrawled across the top of one letter: "PS I hope you are saving all my letters—I would like copies as a Хроника for personal archive." Ned responded with a PS of his own: "I am, of course, saving all of your letters. They're more interesting than many Barsukov published." It seems appropriate to share some of this correspondence now, since it provides interesting insights into the genesis of *Apocrypha*, its reception, and Ned's response.

Although I have chosen few selections deliberately to emphasize this, the letters depict a mentor/graduate student relationship that I would venture was extraordinarily fruitful for both parties. On my side, I note, for example, his reminders about the interest of the Stroev Collection, to which eventually I did devote some systematic attention. With the perspective of half a lifetime again and the privilege of having supervised the work of some excellent graduate students, I can appreciate perhaps even better than I did back then how much we were sharing the genuine excitement of discovery. At the time, I was still very much the learner and often failed to appreciate the nuances of Ned's work or the positions taken by his critics.

Until I began rereading the letters for the present occasion, my memory had dimmed about what it was like to be thrown headlong into a heady world of scholarly debate and to experience the arcane pleasures of deciphering my first watermarks and *skoropis'*. My reaction to the world of Russian academia ranged from awe—at finding myself conversing with D. S. Likhachev, who

was seated at the desk bearing a plaque indicating this had been the desk of A. A. Shakhamatov!—to brash, youthful impatience that some might interpret as disrespect. These letters exhibit a frequent irreverence toward established authorities that may strike some readers as not always appropriate or even polite, but I would point out it is hardly out of keeping with the passions so evident in many of the Russian scholarly debates I witnessed. Now older and grayer, if not wiser, I encounter with some amusement lines such as those typed the day after my birthday in 1968: "I am beginning to feel old and gray, having just turned 27 yesterday with no end to the thesis in sight. I guess the aging aspirant, certainly here, is no strange phenomenon."

The setting for the beginning of the correspondence was my arrival in the Soviet Union in August 1968 for an academic exchange year to work on my dissertation concerning Muscovite literature with Turkish themes. While the formal adviser for the thesis was Prof. Robert Lee Wolff, Ned Keenan provided much of the inspiration and actual guidance for the project. That year spent principally in Leningrad introduced me to Soviet academic meetings, which I attended with some regularity, especially in the Sector of Old Russian Literature of the Academy of Sciences Institute of Russian Literature. While in retrospect I wonder whether my Russian was really up to the task, I sent back generally detailed reports on such meetings, including observations on the often heated discussions that never made it into print when the papers were published.

My first knowledge of Ned's undertaking a major reevaluation of the "Correspondence" came from his letter of January 4, 1969. Since my research topic quite honestly involved me in studying many of the relevant manuscripts, and since much of what I wanted to see was in anonymous *sborniki,* I had the opportunity to examine many of the manuscripts relevant to his project. My initial response to the letter of January 4 was a nineteen-page single-spaced typescript, consisting largely of manuscript descriptions. Additional work involved checking manuscripts of the first Kurbskii letter for textual variants.

His book manuscript complete and in editorial process by summer of 1970, Ned left for a half-year sabbatical in England, which gave him the opportunity to check several of the significant collections of Muscovite manuscript material in Europe. Our correspondence for 1970–71 includes news of discoveries, discussion of the editorial work on the book, which I was facilitating back in Cambridge, and ample indication that Ned was keeping his eyes out for materials relevant to my thesis and spending time in, e.g., the British Museum checking materials I had requested he examine.

By late summer 1971, I was back in the Soviet Union, carrying proofs of the book and showing them around, correcting many of the oversights from my earlier work on the mansucripts and texts relevant to my thesis, and making arrangements (Ned alone knew my secret) to get married. Back in Cambridge, Ned was shepherding the thesis through the typing process and working hard to land me the job I still hold. Our letters of my second year abroad are full of material about the thesis and about the reactions of the Soviet academic establishment to the bombshell that had been thrown at it. Negotiations to have Ned deliver a paper on the book in Leningrad never worked out; even though there was some thought to my standing in for him, it was well that never happened.

The correspondence tails off after 1972, although there are occasional letters of interest regarding reactions to the book and regarding Ned's further work on the Kurbskii "History" and on the first Grozny letter to Kurbskii. Since much of the post-1972 give and take concerning Ned's "heresy" is in any event well known from numerous reviews and articles, my concluding selection is one from 1973 that indicates some of his thinking about the "History" and describes reaction to his book by a significant assemblage of largely American scholars in a seminar at Columbia.

There is a character to many of the letters that the printed page will not capture—while some of his letters are typed, Ned frequently wrote, often with fountain pen, in his characteristic neat calligraphic hand. He added diagrams and notes in the margins, some in different inks. I have used carbons of my letters, made as I typed the originals, or (in the case of the letters from 1971–1972) generally faint photocopies. Editorial intervention has been confined to an occasional explanatory note in brackets and the correction of some obvious typos and lapses in punctuation. I will have to live with the lapses in syntax, although my students today would never be permitted the same. Where needed, I have identified individuals, but in most cases, I felt it unnecessary to provide first names or initials, and similarly have not filled out references to publications that are easily identifiable. The interested reader will easily be able to locate in Ned's book identifications for the many abbreviations of redactions of the Kurbskii-Grozny texts or the manuscripts that contain them.

Dan Waugh
University of Washington

Excerpts from DCW to ELK, Leningrad, December 5, 1968, carbon copy of typescript. A significant portion of this letter reported on a seminar in Pushkinskii dom on November 25, devoted to discussion of a paper by Gelian Mikhailovich Prokhorov, "O Lavrent'evskoi letopisi." Following the formal presentation was a particularly acrimonious dispute between Prokhorov (who had, inter alia, *defended the views of Komarovich) and Iakov Solomonovich Lur'e, in which the latter defended his mentor Priselkov's conclusions about the chronicle. Likhachev was forced to intervene in an unsuccessful effort to soothe frayed tempers. Obviously there was much more going on here in interpersonal relations than I understood.*

[...] Likhachev had been defending Prokhorov's conclusion and methods; Lur'e turned to the great man at one point and said rather rudely—"And here you are, the author of Tekstologiia, trying to tell me that what I am saying about methodology is wrong?" To which Likhachev calmly replied, "I refuse to say one word more to you, Iakov Solomonovich, so as not to overstep the bounds of propriety." Clearly no one present liked the way Lur'e had turned on Likhachev.

Usually after everyone has had his say about the doklad Likhachev makes his comments; it is simply unbelievable how clear and concise he is—even though I don't care about the topic of a doklad or don't understand half of what is going on, it is worth attending to hear what Likhachev has to say, since he usually sums up the essence of the discussion so perfectly. He pointed out how valuable the doklad was, since, as he indicated, people had done a lot of analysis of chronicles on the basis of purely textual evidence, but few studies had been done using paleographic analysis of the type Prokhorov had done. For this reason, Likhachev considered that Lur'e's comments were somewhat beside the point. He spent a couple of minutes commenting on how personal relations had clouded the work of Priselkov and Komarovich. Apparently relations between the two had always been strained. Likhachev recalled that just before the war as work on the multi-volume history of Russ. Lit. had begun, instead of writing his section on the Laurentian chronicle out of the top of his head, Komarovich had sat down to do a major study of the chronicle; the manuscript of it remains unpublished in the archives of Pushkinskii dom. He delivered a doklad summarizing the study; before the session, he asked Priselkov to read over the MS and comment on it. Priselkov returned the MS with no comments and indicated he would think about it and talk with Komarovich about it later. Then Priselkov never came to the oral presentation. A little later Priselkov's book [on the history of Russian chronicle writing—DW] came out; Likhachev

recalls meeting Komarovich in the book store of the University just after K. had bought a copy of the book. He looked through it on the spot and then turned to Likhachev and said rather sadly, "And he didn't even mention or give any consideration to my work." The war came; one of the two starved to death and the other met some equally grim fate; so Priselkov never did come to grips with Komarovich's view of the text. As Likhachev noted, Priselkov's work has to be considered with the context of all Russian chronicle writing in mind. His method was such that only in that context can some of his views be understood; as one can see on almost any page of his book, individual conclusions can be questioned and their source sought in vain [...]

Excerpts from ELK to DCW, Cambridge, January 4, 1969. Typed with marginal additions in blue, green and black ink; enclosed a one-page photocopy comparing relevant portions of Isaiah's "Complaint" with the first Kurbskii letter to Groznyi.

[...] I am glad to see that you are having such a good stay, both in terms of hours logged with pervoistochniki and of your acquisition of a sense of things and people around the Pushkinskii Dom and elsewhere [...]

I can't comment on the Prokhorov doklad very intelligently, since I haven't studied the questions he treats—I would say, though, in general, that I would personally be inclined to trust Lur'e's istochnikovedcheskoe chut'e more than Likhachev's. I have recently been using some of his [*in margin:* Лурье] work and studying it very closely, and he is really very meticulous and honest—more so, in my view, than D. S., who is, of course, by far the more charming and "cultivated". While there is no question about D. S.'s contributions, I myself feel that sometimes his clever obobshcheniia are a bit too facile, and give the reader a false sense of knowing what we still have no way of knowing. In the long run, Lur'e's dogged "istochnikoved-shchina" will probably seem to have been of greater importance. (Cf. his recent articles.) By the way, L. is no blind admirer of Priselkov's work—he just wrote me in fact, about certain protivorechiia in P.'s analysis.

[...] It is wonderful that you are working in the Pogodin collection, especially the old Stroev part of it—for this is, I suspect, the key to many of our questions about the 17th century. (I have entered, in pencil, your comment about the change of hand in Pog 1558 in Widener's copy of Bychkov.) Anything you can find out about the origins of these mss. will be useful—I would say publishable, unless the local archive people plan a proper recataloguing. Especially watermarks, which are so fouled up. While I'm on

the subject: can you obtain any impression or information concerning the dates and origins of the following: Pog 1567, Pog 1573; Pog 1311. These are rather crucial, I suspect, to the matter of the Ivan-Kurbskii correspondence, and I would appreciate anything that a de visu impression would provide [...]

Tvorogov's work on the Khronograf 1617 [*in margin:* We have Попов, Изборник on film now] seems quite promising: even if he can come up with well established dates for the mss. he has seen, we shall be in his debt. I'd particularly like to see what he finally says about [BAN] Archang. Sobr. 139, because it has some interesting links with some of the best and earliest Kurbskii texts.

But let me get on to these texts, which have been very much on my mind lately. You will remember my doubts on the subject of authorship and date... I hadn't really been working on the problem, but as I began to prepare for my seminar this term (on the Perepiska) I returned to some old notes and to the texts, and as I puttered along, preparing a session on the composition of sborniki and the relations among different texts in the same sbornik, I came to Pog. 1573, which is, I would guess, one of the oldest texts of the probably original version of Kurbskii's first letter [*in margin:* It also contains the краткая ред. of Ivan's first letter, which may very well be earlier than the сокр. ред., as Лурье very scrupulously hints in his ed of «Послания»] (which is of course the key letter in the series, thematically). Here we find a "Spisok s pravoslavnogo spiska Isaina," the sad tale of a Ukrainian Orthodox monk who makes the mistake of coming to Moscow looking for books to print in Lithuanian presses in 1561, but gets denounced, arrested as a heretic and spends the rest of his days (some 30 years) in monastic incarceration (perhaps they called it monastlager'). Going a little further, I checked out a few Isaiahs, and on a bibliographic tip from Omeljan [Pritsak—DW] even found one who had written some things, including a letter to Groznyi. He turned out to be the same chap as Mr. Pog. 1573, but what is more interesting, one of his works (not the letter to G) turned out to coincide, word for word, over roughly half its length, with imenno the better version of Kurbskii's letter (See enclosed texts). OK, so A>B; B>A [A is the Isaiah text, B the Kurbskii text—DW]; or both from X. To me, no longer an objective observer, but struggling desperately to be such, it appears that B has taken A, changed all the third persons to second and the referent to Ivan (vozdal>vozdal esi etc. throughout) leaving out only passages that can't be made to apply to the Kurbskii-Ivan relationship even with grammatical change (Dnes' az v temnitsy etc.), changed the order, and incorporated the passages. Assuming the opposite raises insoluble problems, I think: A has no reason to leave out the

passages which appear only in B—they are general complaints and would fit the Isaiah-Ioasaf relationship just as well as the K-Gr one; if we assume a consistent change of second to third person, why doesn't A change na tia, za tia and pred toboiu the same way? Finally, B was written, kak is supposed to be izvestno, in 1564, while the probable (only!) date of A is 1566–7. There are many other details, but the long and short of it is that I think the time has come to say, in print, that something is definitely fishy here. I have shown the texts to Pritsak, Ševčenko, Fennell, Cherniavskii and by mail (still no answers) to Fr. Florovskii [*in margin:* Answer today: no common source that he can recall, although of course many clichés—but texts so close as to make the question "striking & challenging"] and Lur'e. Unless these last two come up with some objections, I'm going to get the thing off my chest (the alternative is to go slowly mad over the thing). You could do me a big favor, if you will:

1) Publichka, O.XVII.70 [...]: this contains Isaiah's works and is rather crucial to my present pursuits. Are there any watermarks? Any vladetel'skie zapisi? Anything about the history of the Sbornik? It was bought from Pligin coll. (I think through an intermediary or heir) in 1905. Is there anything about the physical nature of the text (change of hands, marginalia etc.) which is of interest? In particular, how does the hand compare with Pog. 1567, 1573, 1311, and 1615? (in tetradi containing K/Gr.) Is a microfilm of ll. [*in margin:* i.e. лл.] 174–180 ob. possible? If not, could you copy for me the fragment on 180 ob. which begins with the rubric "Spisok s listochka..." and ends "Pisano roku [1562] v zemli moskovskoi na Vologdu"?

2) Could you check ll. 49ob.–53ob. of Pog 1573 against the enclosed xerox, in particular for variants in the places I have marked? Also Pog. 1615? (If they ask why you want the latter, tell them it has the "Povest' o dvukh posol'stvakh" in an interesting version.)

I hate to load you with these errands—anything will be a help. My last request: Before he died in 1925, Kuntsevich sent to the Arkh. kom. the second volume of his edition of Kurbskii, or rather the manuscript of same, which has never been published. It contains the arkheograficheskii obzor of the sborniki containing K's oeuvre. It should be among the Arkh. kom.'s legacy in the Archive of the Len. otd. inst. ist. AN. If you could film it, zdorovo—if not, can you steal a glance at what he says about the Pogodins menioned above and Muz. 2524/42797 (He would have called it Imp. Ross. ist. Muzei im. Imp. Al——dra III)?

Well, enough. All is po-staromu here, although the SDS is raising hell—they broke up a faculty meeting just before Christmas and I suppose

something will have to be done with them. [*Added in pen:* Kritika is mailed tomorrow, & I'll send you one airmail to Moscow.]

[*Added in margin in pen:*]

PS: Is anyone working on Kurbskii? Let me know if you hear of anyone.

PPS: All of this is for the time a bit confidential—because, if it turns out as I suspect, it will raise bloody hell with the whole of what we pretend we know about both Kurbskii & Ivan. In view of the sad business w/ the Слово, and of the considerable chance that much of Kurbskii's work was written by learned Ukrainian Orthodox exiles [although I guess not by Isaiah] like poor old Йоль Биковський, I think we should go very slow with it. Лурье, I expect, will give me some hint of how to proceed—that is, if he doesn't just tell me to go back to "Go" & not collect $200! Between you & me & the lamppost, I see no good evidence that either K. or Gr. was even literate! [...]

Excerpts from DCW to ELK, Leningrad, February 27, 1969, carbon copy of typescript. The letter was accompanied by original notes taken during description of manuscripts.

I am tempted to put down Feb. 29—the sort of a joke that some one did on some govt. document for 1907 that an Englishman working in the archive in Moscow came across. After a 9 AM to 10 PM day with Grozny, Kurbsky, Isaiah et al., one is tempted to do lots of silly things. The story, and a dull one it is, of Pogod. 1311, 1573, 1567, 1615; O.XVII.70 and, last but not least, Muz. 2524, will unfold as this litter (sic) progresses over the next day or so [...][*Comments follow on Lur'e's paper/article on the Kholmogorskaia letopis' and on a paper delivered in Pushkinskii Dom by M. A. Salmina entitled "Slovo o zhitii Dmitriia Donskogo v letopisanii (k voprosu o datirovke)."*]

Turning now to what you have been impatiently waiting for, by way of introduction, let me suggest that you suggest to the Kritika editors, among them yourself, that I find it impossible to do a review for the third issue; I think it only fair that you write an extra one if there is great outcry at my shirking my duty. I think the Kurbsky material is at least one review's worth of time and effort [...]

A few procedural notes. I will try to summarize here in print the most important observations on each manuscript, partly because it helps me to rethink and reformulate what I have already written down and it may prove

that my original notes, which are coming along with this letter, are incomprehensible or contradictory (often I decide different things at different times on change of pocherk, for example). Please be sure to save all notes that come, since I need some of them on return for my work. In general my sketches of watermarks are not to scale and they vary in accuracy——some being better than sketches in some of the albums seem to be (eg., Geraklitov); others being worse or only partial, singling out features of the WM that are of interest. You might Xerox the watermark pictures and send the copy back to me right away, since I may want to have them to cross check should similar ones crop up later [...][*Thirteen pages of manuscript descriptions follow.*]

With regard to a rather crucial aspect of my watermarking—whether or not WMs on earlier listy are the same as ones later in the same MS. I try to check closely on this. Sometimes it is hard, as with some of the foolscaps in Muz. 2524; however, I try to be reasonably conservative in my conclusions. It seems to me this is something people don't take the time to do with these sborniki; to me it seems crucial for establishing the composition of the sbornik. For example, I am working on Pogod 1604 now, a huge thing of 900 listy, where Zimin noted the WM in the Peresvetov tetrad and the fact that the table of contents at start of MS indicates it was in one piece already in the 17th c. What he didn't notice is that the wm of the Peresvetov tetrad crops up later; though I haven't checked this yet, I think a good many of the foolscaps in various parts of the MS are the same. Damn time consuming, but where texts are all published, if you are going to work with the sbornik, you might as well spend a day or two on the watermarks if need be [...]

Best to all. Sorry about Kritika article. I think you can see from the above I haven't been wasting time lately and have little to spare....

Excerpts from DCW to ELK, Leningrad, March 15, 1969, carbon copy of typescript.

Since I last wrote, I have turned up some more interesting things regarding Pogod. 1573 and Muz. 2524. I told you about Lur'e's doklad and planned publication of the Kholmogorskaia Letopis'. Well, I looked at the manuscript of it (Pogod. 1405) and discovered that in fact the first two pages plus a little of the letopisets dvinskikh voevod that forms an appendix to the main chronicle (ll. 446–447 are relevant listy) are identical with the northern information in the letopisets contained in the two other manuscripts. If one checks this against the text printed by Novikov in DRV, ch. 18, one finds the essence of this same information, much of it identical in wording, but with other material thrown in. It is also noteworthy that the pocherk in part of the

main Kholmogorskaia letopis′, while not identical with that in part of Muz. 2524 and Pogod. 1573 is so similar that one might see in the three manuscripts the work of a school of copyists. This is only a wild idea perhaps, but I hope to have pictures for comparison sake; I will take snaps from the two here to Moscow with me in order to compare there. I would appreciate it if you can Xerox all the Muz. 2524 notes and send either the copy or the original to me in Moscow so I can have it to use there when I look at the manuscript again. Try to make the package small like a fat letter, or the embassy mail people may get angry.

In addition to that discovery, which is most relevant for you, I determined some other things about the manuscript which rather surprised me, since it leads me to be somewhat skeptical of the work that is going into some of the publication here—unfortunately Lur′e himself is the target of that remark in this case, since he did most of the work on the Kholmogorskaia letopis′. First of all, the last item in the MS is one some one should have caught as existing in another copy and in fact as having been published—it is the Znameniia v tsaregrade 1652g., which Sobolevskii published, if imperfectly, from a GPB MS I have already looked at, in his Perevodnaia literatura. The title of the thing as given in Lur′e's article, even though it didn't mention Turks, made me suspicious that it was of interest; that is the reason I asked him to let me see the MS to begin with. Some interesting variants from the Sobolevskii version. The second find in the MS, and by far the more disturbing one, was about half dozen watermarks that Lur′e didn't see or couldn't make out and hence didn't mention in his introduction to the volume of PSRL. For the most part they are not uncommon 17th c. marks; I am rather shocked to find out that such a sloppy job of watermarking is being done. He was very grateful for my finds and is rewriting the relevant sections of the introduction to take them into account. To switch back to where I began, I feel quite certain that the two sborniki are of northern origin (as I recall there is a Kholmogory zapis′ on the Muz. copy, which lends support to the idea) [...]

Incidentally, while still basking in the glow of all those extra watermarks in Pogod. 1405, let me pass on the conversation I had with Lur′e when I showed him what I had found. It went something like this: "How long have you been working with manuscripts?" "Just since I arrived here." "Really?" "Uh-huh." "Do you have any old Slavic manuscripts in the United States" "I really don't know, I've never seen any." Of course one comes back down to earth after looking through notes on some of the first MSS I worked on here; in some cases I fear I have been sloppy in the watermarking, but I doubt I will have time to go back and pick up any loose ends [...]

Excerpts from ELK to DCW, March 12–20, 1969; typescript, with extensive hand-written additions in green ink, accompanied by photocopy from pp. 534–36 of Poslaniia Ivana Groznogo.

I have just received your magnificent letter and the detailed notes, for which how can I thank you? They are of great value, and I think at first glance that they confirm all of my suspicions, which means either that I am going progressively madder or that we are really onto a vast international conspiracy [...]

Before I get on to comments about your excellent and really virtuoznyi MS description, let me give you a resumé of my present thinking about the K-G business, so you will have an idea of the way the land seems to lie. With reference to the enclosed diagram, a few general comments: on the basis of language and the coefficient of konvoinost', and also on the crude dates of the manuscripts involved, it seems that we have here a typical apocryphal corpus, which grew by stages, and was written by a number of different people at different times: the kernel from Isaiah led to KIa (as in Pog 1573 & Muz 2524) which (maybe in same stage) is parent of Gkrat. and a (very slightly) different KIb. Probably in the next stage, Gpol. was written on the basis of Gkrat (with reference to KIa). Gpol. then, at still a later stage, produced, largely because of miserable corruptions, Gkhron and later Gsbor., the time of writing of the latter being roughly the same as the appearance of the rest of Kurbskii's letters. Ivan's second letter stands apart, although it too may have appeared at this stage—in any case, it is but a plain style (i.e. literary but not Slavonic) epitome of the contents of Gpol.

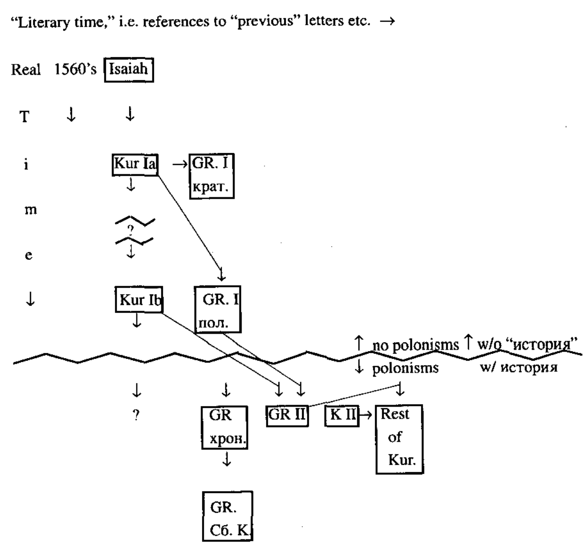
[*change of ink and margin width*] The second diagram, composed since I started this letter, indicates the textual relationships which I have been able to establish between the various Mss on the basis of all texts (i.e. in some cases not K-Gr., but e.g. "Pov. o 2-x posol'stvax" etc.). Although it is of course tentative, it has worked out amazingly well, and with the possible addition of some hypothetical spiski (largely as hedges) seems adequate. It is quite surprising, both for the fact that we seem to have so many of the mss involved (i.e. there are few, if indeed any, textual problems which have to be solved by hypothesis of missing copies) and for the chronological compactness of the crucial copies. Another interesting thing is the fact that the copies which are seemingly close in textual ways are in the same collections now (e.g. Pog 1573 and Pog 1567 both seem to come from Muz 2524, itself derived from Muz 4469; Pog 1311 and Pog 1567 seem to have been together etc.). Do we know anything about these Pog's before the Stroev stage? [*added in blue ink:*] (Now I do; see below.)

Also since I began this letter, I have used your materials: they are fantastic, better, as I am sure you know, than not only Bychkov etc. but voobshche any descriptions I know of. If you continue to collect such materials, I think they should be published.

I now have a letter from Lur'e, in which he responds to roughly the same things (texts of Isaiah and K etc.) which I sent you [*written in margin, in place of crossed out:* him]. I am very much relieved and encouraged, because he cannot think of any possible common source of the two (always a possibility, although now I am all but certain that there could have been none). He hasn't really, however, understood the implications of what I wrote him, and his reasoning within the traditional frame is really remarkable. Although he can think of none, he thinks "vsë zhe" that there must be a common source, because "Predpolozhit' vliianie Isaii na Kurbskogo do 1564 deistvitel'no trudno—khotia mozhno bylo by dumat', chto on sochinil svoe oblichenie Ioasafa ran'she chem "list do v. k. Iv. Vas."...Kurbskii prochel ego mezhdu 1560–1564gg. i ispol'zoval." Possible, but unlikely, and besides I now have found new, fragmentary correspondences between K's letter and other things of Isaiah dated 1566. He goes on, later, "Predpolozhit' sochinenie vsei perepiski zadnim chislom (no ran'she nachala XVII v – daty Pog. 1567 [you agree that he's wrong about this]) sugubo somnitel'no (my znaem vymyshlennye pis'ma Groznogo—oni sovsem inye [does he really think that fabrications attributed to one man have to be as alike as one man's own writings?]; a tut vse skhodno s drugimi poslaniami tsaria [but they too are three dollar bills]). At least I'm relieved that I'm not entirely mad, and if, as Stalin said to Pasternak about Mandel'shtam, that is the best he can defend his friends, they are in bad shape.

Lots of other things are coming out, and I wish I had more time to work on this...I'll keep you informed. Now I must go and check your Polish and Greek titles in Widener so I can send this in good conscience. While I think of it though—and please don't put yourself to the trouble of copying out whole texts—could you take a look at Muz 4469 (it has Peresvetov cf Zimin) and its copy of Kurbskii letter visàvis Lur'e? I hate to ask it, but I'm getting pretty sure this is close to protograph and if you could compare K's letter to Vas'ian (it's short) visàvis Kuntsevich ed., I'd be very grateful. Or film...same goes for sister text Uvarov 1584, also Peresvetov...but for god's sake do it only if you're going to look at them anyway. Out of curiosity, by the way, you might sneak a glance at book 8 of the Pol'skii dvor (TsGADA f. 79). These are gramoty attributed to G., but fishy in that they are bound alone, and interrupt the normal chron. order (cf. book 7). Lur'e calls hand and paper contemporary, but I wonder if they weren't slipped in later.

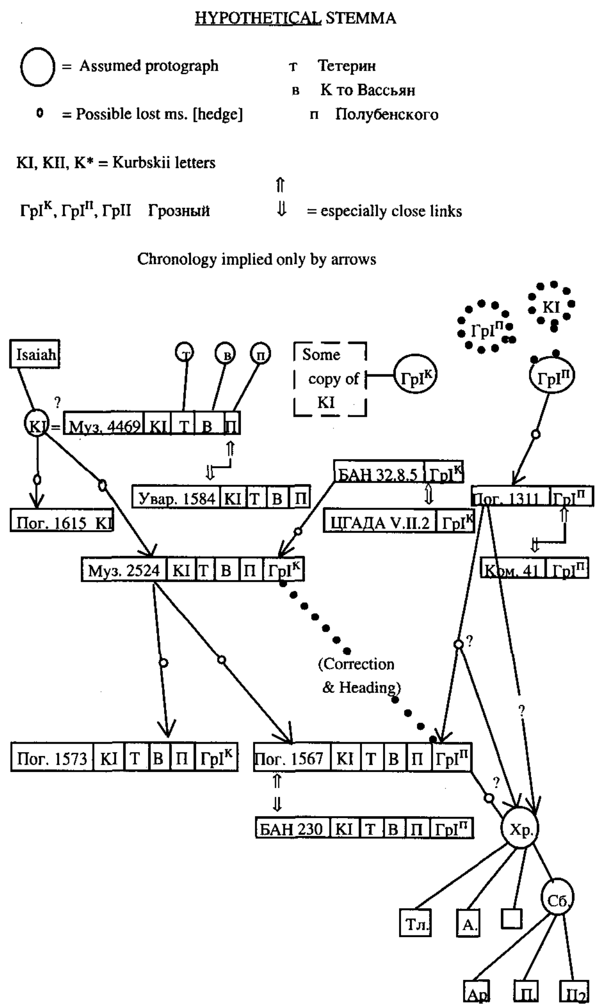
[*change of paper, to letterhead of Park Plaza Hotel, Toronto*] Excuse the pizhonistaia paper—it's the lightest I have, and I can see that I'm going to run into extra weight. I have completed your list, and enclose it—we have more than I suspected, but still far from everything, although some of these damn pamphlets may be bound together with other things and not catalogued. I have been doing some more work (since my last page) and have come on what seem to be some hot leads, which I shall try to set forth in simple form (but as hypotheses, they are very fuzzy in some respects, even tho' they seem very attractive to me now). The basic element is the close connection of some part of the K-G corpus with the Antonievo-Siiskii Mon. near Kholmogory. Study of the history of the Stroev-Pogodin mss. and of the Pligin coll. leads one there in a number of ways, and from the catalog of Stroev (Pub. by Viktorov) it is clear that many of the G-K mss. are sisters of ones in A-S Mon. (see also A-S mss. in Opis. BAN). In particular this is true of khronograf-type texts (incl Bielski) which, I am quite sure, were used in the comp. of the second version of Ivan's first letter, and in K's Istoriia. It is quite evident that in the middle and late seventeenth century at least, someone in A-S was very interested in history, and apparently in Turcica as well (thus you are right in drawing attention to the fragments of Dvinskaia let. in some G-K mss. and Lur'e is prescient in getting ready to publish Kholmogorskaia let.). The bit "Iz Kyzylbashskikh otpisok..." is also a constant companion both of GK and of many Ant-Siiskii mss., for what it is worth.
[*change to handwritten text:*]
Now some visual aids: first the basic chron.-literary history, on basis of texts.



Over for 2nd chart. I am in an airplane, coming back from IUCTG meeting where I discussed these ideas w/ Backus & Dewey. Former has just been working on some legal docs. of K. in Vilno & says that he was so struck by childishness of K's signature on his will [NB in Latin characters] that he made a tracing of it which he will send.

Keep your eye out for Ант.-Сийский мон. & for late [mid 1640's–1680's] copies of Пересветов connected w Романовы, also [for KI & GRI] Филарет. [!]

Ned



I've done this out of my head, so there might be a few transpositions of numbers or описки, but in general this is how it looks now.

N.

PS. Каган mentions in "Легендарная переписка" a MS. Арх. 43 [*above line:* Арх. ком.? Арх. общ.?] which, she says, contains the переписка & also KI. This could be very important—Could you glance at it? Thanks.[...]

Excerpts from ELK to DCW, undated, reply to letter of March 15, 1969, typescript.

[...] About our friend Kurbskii: as you have learned from the letter which crossed your most recent one, the whole Kholmogorskii milieu is, somehow, associated with at least some stages of the K-G saga. A number of new things have now arisen, including the discovery that other parts of K's first letter are verbatim parallels to parts of an introduction written by Iv. Khvorostinin—and precisely the parts which interrupt the otherwise sploshnoi citation from Isaiah. Indeed, all of these things are in one or another way connected with close friends of enemies of the Romanov family, at various stages of the 17th c., and people like Khvorostinin, Shakhovskoi, Katyrev-Rostovskii (all related, if distantly to one another, and to Kurbskii, for that matter) and even Griboedov, Asar'in, and our friend Almaz Ivanov are very much to be watched [...]

But getting back to Khvorostinin: I came to him just as I had to Isaiah: in reexamining the textual evidence, I realized that the so-called Khronograficheskaia redaktsiia of the first letter of Ivan is really nothing but a version of the polnaia redaktsiia, with a few list out of place, and then that one of the best copies of the khron red is Uvar. 330, which as Leonid points out, is in the same hand as what he calls the khronograf Khvorostinina. Thence to Khv., etc. I don't have, by the way, the pages where Leonid speaks of the khron. Khvor.: could you look at his opis. ruk. Uvarova, No 1581, and then at the khron khv. which he mentions? It probably contains something on Peresvetov, so you might get a look at it. For heaven's sake, don't squander your valuable time on a detailed description: your own impression after ten minutes will probably be all one needs unless your own feeling is that you're on to something [...]

Excerpts from DCW to ELK, Leningrad, April 10, 1969, carbon copy of typescript. Most of three-page letter is a detailed description of MS. GPB, Sobranie Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo obshchestva No. 43.

[...] We head for the airport in an hour and a half and by tomorrow AM will be in Bukhara, so must run. Hope this will keep you fueled for a while. A couple of suggestions. Why not publish this thing as a small monograph and let me put an appendix in at end on the manuscripts? In general on my work I plan to start my Thesis with the appendices and have texts and a long hairy section describing manuscripts at the back, the total volume of which may exceed that of the text of the thesis. A second suggestion, what is the chance of getting together next spring semester on a course in Diplomatics and Paleography? I would be willing to prepare the paleography (god knows where the time would come, since finishing said thesis will be touch and go) if you would do diplomatics. Third note. Hope you will not have finished with this thing before I return. I undoubtedly will have more to add to what I will have sent by then. I plan to work the little chronicle in the three MSS mentioned earlier [Pogod. 1405, 1573; Muz. 2524—DW] up into an article where I can comment at length on the three MSS. May investigate the possibility of aiming it for the Trudy if they would have it [...]

Excerpts from ELK to DCW, May 22, 1969, typed on Park Plaza Hotel stationery.

Excuse the purloined paper and the crowding which will follow, the reasons for which you surely understand [...]

I can't now remember whether I wrote to you about it at the time or not—I had precisely the same idea as yours about the "Appendix" to my little knizhechka. There is really no other way: the descriptions are yours; you might as well get a biblio entry out of them. (Thinking ahead to the time when some department chairman is reviewing your curriculum...) I'm really pretty well along on the book now, which is to be "The Genesis of the Correspondence..." As you remember, in our last episode we discussed the candidacy of Khvorostinin and Shakhovskoi (or at least I think I did). It now seems pretty clear from textual, manuscript and other evidence that Shakhovskoi is the author of Kurbskii's first letter written around 1622 not as a fabrication, but as a letter of complaint to Mikhail Fedorovich. Less probable, but possible, is Shakhovskoi's authorship of at least the first version of Ivan's first letter. After that we trail off into a number of stages, spread in time and involving I believe a number of authors. Khvorostinin

comes into the act because Shakhovskoi used a letter of his for part of the original letter of 1622. All of this is for your information and thoughts: I'd just as soon that you keep it in pectore for a time, until I can get something out. I don't expect it's going to go down very easily just at the moment, and it will have to be provided with "overkill" argumentation.

I do have one little final request, which may reach you too late: in 1625 Shakhovskoi was asked by Filaret to write a letter to Abbas, apparently as part of a Muscovite attempt to screw other foreigners in Persia, and particularly Catholics. As a part of the same exchange of ambassadors (I don't remember now whether it was before or after) Abbas sent what was represented as Jesus' robe (riza gospodnia or elsewhere srachitsa) as a little giftee to Mikhail (Muscovy was the last of the great relic markets in Europe by the way). Now in addition to the letter to Abbas (ref. in Rus biogr. slovar' art. Shakhovskoi or Platonov's Drevneruss skaz i pov. o smutnom vr.=ZhMNP 1888 i itd.) Shakhovskoi wrote, according to Stroev (Bibliogr. slovar' art. Shakhovskoi) a "Povest' preslavna,...o prenesenii...rizy Spasa...v Moskvu". Now a similar story, variously titled, often accompanies or may even be a part of the "vypiska iz kyzylbashskikh knig" which appears in a number of our manuscripts, such as Pogod 1615, Muz 4469 and 2524, and, I suspect, Pog 1573 (the obliterated fragment on l. one) (I think this is also called the posol'stvo Korob'ina i Kuvshinova). It would seem that the similarity of these povesti etc with the Ottoman belletristika-diplomatika might permit you to get a film of this text of texts...in any case I'd like your impression of them (ll. 146ff. in Muz 2524).

I very much like your idea about a seminar on paleography and diplomatics, and would very much like to give it in the spring of next year. I have been tinkering with some new ideas about paleographic identification (perhaps even using machine analysis) which seem, on the face of it, promising...we'll talk [...]

Postcard from ELK to DCW, mailed August 20, 1970, from Copenhagen. The picture on card is a page from the sixteenth-century MS. of Jonsbok, the Icelandic statute book of 1282, in Det Kongelige Bibliotek. Note that my files for 1970–1971 contain ELK's letters from Europe but not my responses.

Dear Dan,

Wow! I walked into the "Kongelige" on a hunch [*added in margin in green ink:* I was on my way to the Rigsarkivet] & discovered all sorts of treasures—including MSS. of—get this—Kurbskii's letters, the "Повесть о двух посольствах" [*added in margin in green ink:* "ходил...Шеин; Селенбеку] [haven't seen this yet: tomorrow] and many others, includ. what seems [*added in margin in green ink:* "Theatrum Vitae Humanae" attrib to "A. A. B"] to be a trans. by Vinius [!]. All hunches to be checked tomorrow & seq., if I can. Of course, the only copies of Briquet, Тромонин et al. are on the other side of town. More soon.

Ned

[*added in green ink as postscript:*]

Today—Russian WM of 1564: "Царь Иван Васильевич Всеа Руси, Князь Великий Московский". They are making β-radiograph.

Excerpts from ELK to DCW, Wheatley, Oxford, postmarked September 7, 1970, handwritten. Letter includes further detail on Copenhagen watermark, including a sketch.

[...]I was glad to see that the new information on the Риза confirms your previous conclusions. What an enormous amount of work lies ahead for those who will unravel the history of liturgical literature! I'm reading that Kanonnik book now, and the poor man has to say in almost every ¶ "but the final judgement must await..."

I much appreciate your shepherding of the Kurbskii MS. through the Press—don't bother about detail, that can be more time-consuming than is justified. There really are only a couple of main notions in the book, and they won't stand or fall on the basis of additional details. [Judging from Fennell's brief remarks yesterday—I saw him just for a moment—Лурье & Зимин just haven't gotten the point yet—I wonder if they ever will...]

As to your подложные грамоты [by the way, I am beginning to think that we should find another term: it was not really подлог, but a kind of literary travesty, don't you think?—I mean the Russian ones—as to the translations, I don't know, but I do wonder sometimes how seriously these things were meant to be taken.], things do seem to become more complicated, but it may just be the normal problem of mass, rather than complexity—sort

out the significant—the singular fact, Freud used to say—and as you do—even if your original guess as to what is significant was off—the minor business will sort itself [...]

More news: Milan provided no surprises—I was able to look through stuff very quickly, since they were on vacation and I was working in the Director's office with the aid of his staff. As it turns out, their materials are very [*written in place of crossed out:* rather] disorganized, but it seems that they have only one original Muscovite document [with no WM!] plus a lot of Latin and Italian materials which indirectly reflect Muscovite affairs. There is an article in it [mostly to correct Barbieri's errors], but not much more. But there is an enormous amount of material about Hungarian affairs [Corvinus etc.] including piles of cyphered messages [with keys] and in general the impression of the level of sophistication of the Sforza chancelleries is, for a poor Muscovite, staggering. One fascinating [and beautifully written] volume, for example, contains formularies with intitulationes & salutations for dozens of rulers, & probably hundreds of English, French, Spanish & Italian dukes, barons, merchants & gentlemen (&women!). I had hoped to find our Albus Imperator there, but found only "Illustrissimo Principe Joanni Volodymirae Novgorodie Pascoviae Magno Duci Rossiae" for Ivan III & "Magno Duci Rhossiae...Illus. et potentissimo Domino Joanni Magno Domino totius Rhossiae" for Ivan IV.

The most interesting item from Milan is that Luigi [?} Luongo, nephew of the head of the CPI, who lives in Moscow and is apparently a medievalist [do you know anything about him?] recently visited on a командировка and took microfilms of everything concerning Russia. So we should see something on the subject soon [...]

Excerpts from ELK to DCW, Oxford, September 16, 1970 (postmarked September 21), handwritten. The beginning of the letter is responding to my informing him of my "discovery" of the Belosel'skii-Belozerskii collection of Muscovite svitki in Harvard's Houghton Library, a collection that apparently had not been studied and was in need of restoration for that to be possible. The reference to the paper by Ihor Ševčenko is to his proof that the so-called "Fragments of the Gothic Toparch" is a nineteenth-century forgery.

An exciting find, indeed! I remember vaguely R.O.J. [Roman O. Jakobson—DW] talking about them, but I somehow got the impression that they were some kind of дворянское гнездо of family relics of the XVIII–XIX вв., and never gave them a thought. I become more convinced each day that

there is plenty to be done in Western collections—and if done right, it can show the way for some proper "коллективные" big jobs on the other side. When I say "each day", I mean it literally; yesterday Simmons showed me five calligraphic azbuki from the Bodleian, some of them very fine, XVI & XVII century which he is in the process of publishing. There are three others in the B. M.—and God knows what all else.

I have just written a brief note to Miss Jakeman, mainly to support what you say in your letter and to urge her to be guided by what you say. I shall see Simmons again tomorrow, and ask him for any special ideas he might have about the preservation of свитки. The ones here, which, being prize specimens of calligraphy, are probably on better paper, have been kept rolled since they were acquired [in the XVI & XVII cents.!] but have been "backed" with new paper. The important thing, I believe, is a kind of paper preservative which can be "painted" on—I saw them doing it in Copenhagen—without smearing or discoloring anything, and "feeds" the paper somehow.

I would be chary of separation just yet—especially if the свитки were pasted as, & not after, the texts were written. If [as in the cases in the Bodleian] the seams bear no text, it is less important, but the sheets should be numbered before separation—in fact, every sheet should be numbered now, before the restoration people begin shuffling them about, & catalogued briefly—as archeologists "tag" items & photograph them, with tag, in situ.

They will be a good thesis topic—maybe more than one—and great aids in training [...]

Your citation from Скрынников's letter re Ševčenko's доклад is really baffling. If they don't believe Ihor, I don't have a chance.—The more so now that Лихачев [so he writes Simmons] is preparing an edition of an unknown канон [as I mentioned] & no less an authority than Сигурд О. Шмидт is coming out with a "Сочинения Курбского", presumably in the standard series. Now there's a book I will do for Kritika.

I had better get back to Носов. [But should add that, since I wrote the above, I spent yesterday with Max Hayward, who bought from an old bookseller a свиток of Але——ей Мих——ч, ca. 1650—so you see what I mean. Another odd bit of lore—one of the Bodleian scrolls was attributed to Иван IV himself on the basis of the inscription in Horsey's hand, although the attribution is false & impossible, since the scribe gives his name in the text & it was written in Холмогоры.

Final note: when you tire of James Bond—if you do—try the latest Jahrbücher, where—in the back—you will find a fascinating desc. of Крупская's illness and the fact that in April 1917 the "Patientin" was "an

Klimacterium". Now it is clear—Nadezhda's premature & apparently traumatic menopause is the cause of it all!

Excerpts from ELK to DCW, Oxford, September 26, 1970, handwritten.

[...]I judge by your despair that you must indeed be close to finishing. Please keep in mind that this version is "для служебного пользования"; I'm sure that even now the textological base is adequate & indeed impressive. Don't worry about the non-Russian scope—in fact you are in history & all of what you discuss is germane. Certainly I would be surprised if RLW [Robert Lee Wolff—DW] would complain of "non-Russianness". The occasional comments one hears about that usually have to do with the problem of making clear to prospective employers that Russia is the main field, etc., no problem in your case. So plow ahead, mixing, if you can, hours of paperwork [copying, editing, checking] with writing on an empty pad, and you will find that it is finished before you expected. And don't worry about the book's literary or even "general interest" value at this stage. Think how dull, really, are the great & useful similar studies of a complex "swatch" of literature [e.g., Ключевский, "Жития"; Платонов, "Повести"; Попов, "Хронографы"]. But such studies must be done, and this is really the way to cut one's teeth. Later, you might write a shorter лит-ист. essay on this stuff, but if the thesis were a glittering & speculative salon piece on "The Crescent & the Onion Dome," based on secondary stuff, the wrong people would be impressed for the wrong reasons, and you would be the loser [...]

Simmons is a mine of odd bibliographical knowledge. Told me an interesting sidelight yesterday: "Беспамятная собака" appears in Б & Э [Entsiklopedicheskii slovar', ed. Brokgauz & Efron——DW], oddly, because the editor, one Марголин, was cheap, and, when reminded by contributors that he had not paid them, he would strike his forehead & say, "Ах, какая беспамятная собака, забыл совершенно". They got their revenge, with the help of the typesetter. Look at the definition [*added in margin:* NB old orthog. "з"].

Excerpts from ELK to DCW, Oxford, November 25, 1970, handwritten. The discussion here concerns the title for the book—the Harvard Press editor had suggested that there should be something short and catchy; Ned's first choice was "Post Scriptum." I have a vague recollection of being the one to propose "Apocrypha," a title which turned out, of itself, to be very annoying to Ned's critics.

Just got yours about "Post Scriptum." I guess I should have trusted Joan's first reaction, which was just the same as yours. If Miss D. [Dexter, the editor—DW] has the same, I shall begin to wonder what I did mean in choosing it. Obviously, it won't float—but did what I intended come through? I didn't mean "P.S." or "Postscript", but "Post Scriptum," i.e. a notation meaning that the text so marked was "written later." If it were for "Nauka" we would write "Написано позднее, другой рукой", & make a title out of it. Cf. "Address Unknown" etc.

Fact is I just don't think any gimmicky title is going to make any difference in the fate of the book, but I'll keep trying. How about "Best wishes from all of us" or "Yours, Semen and Artamon and Vasilii and the boys"?

More seriously, I may settle for "The Groznyi-Kurbskii Apocrypha" which is no poetry, but will make sense to potential readers [both of them] [...]

Excerpts from ELK to DCW, undated, with my notation "rec'd Dec. 23" [1970], typescript.

[...]I agree with you about Lur'e [*added note in margin:* i.e. that he is marvellous], but wonder why he is not scratching his head a little more over some of the things we've sent him. These arguments about "a kak togda byt' s drugimi poslaniami Groznogo" as you know do not intrigue me very much. I understand that Valerie Tumins is publishing her dissertation on the Rokyta "answers," which eventually will probably require a separate treatment, if only to satisfy Roman Osipovich (although I don't expect it will). I had a long—three-hour—talk with Nørretranders in Copenhagen this time—he was not prepared for the type of tack I took, but seemed at least willing to accept the possibility—although later, after Schnaps, he allowed as how he could accept the business about the first letter of Kurbskii and the Istoriia, but that first letter of Ivan's must be genuine, on psychological grounds. (??) Same with Grobovsky (of the izbrannaia rada) whom I see a lot of. He's now writing an essay on Sil'vestr, but he just won't listen to me about checking up on the Delo Viskovatogo etc (at the very least, a poorly published and studied text, and at the outer limit, a mistifikatsiia of one kind or another) and although he agrees about most "revisionist" views of historiography, he just won't take the texts and bite into them. He thinks, in spite of my passionate arguments and I think adequate proofs, that Al'shits was right on all counts about the pripiski [...]

I read Kashtanov [Ocherki russkoi diplomatiki—DW] instead of sleeping in my hotel room—some pretty good stuff, and well worth reviewing—especially good on the Troitse-Serg 518ff vs Pogod 1905 (I think those are the numbers). Did you see what he says about Stroev? (cf. ukazatel'). As I read it—although he doesn't say so in so many words—the old boy is accused and convicted of stealing parts of mss. and doctoring the remaining pages, so as to fill up his own collection and this explains [*handwritten note above the line:* (I think—Каштанов is very polite)] the "repaired" portions of so many of our sborniki. If you haven't noticed this, look at it (ca pp 350ff) via index, because it might give some clues about 2524/1573. Have you ever wondered where in Hell Stroev got all the mss from which he "filled in" the sborniki we have? The answer seems to be that like the counterfeiters who split a bill and forge half of it, he was supplementing his income without damaging nauka, in the manner of so many penurious nineteenth-c. scholars who hated their rich patrons and loved to fool them and any amateurs [...]

Excerpts from ELK to DCW, Cambridge, October 4, 1971, handwritten. This is a response to my first letters from my second academic year in Leningrad. The check from Literaturnaia gazeta was payment for a short article published there about the "first Muscovite watermark" which Ned had discovered in Copenhagen (see above).

[...] I should write Лурье, but I must write you, so perhaps you can pass on—on second thought, no, don't—the following thoughts: As you report his comments, I am, like yourself, disappointed. As you know I am familiar w/ the "stylistic" arguments, and don't find them very convincing. As to the "common source" and "influence" of Kurbskii arguments, they don't begin to answer the questions I pose in the text about how the "borrowed" sections were "borrowed" in a mutually exclusive way. I don't worry about the chronicles; the "parallels" are nothing like what I have cited. Of course I read his "Был ли Иван Грозный писатель?" but [if I didn't in fact cite it] disregarded it because it was a part of the foolishness involving Дубровский, with whom [although of course I agree with some of his notions] I didn't want to be associated. As to the question of why С. И. Ш. [S. I. Shakhovskoi—DW] addressed Мих. Фед., he should read fn. 60, Ch II, where [I think] it is pointed out that the letter goes together with those to Филарет and Киприан, and with them forms a kind of Compleat Petition to all власть имущие.

And in general, if this (and the comments of Скрынников in «Неделя» reprinted [tell him!] in Новое р. слово) is the best they can do, I doubt that we'll even get a "Son of Kurbskii-Groznyi Apocrypha" out of the whole thing.

I'm game for a доклад, providing they send me some concrete antithesis. I wonder whether it might not be interesting to try to get some money from IREX & make a short trip. I'd be interested in various reactions to that—But, unless they come up with something more substantive than what you report, I'm inclined to think that we might as well just let the primary message of the book sink in for a time. Zimin writes—did you know this?—via Greg [Shesko—DW] that he won't review the book, but will send a detailed отзыв [...]

You won't believe it, but Литгазета sent, unsolicited and unannounced, a dollar check on the Bank of America for $33.00 for the little WM. piece! Adam [Ulam—DW] says only Howard Fast ever got such treatment [...]

Excerpt from ELK to DCW, Hancock, N. H., October 24, 1971, handwritten; responding to my letter of October 12, which included information on a piece of MS. GPB Pogodin 1311 now found in MS. Q.IV.172.

[...] Interesting about 1311 and Q.IV.172. You ought to keep track of Строев's little tricks, and write a заметка about him as a kind of warning to those who must use stuff which passed through his hands [...]

Excerpt from DCW to ELK, Moscow, December 9, 1971, photocopy of typescript.

[...] I am to start receiving archival material on Monday—at the head of the list are all the Kurbskii-Groznyi materials; Likhachev's letter will, I think, get them for me. Would love to find just a tail of a foolscap on the paper of the petition to Simeon Bekbulatovich. Marfa Viacheslavna [Shchepkina—DW] was very hospitable—perhaps because of Likhachev's letter; or the letter from Dmitriev....Her comment regarding my work on the apocryphal letters: to the effect that she wasn't surprised; all the old views were too tied up with Repin's painting. Regarding K-G and the authorship of Shakhovskoi, K. and G., especially the latter, who was a pupil of Makarius, were too well educated for us to doubt that they wrote the letters. I didn't press the issue, for reasons

of tact—one does not lightheartedly undertake to disagree with her even in the best of circumstances...

Incidentally, since Greg looked at Shakhovskoi's works in the MDA MSS on my request, no one else has touched them...

I am going to try looking at all the relevant 17th century (and 16th century) editions in TsGADA that might have been used in the compilation of KG works—just to see what zapisi there are [...]

Excerpt from DCW to ELK, Moscow, December 18, 1971, photocopy of typescript. Regarding the reference to a letter addressed to King Stefan Bathory allegedly by Ivan IV, I should note that I had "discovered" it in 1968–1969 but not looked at the text carefully enough to determine that it was not one of the published letters. When I sought further information from Cambridge in 1970, A. A. Zimin was the one who checked the letter and recognized it for what it was, but he generously did not attempt to publish it. My concern here over whether S. O. Shmidt would be as honorable was obviously unfounded; I owe him an apology. He was the one who kindly arranged to have the letter published in Arkheograficheskii ezhegodnik. Here I should also note the particular generosity of Iu. D. Rykov in sharing his unpublished work and in keeping me and Ned informed of new manuscript discoveries.

[...] Just returned from AAZ [Zimin—DW] and his critique of the book. All his comments must be read in the light of what he wrote in that Istochnikovedenie book you reviewed, and more recently repeated in a little piece in—hold your hat—Znanie—Sila, 1971, No. 8, entitled: "Sushchestvoval li 'nevidimka' XVI veka?", doing in the dogadki of one Nikitin published in the two previous numbers on the imaginary son of Solomonia. In short, on the prerequisites of a satisfactory historical proof—the differences between dogadka and gipotez, the need to consider all vozmozhnosti, etc.

First, on the plus side for the book, his opening comments were that it is "blestiashchaia i vazhnaia"; he lists 12 reasons: 1. New postanovka. 2. Metodika. 3. Paleograficheskoe issled. of rukop. and relating question of time of MSS to time of appearance of works. 4. genealogia tekstov at basis of work; new and kompleksnaia genealogiia (in sense of inclusion of convoy genealogies etc. too). [*Handwritten note added here in margin:* But NB he did not attempt to check your re-ordering of GKI redactions, nor do I think he fully realized the import of that for basic arguments.] 5. proof the Kurbskii

sborniki of late origin—although this does not necessarily prove late origin of the works therein. 6. consideration of iazykovye plasty (but later noted you never gave any of the evidence for the separation of texts by language—I pointed out this was done by Damerau, although I haven't read his book). 7. Use of evidence of convoys and owners and demonstr. of value of this evid. 8. Textual closeness of KGI to the three "sources" shown—but not necessarily direction of borrowing; he added here, note that the texts of Isaiah and Vas'ian letter perekreshchivaiutsia. 9. Proof that text from Apostol is a second redaction vstavka—and in general proof that second redaction is such. 10 Once again proof of our need to study Posol'skii prikaz lit. activities. 11. Indic. of impt. of Shakhovskoi and the many other questions this raises. 12. Literaturovedcheskie and ideologicheskie voprosy posed by work need to be examined again now.

Basic weaknesses: gives one of several possibilities calling it the only possible or the most possible—does not treat, if only to dispose of them—the other possibilities for each point.

legkomyslennyi podkhod to many important problems—eg. question of whole lit. deiatel'nost' of Ivan and K. Garmoniia of slovo i delo of what we know about Ivan from other sources and from the perepiska. Other letters etc.—specifically Teterin, Polubenskii etc. dismissed too casually.

AAZ concluded he could not prove you wrong, but you have not proven your point and the fact so many questions were only touched on in passing leaves the work incomplete. neobiazatel'nost' of conclusions.

He also added later to above list a third point—what other examples in 16th and 17th c. do we have of works written under pseudonyms?

Specifically regarding chapters:

I. Haven't proven paleographically that kratk. red. GKI is in earlier group. Noted here his own view in descr. of [GBL, Muz.—DW] 4469 in Soch. Peresvetova that K. letter first separate and only later united with G. letter—Z. feels Ivan took the K. letter and related works in [?] Pechory and then added his reply to the collection, with the final stage in the growth of the material coming with addition of materials from Kurbskii archive in 17th c. Haven't proven that letters were not in the Tsar's archive; this possiblity that they were is in his view equally likely.

II. Strongest point is textual argument on 1st letter. But need to search in church literature of time. Z. misunderstood here an important point—that Isaiah wrote in Muscovy not in Ukraine; here he indicated that the location of Isaiah and Kurbskii outside of Muscovy suggested possible connection—I corrected his misunderstanding. Possible that Shakhovskoi knew the works of Kurbskii—I objected here about the direction of borrowing shown by the

textology, but Z. didn't buy that. Regarding the spletenie tekstov he referred me to his article on the Pskov apostol and Slovo. A strong argument, but here not convincing. Biographical facts of the letters—he insists nothing in K's biography contradicts possibility that he wrote letters—which means coincidence with Shakhov. biog. does not weight arg. in your favor. Also noted sources better for 17th c. to establ. facts of Shakhovskoi biog. Specifically passage in letter to Vas. about potrebota zhizni—K. could have asked for them before left.

Z. claims never did buy open letter argument of Lur'e and hence nothing added by what you said on score. Much lost argument—opis' after 1626 fire shows why some things lost and some not (incidentally the opis' is coming out soon—in index compiling stage Shmidt has told me—expect it in the coming year). Argument from silence here not disposed of—Z. says he has similar passage about lost copies in his work on Slovo and there the argumentation sound but here it is not: No Fedorov copy if 2nd red. is in fact 17th c. No Isaiah copy if obshchii istochnik—etc.—all would disappear but for Ivan's copy in the archive and Kurbskii's copy. Here according to Z you have 2-oi etazh dogadki.

Does not buy the textology of Lyzlov to Istoriia, but thinks in fact comparison shows reverse (says he checked this). EG. ty/my opposition or mili/versty proves nothing for you.

In general feels you have too many dogadki instead of gipotezy and in this respect puts the work in the category of "romanticheskie" works (he would include work of Skrynnikov here).

A couple of specific refs.: note A. P. Barsukov, Spiski gorodovykh voevod for Shakhovskoi refs. and note Tikhomirov, Russkaia kultura collection of articles, p. 339 on Fedorov/Kurbskii connection or lack thereof. Mentioned also his (Z's) article on Pesni ob Ivane as works of 1630's—but this in connection now fuzzy. He used as one example of onesidedness in considering possibilities your passing disposal of Ivan's library, without mentioning views to contrary such as his and Tikhomirov's articles.

Z. concluded when I pressed the point that he will continue to accept the traditional datings and authenticity of texts as supported by the complex of the other writings, facts of 16th c. etc. etc.—at least for now.

I spent most of the time listening and didn't attempt to rebut each of his points—for what does one say when the argument has all been laid out clearly and the opponent in the debate says that there is this and this alternative each or all of which might be considered in his view equally likely. A couple of times I tried insisting that his alternatives were not equally likely, but he wouldn't buy that. While I would in general agree with his and Lure's views

on dogadka, gipotez, need to consider all sides and dispose of the contrary ones, etc., I don't think in most cases he applies such points fairly to the book, and I sense a certain tendency toward a nihilism that says anything is equally likely and hence you can't prove a thing. If someone wants to argue that way, what can one say?

Anyway, so much for today's session (at which, incidentally, Rykov was present—will get to him in a minute). Last week spent a delightful 5 or 6 hours with AAZ on first meeting—having both obed and uzhin u nego and running over a range of topics from the book and Rykov's work to a checklist of which Soviet colleagues in Z's view are good historians and which bad, to some remarks in the direction of one R. Jakobson of a nature you can well imagine, to philosophizing on human existence, to problems of raising or as it were not being able to raise a hippie-inclined teenager, etc.

[...] All in all he is such a marvellous person one wonders what the hell the Inst. Ist. SSSR did to deserve someone like him.

Shmidt—one of Z.'s enemies to whom he does not speak—is, as one might expect, a different type. Vague, a bit condescending, ready to polemicize with your book before he sees it etc. He introduced himself to me in the library. His book is in final stages and will appear in the coming year. When I offered to show him yours, he took a look (after informing me it would be easier for him in German) and then quickly remarked, perhaps he had better not as he might want to hold up his own to polemicize with you. Among other things in his work, he peels off several sections of the K. history and concludes that it was probably put together from unfinished notes left by K. at his death. Z. tells me S. has dated the litsevoi svod to 1580 at earliest on basis of WMs; this of course affects conclusions on the supposed relationship of pripiski to History. One ref. from S. that you may have missed: S. D. Balukhatyi, "Perevody kn. Kurbskago i Tsiseron," Germes: illustrirovannyi nauchno-pop. vestnik antichnago mira, t. 18 (1916), Nos. 5/6, 109–122. He did compare carefully the translation with Latin original, but with the original given by Kunts.—noting that the variants suggest a definite ed. but among those he knew of prior to time of translation (late 3rd quarter 16th c) one did not find them. Notes translation not very accurate. Article of course sidesteps the big issue, but will collect a Xerox for future ref. I finally decided to tell Shmidt about the new letter to Bathory [in MS. GIM, Muz. 1551—DW]—he suggested publishing it here; I told him fine, providing I would be permitted a skeptical introduction. The question of publ. may be more firmly answered this week. If S. steals the letter I will raise holy hell. Incidentally, Z. was the one who checked it out last year for me via NNB [Bolkhovitinov—DW]. Shmidt clearly has nothing new for us

and his book probably will be a sorry affair. He has given considerable attention to translations supposedly by Kurbskii; remains to be seen what he has to say on that score. Is checking the 16th c. copies of Novyi Margarit, of which there would appear to be some—I must look at them too sometime.

Rykov, to change to a more likeable person, but hardly personality, did his work as a senior thesis under Zimin's direction. It is more substantial than his article or other article in similar publication would lead one to believe—he has studied around 70 copies of the ist. (many of them late), and a preliminary classification of the redactions is to appear in AE some time in the near future. His textology is spotty though and he has not really sorted on the fine level—eg. ideas about the Golitsyn series being the earliest one had not really crossed his mind. He is presently working in RO GBL describing MSS and has little time for independent nauchnaia rabota. Have gotten a number of new MS numbers from him—including a 17th (?) c. copy in Khar'kov with the Gol. inscription, and another archival copy he thinks might be the oldest on the basis of WMs. The work is focussed on the Istoriia as a source for the oprichnina; he is carefully comparing its information with that of all other sources. I don't think he is terribly sharp, but it would appear he is head and shoulders above Konstantin Andreevich Uvarov, who had been working on the Slovo; whose work with MSS raises doubts among previously mentioned individuals; whose advisor, incidentally, is Robinson. People I have talked with so far would not be at all surprised if he erred in dating the Undol'skii MS [GPB, Undol. 720—DW] which I hope to see tomorrow—have looked at the pocherk on film and it is very suspicous for 16th c.[...]

Despite Likhachev's letter, Archive is refusing me material in the Pol'skie dela, claiming it has no relevance to a literary topic. Also, Avtokratova, the head of the place, lied to my face about one delo I got a ref. to from Belobrova—in Grecheskie dela—claimed they have no such work [...] Did check Simeon Bekbulatovich and for some reason did get the poslaniia ot imeni boiar. The former has a fragment of a 16th century WM, and in my opinion, even though this does not tell us whose joke, it must be considered from paper and pocherk to be 16th c. The poslaniia ot imeni boiar are correctly dated on paper evidence by Lur'e; only other note is that title of Ivan, which L. did not give in texts includes vseia sibirskie zemli. Regarding the chelobitnaia, it is probable that the article indicating that was 17th c. term is simply in error. In other words, we have added plus and minus, as Zimin does in weighing your work, and arrived at zero [...]

I am systematically checking all editions of Guagnini in GBL—surprised there are so many Swiss, Dutch and other eds. Did find one passage you may have missed in the 1578 Latin original:

Quidam etiam Wlodimirus Morozow cognominatus, vir celebrita te famae insignio & maturae aetatis, grauitateque plenus Palatinus, semel quadam misericordia motus cendere fecit humi miserum hominem, qui Magni Ducis imperio interfectus fuerat. Is autem homo fuerat famulus Ducis Curpiskij, qui ad Regem Poloniae defecerat. Hanc itaque ab causam Magnus Dux arguebat hunc Wlodimirum perfidiae, acsi a partibus fugitui Curpskij staret, & in Lithuaniam ad ipsum literas dedisset. Itaque subito coniectus est in carceres, ubi cum longissimo temporis interuallo haesisset, extractus & oblatus est Magni Duci, cum esset in suo palatio & aula Regia, Alexandrowa dicta, discruciatusque est maximis tormentis, cum ab eo nihil extorquere potuissent, tandem mortuus & cadauer in aquas coniectum est. (Descr. of Muscovy, fol. 37).

Also have begun to check L'vov Apostol. Only one copy in TsGADA and it tells us nothing—a late acquisition. There apparently [are] no eds. of Cicero of what one needs—if there is one, it is misshelved and cannot be located. I have gotten the librarian there to cooperate with me in searching for these; so the information should be ok. I plan to check Fedorov in GIM (4 copies) and GBL before returning to Leningrad where will do the same in repositories there.

I am in passing getting some of own work done [...]

Regarding Zimin's comments on the book—the above is all you get—he had me take notes as he is not going to write them to you himself [...]

I am toying with the idea of trying to get Likhachev to accept for the Trudy a "Reply to D. N. Al'shits" on the question of manuscript descriptions (new AE I sent you). If you have any ideas po etomu povodu, please send them. I can of course do a review for Kritika—including the new BAN vol. that is nearly out, the continuation of G&N [Gorskii and Nevostruev—DW] by GIM and Al'shits own Erm. Sobr. along with his article. But I really think we must come down hard on that here in print. Someone else well may, but perhaps they need a push. I am told that they had a three day conference in Leningrad a year ago on the problems of MS descriptions—in particular with regard to this union catalogue of pre–15th c. MSS; the various khranilishche could not agree on a standard form and left with the understanding that each would follow its own rules. There really is no rationality in the world. Likhachev proposed to Shmidt long ago the beginning of a kartoteka of pocherki under central auspices (arkheografich. kom. for eg.); I mentioned this to Shmidt when I saw him, along with the idea of a kartoteka filigranei. He clearly is not interested.

Spent a delightful evening with Klepikov, who is well into his 70's but still actively working on the history of paper manufacture in 18th c. Russia [...]

Undol'skii No. 720 is from the 1630's—good WM identifications. That Uvarov clearly must be an idiot judging from his notes on the WMs and moreover, had he looked at the pencilled note from Undol'. or some reader of half a century ago, he would have seen a ref. to precisely the Tromonin mark one finds on the pp. with the Kurbskii letter. It is dangerous to have someone like Uvarov around. Incidentally, Zimin does not expect we will ever find a 16th c. MS of the perepiska—but for rather different reasons—his vymysl' about the archive.

I have Rykov's dissertation in hand and will try to go through it by the beginning of next week. Uvarov has apparently stolen some of Rykov's work—beginning his study of the "Istoriia" and K. works at a later date and not doing independent searching at first to find MSS. All concerned missed the pencilled note in MGAMID no. 60 telling the last 50 or 60 years of scholars that the Guagnini translations there are from the Polish edition of 1611....Likhachev clearly was right in his lament for the decline of philology, etc. Come to think of it, undoubtedly his remarks on that occasion were as much directed against Z. as anyone else [...]

[*Added in pen:*]

P.S. Have found Egyptian Hieroglyphs in w/ papers of Приказ Тайных дел—need to date though...
[*Added in pen at top of p. 1 of letter:*]

PS I hope you are saving all my letters—I would like copies as a Хроника for personal archive.

Excerpts from ELK to DCW, Cambridge, January 5, 1972, typescript.

Just got yours of Dec 18, with news of AAZ's reaction, about which more later [...]

Obviously AAZ read the thing more sympathetically and more attentively than anyone so far over there (although judging from a few of the misconceptions which you corrected for him, maybe a few points still haven't gotten to him). It was nice of him to find 12 pliusy. As to the basic weakness—giving only one of the several possibilities, he is right, of course,

but I agree with you that not all of the the possibilities are ravnoznachny, and I just didn't want to go into every little point, since the purpose of the whole exercise was to make one, I think major, point.

He is annoyed by my legkomyslennost' in general—he mentioned it in some other connection in a nice letter he sent me before you saw him. But better legkomyslennost' than tiazhelodumnost', I would say, and as to the lit. deiatel'nost' of K & G, nous verrons. As to his question of other pseudonymous works of the 16th and 17th centuries, I would be only half-joking if I were to name, naprimer, Ivashka Peresvetov....

I can't say I'm flattered to be a "romantik" along with Skrynnikov....

I did see Barsukov, Spiski... while in Oxford, but didn't think it added anything worth stopping the presses for. I'll add it in "Son of G-K Apocrypha". Also saw Tikhomirov on Fedorov, and AAZ on the library. Perhaps should of mentioned them, but it would just have involved space and time devoted to citing them then putting their arguments down, and I didn't want to include AAZ in the rather sharptongued things I said about the mythical library. Legkomyslennost'.

Of course if Isaiia pereklikaetsia with Vas'ian (it is not too striking, as I recall) then my dogadka that Sh. is somehow involved with the Vas'ian letters becomes, byt' mozhet, a gipotez?

Your account of your encounter with S. O. Sh. is classic, but I do look forward to the things he is publishing. I hope he has some good evidence about the Litsevoi svod [*handritten addition in margin:* Grobovsky writes that he is not convinced about K-G, because of the Al'shits приписки business, which he takes as proof of ca 1565 existence of переписка...] and the "layers of the Istoriia". They will be useful in the next round.

Don't get a xerox of the Balukhatyi because I read it and got a xerox in Helsinki last year. I didn't add it because as you say, it sidesteps the big issue [...]

[*handwritten note in margin:*]

PS. I am, of course, saving all of your letters. They're more interesting than many Barsukov published.

Excerpts from DCW to ELK, Leningrad, February 9, 1972, photocopy of typescript.

[...] Talked at length with Lur'e yesterday, agitating him a bit on the subject of the book. I stressed the importance of his sending you his critique as soon as possible. He has made some progress in his thoughts about it (perhaps under the influence of conversation with AAZ?), and is at least willing to concede you raise many important questions that cannot be swept under the rug. It is incredible though how little he knows about some of the sticky problems raised by the manuscript traditions. Eg., the difference in trad. of the Vas'ian letters 1 and 2 from No. 3, the fact the best MS of 1 and 2 not attributed to Kurbskii, and of course all the new questions raised about the composition of the original Kurbskii sborniki (see my somewhat incomplete and perhaps not entirely accurate supplement to the material for my chapter 4 that I sent with corrections a week or so ago). It appears that Likhachev is going to review the book for Russkaia literatura; since in recent memory they have printed both sides of a hot argument, perhaps they would give you space for a reply... I made it clear to Lur'e (who is talking in terms of an article or the like in Jahrbücher [rather than a review here?]) that it was important above all if one was going to say the book raises many important questions that must be answered, to say that in print here where people can get to the MSS. He of course still does not buy the arguments, but I am beginning to wonder how carefully he has read it—he did not remember that in the book you spelled out the reasons why Isaiah must be first and Kurbskii second (he did recall you had written this in a letter); I really think he has not come to grips with a lot of the argument. He still falls back on stylistic things, the connection with apparently real letters (eg., cited Johann) in the sense of style and manners or lack thereof. He says this would have to mean that the author of the letters looked in the archive (I said, why not?). He then went on to say he was quite sure Ivan personally probably did not put pen to paper but worked through secretaries. He keeps falling to Ivan's letter as the point d'appui, but I reminded him that the Kurbskii letter is the one that has to be dealt with first, and that that is precisely the reason why you did not treat fully (and as Z would have it, treated legkomyslenno) the remainder of the "corpus" [...]

Excerpt from DCW to ELK, Leningrad, undated (between February 9 and February 23, 1972), photocopy of typescript. The paper given by Gol'dberg appeared subsequently in TODRL.

[...] Gol'dberg doklad in PD last week brilliant: thorough textual and manuscript analysis of letters of Filofei reveals he did not write any but for the one to Misiur-Munekhin. That is dated po Gol'dbergu ca. 1523; others probably ca. 1526 and ca. 1550. Latter two dates not too solid, but in general a marvellous piece of work, despite Likhachev's comment that it was "simuliruiushchii [sic], no nichego ne dokazano." With that thought, I close for now. D.

[*Added handwritten note in margin:*]

P.S. In commentary about doklad more намеки about the book without specifying whom they were referring to—seem to think you have improperly used convoy analysis & imply you have placed its evidence above textual evidence.

Excerpt from ELK to DCW, Cambridge, February 14, 1972, typescript.

[...] Very interesting to hear of Gol'dberg's doklad. Your typewriter produced DSL's comment as "similiruiushchii, no nichego ne dokazano". As is, I would apply to certain well known works. DSL must wonder whether the times are out of joint [...]

Excerpt from ELK to DCW, Cambridge, March 13, 1972, handwritten.

[...] I have a long letter at last from Лурье. He doesn't like "порядок изложения" because it would lead the reader to believe that the basic argument "исходит" from the absence of MSS.—and, of course, many things have not survived... He does see that Ch. II is crucial, tho' he does come around to "Действительно...трудно отстаивать соотношение K" but

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he ends, after some arguments I haven't checked, "значит, возможны либо соотношение Исайя→К→Хр, (если Исайя писал до 1564 г.) либо предположение об общем источнике X. He continues, with ссылка to

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И К Хр

Панченко, to disagree about the break in prosodic organization. He seems more inclined to accept Лызлов - История. But he gives most space to general arguments, esp. stylistic & things like "если принять Вашу гипотезу, то придется предположить коллосальную работу авторов «апокрифов» над памятниками [...XVI в] лицевые своды, послания от бояр," etc.

I'll show this to you—soon, I hope—I'll xerox it in fact—& send it—the most important thing, I think, for now is that there were no big surprizes, & he takes it all seriously—Otherwise no reviews [...]

Excerpts from DCW to ELK, Moscow, March 14, 1972, photocopy of typescript.

[...]Uvarov has published the first of his pirated work on Kurbskii: K. A. Uvarov, "'Istoriia o velikom kniaze moskovskom' A. M. Kurbskogo v russkoi rukopisnoi traditsii XVII–XIX vv. (Arkheograficheskii obzor spiskov pamiatnika)," in Mosk. gos. ped. inst. im. Lenina, Kafedra russk. lit., Uchenye zapiski, t. 455: Voprosy russkoi literatury (k semidesiatiletiiu doktora filologicheskikh nauk professora kafedry russkoi literatury Nikolaia Vasil'evicha Vodovozova), M., 1971, 61–78. There are two or three other articles of interest in the same Festschrift. No surprises in Uvarov's list—he claims to have divided the History into three redactions, but the work that did that was Rykov's, not Uvarov's; there are some other sweeping statements about how he does this or that on the basis of studying the language, style, etc. etc. of the History and other K. texts, but he of course hasn't done any of that. Rykov has put me on to another copy or two of KGI—of no particular interest but 17th c [...]

Have found in the Undol'skii collection a partial opis' of the books in fond 181 (MGAMID) of the archive. There is a typescript by Shumilov now for that fond, but I have yet to see it... Also have looked at Stroev's opis' of his MSS, also in Undol'skii. Barsukov published most of it as is; the entries for the sborniki, which he did not publish, merely give the no. of "articles" and the format, date and no. of folios. I do hope to do some matching of Stroev

pieces when I return to Leningrad. I have a third piece of the 1573 sbornik now, the last page of which, crossed out and pasted over, is the first page of my Povest' o Pakhomii from 1573. Pogod. 1503, 1573, and 1629 were thus all part of the same sbornik; my guess is that there is at least one more part of it to go. I hope to get permission to poke in the khranilishche so I can pull the things down off the shelf and match them more quickly. NB that in the big black "Slovo" book, Dmitrieva has a note about Stroev cutting out a piece of a Kirillov-Belooz. mon. sbornik and putting it in what is now Pogod. 1556 (if I recall correctly). I am going to try doing a little soobshchenie for the Trudy if I get some additional material [...]

Excerpt from DCW to ELK, Leningrad, April 5, 1972, photocopy of handwritten text.

[...] Finally in LOII where have looked at Cossack переписка—just like куранты physically but nothing in text that helps much. Can only be a copy I think—not the orig. for other copies. Began on the Лихачев copy of Посл. Кирилло-Белоозерск. мон.—MS of mid-17th c. (WM two-headed eagle of G. types 1640's & ca. 1650, w. cm PDB). Very suspicious for what Лихагев (Д.С.) claims it to be—1st 10 or 12 лл. are normal neat скороп. with the marginalia & instructions on 3–4 pp. in text & in margin; then at end final portion of text, which seems to have been copied separately with 1st part of text—again neat & normal. Will check more closely soon. MS was in Александро-Свирский mon. in last century & passed through Stroev's hands at one pt. [...]

Excerpt from ELK to DCW, Cambridge, April 11, 1972, typescript.

[...] As you can imagine, I am not astonished that that Likhachev copy of the Poslanie v KBM turns out to be as you describe—indeed I would be astonished if it were to be as he described it...Also not surprised at Rykov's article on the spiski, which I have now read in Greg's copy of AE: I am in particular struck by the so-called "kompiliativnaia redaktsiia" which "omits" precisely the portions which I assume to have been taken from the Skifskaia (or the Zasekina, as you suggest) istoriia and also the description of the Livonian campaigns which will eventually, unless I miss my guess, be identified with one or another of the Polish accounts of those campaigns. Thus again we have a [*handwritten addition in margin:* double] textological

triangle , and the preferred assumption is that Rykov's is not kompiliativnaia, but kompiliatorskaia, i.e. used by the compiler of the so-called polnaia. The komp. red. is known in only three copies (GIM sinod 483; GBL Nevostruev, 42; GPB F.XVII, No. 11/iz sobr F. A. Tolstoia) of which I know the convoy only of the last. If you get a glance...

Another mad idea, about Peresvetov. If one speaks only of spiski which have the chelobitnye (esp. kratkaia), one gets a ranniaia gran′ of perhaps ca. 1640, n'est-ce pas? Now take a few minutes to read the Moldovskaia perepiska of A. L. Ordin-Nashchekin recently published by someone whose name I can't recall [*handwritten note added in margin:* И. В. Галактионов, Ранняя переписка А. Л. О-Н. (1642–45) Саратов, 1968], and tell me whether his letters—esp. the more obsequious and opportunate ones—aren't a parody of Peresvetov (or byt′ mozhet naoborot?). How do you like those apples? Tut i izrecheniia moldavskogo voevody i opisanie turetskogo dvora i vsevozmozhnye "kak tebe nravitsia moia sluzhbishka..."

Another review, Novoe russkoe slovo: "Perepiska Kurbskogo s Groznym—apokrif." Nothing very serious (rets. Arkadii Borman) but likes it: "(Trud prof. Kinnena) otkryvaet shirokie gorizonty dlia obdumyvaniia predmeta dazhe ne spetsialistami."

Excerpts from DCW to ELK, Leningrad, April 11, 1972, photocopy of typescript

[...] I had a long session with Skrynnikov about the book—rather a peculiar affair, but typical I guess—he insisted that I recount for him the major points before he reads it (the question then arises, will he actually read it) and indicate to him what pages certain things are found on. He had some explanation or another for all the points you raise about the letter to Vas′ian: eg., the profound peace is due to the successes in the war that put all of the territory SE of Pechory in Muscovite hands and cut off attacks from that direction; he insists on Kurbskii being forced to leave without his valuables (including wife and son); he cites Adashev being sent to Iur′ev effectively in exile as an example of using it as a place of exile. And in general, he falls back on citing KGI to support authenticity of Vas′ian or vice versa. Thinks you didn't read his article carefully—but it seemed to me he had a hard time finding the arguments he thought were there. And, of course, he has yet to read the book (much less, carefully, which one doubts he will do). I will undoubtedly have a long session with him in another couple of weeks, but I don't expect much [...]

Have been having some interesting conversations in the Publichka lately on questions of descriptions in general and the Pogodin coll. in particular. I do hope to have time to sort out the Stroev sborniki before I leave; I am rounding up some support for the effort (Granstrem is particularly enthusiastic). They are still discussing the fate of the description project for the collection—the woman who has been working on it has let the thing drag on over years (if I heard G. correctly—17 to date) and is simply not up to putting things in order so that any of what she has done can be used. I gather they are talking now about reproducing her cards—making usable copies of them or the like—but that still covers only the first 1000 MSS or so. G. and others are really down on the head of the person who has been working on the collection (Kopreeva). Judging from the conversation with Kop. I can see why. I didn't realize that she is the author of a couple of articles on Russo-Polish relations in the 1660's—which was the subject of her dissertation [...]

Have indirectly Crummey's reaction to the book—perhaps will be able to give you a quote next time I write. At its worst—and he seems to feel this goes for a lot of it I gather—it is cavalier, and at its best stimulating but not convincing. He advised his grad student here to beware of the Harvard school of sceptical textology or whatever he called it. His grad. student (Rowland), has discovered an interesting link for the Khvorostinin tale about the smuta in Q.IV.172. The zapis′ there appears to be part of a much longer one found on at least two MSS now in BAN that were given to the Antoniev Siiskii Monastery by Patr. Adrian in the last quarter of the 17th c. The hand in the Khvorostinin may well be the same as in one of the BAN MSS that apparently was copied in the Patriarchal scriptorium late in the 17th c.

Made a not half bad lemon meringue pie recently that was quite a revelation to those here who had never seen such a thing before, much less tasted one...

On that mouthwatering note, I remain, etc.

Excerpts from DCW to ELK, Leningrad, April 21, 1972, photocopy of typescript.

Thanks for yours of the 11th, which came today. I think somewhere I wondered the same about the 'kompil. red."; I tried to get the Sinod. 483 text on film but was refused it because of the state of the MS I gather. It is short enough so that if I get back, which I hope to do, I will try to copy it and describe the MS properly. I have looked at that MS a couple of times but never got around to doing a description. It is fascinating—contains Dorofei

and or Kigala (see the passing reference somewhere in Lebedeva [*handwritten note added in margin:* See also Савва under Хрон. Дорофея]) in a copy full of all sorts of corrections, pasted in listy, notations in Greek Latin and Georgian etc. The MS also contains adjoining the Kurbsky (sic) a fragment from Guagnini, the tale of Two Embassies and I don't know off hand what else. It undoubtedly holds clues to the circle responsible for the Kurbskii; the dating is 1680's or thereabouts—but I doubt earlier [...]

I am preparing a doklad on the Stroev MSS—at present am looking at as many as I can get my hands on and hope to shove the bezdel'tsy here off in the right direction. Has created a flap in GPB that I am doing this—they fear my paper will be another revelation to their embarrassment as was the one by Joan Afferica a couple of months ago. They have not gotten over that. I hope to give the paper in the OR to be able to show examples (latest finds: last part of Pogod. 1576 is first part of 1503, 1573, 1629; some of that MS is still missing. Rowland, Crummey's student, has established to my satisfaction that Khvorostinin in Q.IV.172 is from the beginning of BAN D.412 (descr. in Op. III, 1 or IV, 1 - Khronography etc.). A few pieces in Pogod. 1568 and in 1562 or thereabouts were cut out of Sinod. 850, which Stroev gives extensive contents from throughout bibliol. slovar'). It is clear that the vast majority of the Stroev sborniki consist of fragments stolen from all hell and gone all over the place—it is really incredible. And what a job to put everything back together again. There is bound to be some general obsuzhdenie of the problems of descriptions which will mean that Al'shits will get it in the other ear—Kukushkina is preparing a blast against his AE article in an obsuzhdenie of the last three years of AE coming up in a week [...]

I'm afraid you will have to throw the petition to Simeon Bekbul. out of the 17th century at least for the time being and at least for the reason you gave for putting it there. See S. S. Volkov, "Iz istorii russkoi leksiki. II. Chelobitnaia," LGU, Russikaia istoricheskaia leksikologiia i leksikografiia, I, Izd. LGU, 1972, esp. 53–54. Appears term used in 16th c.; the Petition is not the only evidence. Will send you that sbornik if I get to another copy—some other interesting materials.

Interesting that Lur'e even confessed that his first impression of the Letter to Stefan Bathory from Muz. 1551 is that it is too good to be true and might well be a 17th c. forgery. Progress? Likhachev wanted to publ. it in Trudy and was I think a bit peeved that Shmidt got it first. Hope to give them my Stroev coll. piece and the Vlachos pamphlet Odolenie before leaving. Granstrem compared the latter for me with the Greek fragment of the original and sees the peculiarities of the language largely as due to the slavish

rendering from the Greek—didn't note any particular South Slavisms or the like and thinks most likely the trans. is the work of one of the Greeks in Muscovy of mid-century [...]

Excerpts from DCW to ELK, Leningrad, May 9, 1972, photocopy of typescript with long handwritten addition.

[...] Skrynnikov is up to his ears in your book, but it is clear he simply does not understand the language, much less more serious questions. We will hash the whole thing over before I leave, if he gets through it by then. Have met one of his studentki who is working on the "History"—trying to show that the author of it used GKI and K-Vas'ian. Her work I would guess is too much that of studentka to be of interest—judging from the general trend of conversation. Rykov is defending his piece (basically the diplomn. rabota that I looked through) as a kandidat: it is interesting to note some of the changes made as a result of his conversations with me. Will give you a comparison of texts at some point. I am to talk about my G.-Bathory letter in the kafedra this week, raising of course the issue of authenticity of other works, which I think will be quite new to all present who probably have not yet heard of the book. Have a copy of the komp. red. of the Istoriia from F.XVII.11; have ordered a film of that text from the Nevostruev MS, without any guarantee I will get it. Have more on Sin. 483 from Kuntsevich's partial description in the proofs for Vol. II [...]

Incidentally, we know at least that Скрынников has had the book on his mind—that студентка says he has been talking about it all year. The session in LOII devoted to обсуждение of AE за последние три года was rather dull. Альшиц was only partially kicked around as Шмидт carefully diverted a full-scale discussion [...]

Excerpt from ELK to DCW, Cambridge, May 15, 1972, typescript.

[...] Have I told you about Grobovsky's letter about Skrynnikov? S. wrote him asking about my book, more precisely about where on which pages the main points were...I have already sent something like ten copies of the book, and heard not a word about any arriving. I think I shall have to get a subsidy and some plain brown wrappers...No comments from any western colleagues yet, save a cordial but noncommittal note from Fennell [...]

Excerpt from DCW to ELK, Leningrad, May 15, 1972, photocopy of typescript.

[...] Gave my otchet today, expecting at least a question or two about The K-G Apocrypha, which I very pointedly brought into the discussion of my Groznyi-Bathory letter. There was utter, total and dead silence when I finished talking, but for a rather peculiar commentary on me and my work (as is customary) by my advisor Demkova. She has really been getting on my back lately; I sense that either because I push too hard and am trying to cover too much ground, or for some other reason, there is a certain frost in the air where I go here these days. Had a long talk with Dvoretskaia, now heading the old MS group in GPB; it took a while to convince her I needed to see something with Shakhovskoi in it and in general to explain why I was looking at such a wide variety of things under such a broad topic—I'm not sure she was convinced either. Clearly my presence there has upset some people in the organization...Dvoretskaia, as I understand it, is a good friend of Kagan and apparently thinks I've done the latter in [...]

Excerpt from ELK to DCW, Cambridge, April 7, 1973, typescript with added handwritten note dated April 23 and enclosed photocopies showing textual relationships of the "first Kurbskii letter" to its sources (including the short chronicle published by Koretskii) and the "Relation of presumed sources to 'Istoriia o vel. kn. moskovskom', both of which appeared in print later in approximately the same form. I seem to have mislaid the third enclosure which he describes. Some of the comments refer to the account of K. A. Uvarov's dissertation defense which Iu. D. Rykov sent me in a letter dated March 8, 1973.

[...] Since our friend Uvarov seems to specialize in otkrytie razlichnikh amerik, I suppose the Ukrainian archival documents he mentions are those published in Ivanishev (i.e. not Kuntsevich) or in (less likely) Akty Vil'nenskoi kommissii or the Kiev kom dlia razbora... I'll take a look when I get time (probably not until summer, which I hope to devote entirely to my own work). As to Uvarov's thesis (IMLI I suppose is Inst mirovoi lit. i iskusstva) I can't say much other than to express my tentative agreement with you and Rykov that that feller's mighty strange. All of that business about the Swedish diplomat is in fact mentioned in the book (p. 91) [...] I enclose a tentative chart of the way the Istoriia seems to go together—I have pages and pages of parallel examples—although since reading Kappeler's book (actually I have not finished it) I want to look again at some possible other sources.

The full historical evolution of the text is of course much more complex than that shown here; there are [*crossed out:* almost] certainly sources which I haven't yet noticed. The striking thing is how little of what one might call original matter there is in a text that is in a number of ways—in zamysel and genre—something of an innovation. One thinks of course of Istoriia skifov...

Other enclosures: one a graphic spread gotten up for the Columbia seminar about which more below. It shows—the only thing of interest for you—how the piece from that Koretskii "letopisets" fits in. The ms is interesting in a number of ways, as you know, including a rather extensive textual relationship with the "second" lettter to Vas'ian NB esp Kuntsevich col 391 etc. And, as you know, the rest of the convoy...

The other thing enclosed is a graphic representation of the probabilities of preservation of mss of the Istoriia given a) fixed rate of reproduction (i.e. avg.) based on number of copies in existence (i.e. probability not of appearance but of copying); b) fixed probability of destruction in any year between base year (1570 or 1670) and present. What the thing seems to show is that under the same rates of production and presentation [*sic*] exhibited by the known extant mss the number of extant mss for years before 1670 should be as on the second curve (the lightest one; somewhat illegibly marked "Estimated extant number of copies, base 1570"). As you can see, the curve goes off the chart fifty or so years before the real one, and as I understand what the statisticians say the odds that all pre-1670 copies of a text that behaves the way this one does <u>after</u> ca 1670 being lost are very small. Now if one were to be consistent about degrees of probability and certitude in such matters, one might think of this evidence alone as sufficient to place the burden of proof on the yea-sayers. But everyone—really quite universally—rejects this notion, and even the attempt, so I shall not pursue it further.

I took this and other items to the Columbia seminar the other day (Ševčenko, Roublev, Cherniavsky, Haimson, Monas, Mathewson, Picchio, Raeff, Belnap, Levin, Wortman, Kaminski, and a couple of others [*added in margin:* also Peter Scheibert]) but what they really wanted to talk about was the Correspondence, so we went at it hard and heavy for about four hours. Little to report for the annals of science, but it was a good tussle and people had done their homework (with the aid, particularly, of DSL's review). Principal objections concern cui bono and particularly the "whole 'kitaiskaia rabota'" of the seventeenth century, and resistance to the "directions" indicated in the textual quadrangle or polygon. Most interesting to me were Kaminski's report that, beginning as a skeptic, he set out to find in the Polish documentation of the various elections to the throne for which either Ivan or any Russian was a candidate, on the assumption that works like Kurbskii's if

they existed must have been known to members of the Sejm and would have been mentioned. He says he kept going, having found no mention in the 16th c., and found nothing until after the election of 1668. This he feels is a kind of independent negative evidence—in a well-documented context—that makes him accept my basic thesis. Also, Ševčenko finally declared himself that "as a matter of belief" he now held to the view that, whatever the other problems involved in the genesis and growth of the Corr., it must be later than the Khvorostinin text. [*Added in pen in margin:* Since then—indication that Cherniavsky coming over.] [...]

[*In handwritten note of April 23 at end, giving various advice concerning in part my career:*] [...] And it probably would not be a bad idea to get yourself firmly established in people's minds independently of Keenan's mad fantasy [...]

Marx and Herberstein: Notes on a Possible Affinity

SAMUEL H. BARON

Could there be a connection between Sigismund von Herberstein (1486–1566) and Karl Marx (1818–1883), men whose lives were separated by well over 300 years? The question seems fanciful at first glance, not only because the two lived in radically different ages but also because they were men of radically different stripe. Herberstein, a noble by birth, became a distinguished diplomat and a high-ranking member of the Hapsburg establishment; Marx was a passionate revolutionary intellectual who spent most of his life in exile. One exercised his powers to maintain the European order, the other strove to undo it. For his dedicated service, Herberstein was rewarded with estates and other properties, while Marx experienced harrowing poverty. Herberstein was a faithful son of the Catholic church, Marx a militant atheist.[1] But they had some things in common as well, and it is in this realm that we must look for a possible affinity.

Of course, both men were well educated and both had a deep interest in Russia. Herberstein's engagement with Russia grew out of two diplomatic missions that necessitated his spending some sixteen months in Muscovy (1517–1518 and 1526–1527). This experience impelled him to write *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii* (1549), surely the most influential treatise on Russia ever composed by a foreigner. Marx never set foot on Russian soil, but that country became a major focus of his interest as well. In the 1860s and 1870s, he devoted especially close attention to Russian internal affairs. Indeed, so serious was his concern that in 1869 he began to study the Russian language in order to gain first-hand access to sources of interest to him.[2] Pride of place went to materials concerning the post-Emancipation agrarian problem and the revolutionary movement, matters he hopefully regarded as harbingers of the demise of the tsarist regime he detested. His burning hatred of that regime stemmed from his earlier-formed and deeply held conviction that Russia was the arch-foe of revolution in Europe. He had also forcefully envisaged Russia as the embodiment of despotism and the enslavement of

[1] For basic biographical information on Herberstein, see the *Nachwort* by Walter Leitsch to Sigismund von Herberstein, *Das alte Russland* (Zürich, 1984), 539f.; a brief account in English is the Editor's Preface by Bertold Picard to an abridged edition of Herberstein's work: *Description of Moscow and Muscovy* (London, 1969). For a good biography of Marx, see Isaiah Berlin, *Karl Marx, His Life and Environment*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1963).

[2] Engels had begun studying Russian much earlier, in 1850. See *Russkie knigi v bibliotekakh K. Marksa i F. Engel'sa* (Moscow, 1979), ix.

peoples, and an engine of perpetual aggrandizement. The latter views are decidedly reminiscent of well-known positions laid out in Herberstein's classic work, and they constitute the primary focus of our inquiry.[3]

It may not be amiss to begin by recalling several of the key components of Herberstein's image of Russia. First and foremost is his description of the Russian government: "in the sway that he holds over his people, the ruler of Muscovy surpasses all the monarchs of the whole world." He has "unlimited control of the lives and property of his subjects"; and "all confess themselves to be *chlopos*, that is, serfs of the prince." He "uses his authority as much over ecclesiastics as laymen," and "no one dares oppose him." The awesome relationship of the people to their lord is expressed in their byword: "The will of the prince is the will of God." His subjects, including the greatest, are as obsequious to him as the rulers themselves had earlier been to their Tatar masters. As for the common people, they "enjoy slavery more than freedom."[4] Perplexed by what he had witnessed, Herberstein posed but did not resolve a famous conundrum: "It is a matter of doubt whether the brutality of the people has made the prince a tyrant, or whether the people themselves have become brutal and cruel through the tyranny of the prince."[5]

Herberstein provides a chilling account of the subjugation of one principality after another by the grand dukes of Moscow as they carried out the unification of the Russian lands. The process comes across as a sort of plague emanating from Moscow, that strikes down and engulfs everything in its path. The conquerors, Ivan III and Vasilii III, are portrayed as utterly unscrupulous, readily resorting to every kind of treachery, ruthlessness, and brutality, as they drive out one prince after another and appropriate their lands. The case of Novgorod is most shockingly told. Ivan III attacked the city under false pretenses, and then "despoiled the archbishop, the citizens, merchants, and foreigners of all their goods." Not content with that, he "reduced the inhabitants to abject servitude," deported the leading citizens, and turned their

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[3] The two have something else in common. Because of their markedly negative attitude toward Russia, both were pressed into service during the Cold War. Between 1951 and 1957, at least six editions of Herberstein in five languages were published. Editions of Marx's anti-Russian writings are: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Russian Menace to Europe*, ed. Paul W. Blackstock and Bert F. Hoselitz (Glencoe, Ill., 1952); K. Marx, *La Russie et l'Europe*, trans. and introduction by B. P. Hepner (Paris, 1954); *Marx Contra Russland*, ed. J. A. Doerig (Stuttgart, 1960); and an English translation: *Marx vs. Russia* (New York, 1962). The work translated by Hepner is Marx's *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the Eighteenth Century*, which was also published in English, German, Polish, and Italian in the 1960s and 1970s.

[4] Sigismund von Herberstein, *Notes on Russia*, ed. and trans. R. H. Major, 2 vols. (London, 1851–1852), 1:30, 32, 95, 25.

[5] Ibid., 1: 32.

lands over to the minions whom he sent to replace them. Moscow's ascendancy is represented as the victory of a distinctly inferior, indeed barbarian, culture—"the Russian contagion"—over a genuinely civilized population, which has since become most degraded.[6]

Herberstein also recounts Russian campaigns against Lithuania and Kazan, which suggests that the appetite of Moscow's rulers for territory was insatiable. When, not long after the appearance of *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*, Ivan the Terrible launched the invasion of Livonia, others would see the campaign as a logical and inevitable continuation of the insidious process Herberstein had described. A veritable flood of publicistic writing portrayed Moscow as a frightful menace to Europe. Two items especially deserve notice. When Heinrich Pantaleon translated Herberstein's work into German (1563, and further revised in 1567), he added some material on the Livonian War. Therein, he remarked, the Muscovite Grand Prince "perpetrated deeds of violence against men, women, children and old people... and forcibly took possession of almost the whole realm.... In January 1567 it was widely reported that the Muscovite grand prince was already fully prepared for a new campaign against Lithuania and adjacent lands the next year.... After so many campaigns... the Muscovite name has become a source of fear among all adjoining peoples and even in the German lands. Fear has arisen that because of our great sins and crimes the Lord will subject us to frightful and dreadful experiences at the hands of the Muscovites [or] Turks."[7]

Characteristic, too, is the alarmist letter King Sigismund of Poland dispatched in 1569 to Elizabeth of England, warning of the great danger "not onely to our parts, but also to the open destruction of all Christian and liberall nations" that would result from the provision of arms to Russia. "Your majesty can not be ignorant," he continued, "how great the cruelty is of the said enemy, of what force he is, what tyranny he useth on his subjects, and what servile sort they be under him.... We that know best, and border upon him, do admonish other Christian princes in time that they do not betray their dignity, liberty and life of them and their subjects, to a most barbarous and cruell enemy.... Except other princes take this admonition, the

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[6] Ibid., 1:24, 26–27; 2:10–11, 16–19, 25–29, 33–34, 44.

[7] See Hugh Graham, "Herberstein: Past and Present," *Russian History* 18, no. 2 (1991): 92–93; Walter Leitsch, "Herbersteins Ergänzungen zur Moscovia in späteren Auflagen und die beiden zeitgenössischen Ubersetzungen ins Deutsche," *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 27 (1980).

Muscovite... will make assault this way on Christendome, to slay or make bound all that shall withstand him: which God defend!"[8]

Herberstein's image of Russia was enormously influential for a very long time. Recognized almost immediately as a classic, it was published in over a score of editions in Latin, German, Italian, the majority of them in the sixteenth century. Andreas Kappeler has given us an excellent account of the extensive borrowings from it made by virtually every continental author who wrote about Russia in the last half of the sixteenth century.[9] Another study demonstrates how importantly it figured in the descriptions by Fletcher and Olearius—the latter the most widely known work on Russia in the seventeenth century.[10] Marshall Poe's recent doctoral dissertation gives some indication of the persistence of the Herberstein depiction of Russia in the eighteenth century.[11] Evidently this image crossed the ocean and became lodged in the newly created United States, as well.[12]

By the mid-nineteenth century, the Muscovite Russia described by Herberstein seemed long gone, eclipsed by the westernization of the country, which Peter the Great had vigorously promoted and his successors had more or less continued. This circumstance, however, had not necessarily relegated to oblivion the image of Russia drawn in *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii.* According to the eminent Marx scholar Maximilien Rubel, "the contrast between Russian barbarism and western civilization [was] current among the important bourgeois historians of the nineteenth century" and it

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[8] E. A. Bond, ed., *Russia at the Close of the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1856), xvi–vii.

[9] Andreas Kappeler, *Ivan Groznyi im Spiegel der ausländischen Druckschriften seiner Zeit. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des westlichen Russlandbildes* (Frankfurt, 1972).

[10] "Herberstein's Image of Russia and Its Transmission Through Later Writers," in Samuel H. Baron, *Explorations in Muscovite History* (Hampshire, England, 1991). The continuing influence of Olearius is attested by the publication of three French editions of his work (in Holland) between 1718 and 1727.

[11] Marshall Poe, "Russian Despotism: The Origins and Dissemination of an Early Modern Commonplace," Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1993, pp. 405–406, 415, 434, 436, 451.

[12] We cannot refrain from bringing into play a fascinating bit of evidence. In 1781–1782, as a youth of fourteen years, John Quincy Adams wrote a brief "essay on Russia." "The Government of Russia," he stated, "is entirely despotical the Sovereign is absolute in all the extent of the word, the persons the estates the fortunes of the nobility depend entirely upon his Caprice.... The Nation is composed wholly of Nobles & Serfs or in other words of Masters and Slaves." See *The American Image of Russia 1775–1917,* ed. Eugene Anschel (New York, 1974), 30–32. This suggestive passage is bolstered by Adams's inclusion of another characteristic Herberstein remark: "it is said . . . that women think their husbands despise them or don't Love them, if they don't thrash them now and then." It is of course possible that young Adams picked up these ideas from a source derivative of Herberstein. Anschel observes that the essay "sets the tone for many opinions of Russia voiced by Americans in the next century and one-half."

was "unhesitatingly appropriated" by Marx and Engels.[13] This is, of course, a very general statement and, besides, Rubel did not trace what had in fact become a cliché specifically to the Hapsburg diplomat. But who can doubt that this view owed a great deal to the enduring influence of Herberstein or the many subsequent writers who perpetuated his image of Russia? Our further investigation will seek to determine whether there were other, more proximate and more specific ties between Marx and Herberstein.

In their earliest writings, Marx and Engels devoted scant attention to Russia, but they already had some definite views on the subject. In the early 1840s, Engels indicted Russia as one of "the sworn enemies of European progress," and Nicholas I as a "despot." He pointed specifically to Poland, where "Russian despotism rules," and whose every inhabitant is "a slave."[14] These remarks, made in 1844, could have derived from the Marquis de Custine's *Russia in 1839*, published in Paris in 1843, with a second edition the following year. Rubel notes that the radical German newspaper *Vorwärts*, published in Paris, and in which Marx collaborated, devoted a good deal of attention to the de Custine account. In one of his works, Rubel flatly states that Marx read de Custine in 1843; in another he supposes that Marx knew the work, for "in many of Marx's later anti-Russian writings there are thoughts and stylistic usages that recall de Custine's formulations.... Passages from de Custine's report of his travels [some of which Rubel quotes] may well have been deeply inscribed in Marx's memory."[15] Of course, de Custine's book was based mainly upon observations he made during his sojourn in Russia, but not entirely. At one point, he speaks of the extravagant power of the tsars and the people's "love" of slavery. Then he twice mentions Herberstein, and quotes the very words on the subject that we have adduced above. He ends by citing, and seconding, Herberstein's conundrum "I [too] ask myself whether the character of the nation created the autocracy or whether the autocracy created the Russian character."[16] Assuming, with Rubel, that

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13 Maximilien Rubel, *Rubel on Marx* (Cambridge, 1981), 246.

14 Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Collected Works*, 46 vols. (London, 1975–1992), 2:48; 3:519–20, 524. Most of the writings cited herein were produced by Marx, but Engels authored some, and still others were jointly composed. Needless to say, theirs were shared views. We will therefore consider Marx and Engels to be a single entity. An able study that treats Marx's views with reference to Russia is Helmut Krause, *Marx und Engels und das zeitgenössische Russland* (Giessen, 1958). See especially chapter II for their views in the 1840s and 1850s, the decades of primary importance for our inquiry.

15 Maximilien Rubel and Margaret Manale, *Marx without Myth* (Oxford, 1975), 9; Rubel, *Rubel on Marx*, 244–49.

16 *The Journals of Marquis de Custine. Journey for Our Time*, trans. Phyllis Penn Kohler (New York, 1951), 72. De Custine quoted the words of Herberstein from Karamzin. It

Marx had read *Russia in 1839*, this would have been his first direct—albeit fleeting—encounter with Herberstein.

With the onset of the revolutions of 1848, of course concern with Russia quickened. Engels reported the immediate response of Tsar Nicholas I upon hearing of the uprising in Paris: "Gentlemen, saddle your horses!" His inclination to move without delay to suppress revolution at its source was directed as well at reverberating risings that erupted in many parts of Europe. In short order, Marx and Engels were warning of a "new Holy Alliance" (of Prussia, Austria, and Russia), whose "soul," "by the grace of God and of the knout is Russia."[17] They considered a note, made public in Germany, from Russia's Foreign Minister Nesselrode, "menacing"— a threat of intervention against the German revolution. Russia's leaders were motivated by fear that the German revolution "would speed the advance of democracy not only to the Vistula but even as far as the Dvina and the Dnieper." To keep that from happening, Nicholas had concentrated in Poland his troops ("half a million barbarians"), who "were only waiting for an opportunity to fall on Germany and turn us [Germans] into the feudal serfs of the Orthodox Tsar."[18] Again and again they denounced Russia's intervention against the Hungarian revolution ("a traitorous attack... on our Magyar brothers") as "typical Russian perfidy" and "the most villainous breach of international law in history."[19]

Marx discerned in Russian policy not only an implacable desire to combat revolution but a persistent tendency to aggrandizement. This perception is especially evident in his numerous writings during the Crimean War, one of which, indeed, was entitled "The Turkish Question.—The Times.—The Russian Aggrandizement."[20] But already in 1848–1849, he had sounded the alarm about Russia's purportedly incessant drive to expand its power and influence. He referred to the King of Prussia and other German princes as the tsar's "subordinate knyazes," who were already prepared and willing to assist the tsar in his nefarious initiatives. Russia, together with the Hohenzollerns, was bent upon "a new rape of Poland." The tsar had "made himself the *de facto* sovereign of the Austrian Slavs"; he was seen not only as the master of the Poles but as the suzerain of Turkey; and the next step in his evolving relation to the Hapsburg realm would make him the suzerain of Austria as

should be noted that Herberstein's name does not appear in any of the indices of Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*.

[17] Ibid., 7:309; 8:211.

[18] Ibid., 7:212, 310, 358, 424–25; 9:313.

[19] Ibid., 8:438.

[20] Ibid., 12:112–14.

well. "The ultimate supreme aim" of the new Holy Alliance was "nothing other than the conquest, and this time, perhaps, the partition of France."[21]

The commencement of the Crimean War occasioned an outpouring of writings on the subject by Marx and Engels.[22] They viewed the crisis as the latest episode in Russia's long-term imperialistic career. Characterizing Russia as a "conquering nation," they traced the progressive movement of Russia southward against the Ottoman Empire, beginning with Catherine II, and, more broadly, catalogued the huge territorial acquisitions in almost every direction made since the time of Peter I. "Having come this far on the way to universal empire, is it probable," they asked, "that this gigantic and swollen power will pause in its career?" Replying with an emphatic negative, they foresaw—unless Russia was decisively opposed in its push against Turkey—its further expansion to a line from Dantzic [sic] or Stettin to Trieste. "And, as sure as conquest follows conquest, and annexation follows annexation, so sure would the conquest of Turkey by Russia be only the prelude for the annexation of Hungary, Prussia, Galicia, and for the ultimate realization of the Slavonic Empire." To prevent this "unspeakable calamity... the arrest of the Russian scheme of annexation is a matter of the highest moment." And not only because of the radical upsetting of the balance of power it would entail, but because it would vastly extend "the Russian autocratic system, accompanied with its concomitant corruption, half-military bureaucracy and pasha-like extortion."[23]

In many of the articles that he wrote in 1853–1854, the editors of the relevant Marx-Engels volume observe, Marx "made use of factual material from the articles and brochures of [the Tory politician] David Urquhart, then a leading figure in the propaganda about the 'Russian menace' to Britain."[24] The message to be conveyed by this remark is that Marx could and did distinguish between factual material and propaganda—a proposition far from self-evident. Although Marx made occasional disparaging remarks about Urquhart, there can be no doubt that his appreciation of Urquhart's endeavors outweighed his reservations. Late in 1853, Marx found a "fitting occasion" to give his due to Urquhart for his "indefatigible" publicistic opposition to the allegedly pro-Russian Lord Palmerston's diplomacy. Around the same time,

[21] Ibid., 8: 440; 9: 395, 414–15, 441.

[22] Most of their writings on the subject, originally published in the *New York Tribune*, are reprinted in volume 12 of the *Collected Works*. Parts of many of these articles are included in a section of Marx and Engels, *The Russian Menace to Europe*, entitled "The Background of the Dispute (1853–1854)." The first of these works should be used rather than the second, in which the articles are sometimes wrongly dated, and their integrity violated.

[23] *Collected Works*, 12:16–17, 33, 36, 114.

[24] Preface to ibid., xxix; also Rubel and Marale, *Marx Without Myth*, 110.

he dismissed as harmless Urquhart's faulty historical views, while characterizing the publicist as a "dyed-in-the-wool Russophobe," who conducts his campaign against Russia "with monomaniacal acumen and a great deal of expert knowledge."[25] In 1854, Marx met and was complimented by Urquhart, whose remark that some of the radical's writings sounded as though they had been written by a Turk, Marx did not appreciate.[26] Marx complimented Urquhart by devoting almost four very closely printed pages, more than half of one of his articles, to the text of a speech Urquhart had recently made. In its most sensational assertion, Urquhart warned that if England and France did not take action to block Russia, "Turkey is doomed, and the universal dominion of the Muscovy Cossacks will sway the destiny of the world!"[27] If Marx drew upon Urquhart for "factual material," Urquhart may well have drawn upon Marx for some of his ideas. With Marx himself qualifying as a militant (if not "monomaniacal") Russophobe, the two became allies (though for limited purposes), and it is therefore not surprising that presently Marx would be writing for *The Free Press*, a newspaper Urquhart had founded.

Our purpose thus far has been to examine briefly Marx's thoughts about Russia in the nineteenth century and, in so far as he touched on it, in the eighteenth. The discussion serves as a background to the more crucial part of our inquiry, at whose threshhold we have now arrived. The case to be made must be based primarily upon a series of articles that Marx wrote for Urquhart's newspaper in 1856–1857.[28] They were later published as *Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the Eighteenth Century* (1899), and more recently as *Secret Diplomatic History of the Eighteenth Cenntury* (1969). The bulk of this treatise is designed to demonstrate a dubious proposition: that English Whig foreign policy, dating back to the Great Northern War (1700–1721), was consistently pro-Russian, despite the threat

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[25] *Collected Works*, 12:477. Shortly thereafter, Marx credited Urquhart—and claimed some credit for himself—for having succeeded in turning British public opinion against Palmerston and Russia. See ibid., 545. For the development of Russophobia in England in the preceding decades, see John Howes Gleason, *The Genesis of Russophobia in Great Britain* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950).

[26] Rubel and Marale, *Marx Without Myth*, 115.

[27] *Collected Works*, 12:567.

[28] They are reproduced as "Revelations of the Diplomatic History of the Eighteenth Century" in ibid., 15:27–87. For obvious reasons, this work was omitted from the Russian edition of Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*. Nor did it appear elsewhere in Soviet Russia until the advent of *glasnost'*, when it was serialized in *Voprosy istorii* 1989, nos. 1–4. The Introduction, by collaborators in the Institute of Marxism-Leninism (no. 1:3–11), provides some interesting background, as well as a useful publishing history of the work.

that Russian expansionism posed to English interests. There is an obvious fit between its theme and Marx's anti-Russian tirades in the run-up to, and during, the Crimean War, but it is something else that makes this tract especially important for us. In the fourth chapter, for the first time Marx focuses on pre-Petrine Russia, and unequivocally roots his image of a despotic, enslaving, and self-aggrandizing state in the Muscovite era.

The thrust of the chapter goes as follows. Despite some superficial resemblances, Russia's history under the Riurik dynasty is fundamentally *dissimilar* from the Russia of the Muscovite grand princes. "The Gothic period of Russia... forms but a chapter of the Norman conquests.... The bloody mire of Mongolian slavery, not the rude glory of the Norman epoch, forms the cradle of Muscovy, and modern Russia is but a metamorphosis of Muscovy.... The whole policy of Muscovy, from its entrance into the historical arena, is [summed up] in the history of... two individuals [Ivan I, Kalita and Ivan III].... Ivan [III] seemed to have snatched the chain with which the Mongols crushed Muscovy only to [enslave] with it the Russian republics.... A simple substitution of names and dates will prove to evidence that between the policy of Ivan III and that of modern Russia there exists not similarity but sameness. Ivan III, on his part, did but perfect the traditionary policy of Muscovy, bequeathed by Ivan I, Kalita. Ivan Kalita, the Mongolian slave, acquired greatness by wielding the power of his greatest foe, the Tartar, against his minor foes, the Russian princes.... Forced to dissemble before his masters the strength he really gathered, he had to dazzle his fellow-serfs with a power he did not own. To solve his problem he had to elaborate all the ruses of his abject slavery into a system, and to execute that system with the patient labor of a slave.... Singleness of purpose became with him duplicity of action. To encroach by the fraudulent use of a hostile power, to weaken that power by the very act of using it, and to overthrow it at last by the effects produced through its own instrumentality—this policy was inspired to Ivan Kalita by the peculiar character both of the ruling and the serving class. His policy remained still the policy of Ivan III. It is yet the policy of Peter the Great, and of modern Russia.... Peter divested the Muscovite policy of encroachment of its merely local character.... exalting its object from the overthrow of certain given limits of power to the aspiration of unlimited power.... [He] coupled the political craft of the Mongol slave with the proud aspiration of the Mongol master, to whom Genghis Khan had, by will, bequeathed his conquest of the earth."[29]

We are in accord, but need not concern ourselves overly, with the judgment rendered by the editors of the volume in which the *Revelations* is reproduced,

[29] *Collected Works*, 15:75, 77, 78, 84, 86–87.

that this piece is "more a political pamphlet than a piece of historical research."[30] Nor need we be concerned with Marx's claim that modern Russia, from Peter I onward, is but Muscovite policy writ large. Instead, we must consider whether Marx's portrayal of Muscovite Russia, which evokes memories of Herberstein, was indeed indebted to the Austrian diplomat. In this connection, we learn with great interest that *Marx's library included a copy of Herberstein's opus*.[31] It was a Russian edition, published in 1866, sent to him by the populist economist N. F. Daniel'son, who translated *Das Kapital* into Russian. Just when the work came into Marx's possession is uncertain, as it is not mentioned in the considerable correspondence between the two men. However, they began to correspond only in 1868,[32] and the book was probably sent in the early 1870s. In as much as the *Revelations* was written years before the edition appeared, what at first seemed to be an exciting discovery turns out to be without significance for our inquiry.[33]

A student of the sources upon which Marx and Engels drew for their historical writings has identified more than a score of works—scattered through a 48-page bibliography—for the *Revelations*.[34] A section of the bibliography that lists sources on Russia is of special interest. It indicates that Marx used two general works, eight on Petrine Russia, and *none* specifically on Kievan and Muscovite Russia.[35] However, in the chapter of the *Revelations* concerned with pre-Petrine Russia, Marx quotes, without naming him, a "modern author," who turns out to be Count Philippe de Segur, writer of one of the two general works just referred to. His *History of Russia and of Peter the Great*,[36] whose first two hundred pages are devoted to pre-Petrine Russia, is the source upon which Marx relied most heavily in preparing the chapter we are considering. H.-P. Harstick, the compiler of the bibliography,

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[30] Ibid., xxi. In this paper, we do not undertake to examine the *Revelations* critically. For some interesting critical observations, see Hepner's Introduction to *La Russie et l'Europe*, 68–81.

[31] *Zapiski o Moskovii* (St. Petersburg, 1866). See *Russkie knigi v bibliotekakh K. Marksa i F. Engel'sa*, 48–49.

[32] *K. Marks, F. Engel's i revoliutsionnaia Rossiia* (Moscow, 1967), 158.

[33] The absence of markings in Marx's copy—reported in *Russkie knigi*, xviii, 48—leads us to suppose that Marx did not read it. By the time he received the book, his interests evidently lay elsewhere.

[34] Hans-Peter Harstick, "Karl Marx als Historiker," in *Arbeiterbewegung und Geschichte*, ed. Hans-Peter Harstick et al. (Trier, 1983). See especially, 193–96 and 213–15.

[35] Only four works on these periods are listed. Among them are volumes by Müller (on Novgorod), Schlözer (on the chronicles), and W. Thomsen (on the origin of the Russian state). Acccording to another source, Marx read and took notes on a number of other works on Russian history prior to writing the *Revelations* but did not make use of them in composing the work. See the introduction to the *Revelations* in *Voprosy istorii*, 1989, no. 1: 6–7.

[36] For Marx's quotation, see *Collected Works*, 15:78. Segur's book was first published in Paris in 1826. Marx used the English translation, which came out in London in 1829.

notes that Marx inscribed many underlinings and marginal marks and comments in his personal copy—an assertion we have had an opportunity to verify, by examining the copy in question.[37] In addition, Marx extracted from the book ten pages of notes, mostly word-for-word copies of passages in the text.[38] All this labor was not wasted, for a comparison of the *Revelations* with the *History of Russia* shows that Marx derived from the *History* a plethora of basic historical data, much of his interpretation, and more than a few weighty statements, rendered exactly as in the original or nearly so. The *History*, in short, was the primary source for Chapter Four of the *Revelations*.[39]

It may seem odd that Marx should have relied so heavily on this single volume. His principal concern in composing this piece, however, was the eighteenth century; so he likely did not wish to immerse himself in what would then have been the key work on earlier centuries, Karamzin's *History of the Russian State*.[40] More suitable to his needs was a synthetic, secondary source, such as Segur's book. Not only did it devote a great many pages to Russia's history before the reign of Peter, but it seemingly drew on a bibliography of well over ninety titles, including such authors as Müller, Schlözer, Lomonosov, Tatishchev, Shcherbatov, and various chronicles.[41]

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[37] The book is among those in the portion of Marx's library held by the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam. I am happy to acknowledge my deep indebtedness to Jürgen Rojahn, a senior member of the IISH, for generous assistance in researching this paper.

[38] *Rossiskii tsentr khraneniia i izucheniia dokumentov noveishei istorii* (formerly *Tsentral'nyi partiinyi arkhiv, Institut Marksizma-Leninizma*), Moscow. Fond 1, opis' 1, ed. kh. 1001. I am indebted to Galina Golovina, head of the Marx-Engels department of this institution, for a copy of the notes. They are scribbled [sic] in English, and excruciatingly difficult to decipher, as is Marx's handwriting generally.

[39] Marx subsequently drew upon this piece for other writings. See, for example, *Collected Works*, 20:159.

[40] Krause (*Marx und Engels und das zeitgenössiche Russland*, 84) and Rubel (*Rubel on Marx*, 145) intimate that Marx had read Karamzin in the 1840s or early 1850s. Neither presents supporting evidence, and we ourselves have found none, so we are skeptical of this claim. On the other hand it is clear that, at some indeterminate time subsequent to the writing of the *Revelations*, Marx did become acquainted with Karamzin. The evidence is a chronology of Russian history from the beginnings until 1613 that he compiled in the last years of his life, based in good part on Karamzin. See *Arkhiv Marksa i Engel'sa*, 8 (1946): iii, 142–73.

[41] It is not entirely clear whether Segur knew the Russian language, but he probably did. His father (1753–1828) had served as French ambassador to Russia from 1785 to 1788, so Philippe himself (b. 1780) must have spent about four years of his youth there. His father, a diplomat and historian, and his only tutor, likely would have wanted his son to learn Russian while they resided in St. Petersburg. During the Napoleonic Wars, Philippe served in Poland, was captured by Cossacks, and was interned at Vologda for a year or two. He later wrote his first book dealing with Russia: *Histoire de Napoleon et de la grande armée pendant l'année 1812*. It was translated into several other languages. See *Biographie Universelle* and *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*.

For Marx, the Segur tome may have served as a surrogate for Karamzin, *upon whom it depended far more than any other work* for its portrayal of pre-Petrine history. As much or more than all these reasons combined, Segur's opus no doubt appealed to Marx because it dovetailed perfectly with his already deeply held convictions about Russia. And it appeared to trace *to their source* the origins of the contemptible features that the historically minded Marx discerned in the Russia of his time. One can imagine his glee, for instance, upon reading, early in Segur, of Russia's "perpetual tendency to aggrandizement."[42] He seems to have reveled in Segur's emphasis on the "persevering machiavellianism" of the Muscovite rulers. And he had to be more than pleased with the last part of Segur's section on pre-Petrine Russia, which elaborates the theme: "in Russian history, everything brings us back to the history of despotism," whose other face was slavery.[43]

To verify at a glance the importance of Karamzin for Segur (and Marx!), one can read the summary account of Russia's early history in Karamzin's *Memoir of Ancient and Modern Russia*, which, as its editor observes, constitutes "an excellent resumé" of his views.[44] Especially notable are: the catastrophic effects of the "plague communicated to Europe by the Germanic peoples"—the appanage system that replaced the Kievan state; the single-minded, wily methods by which Kalita managed "to transform the khans themselves into instruments of our liberation"; how the Moscow princes uprooted, "little by little, all the ancient survivals of the republican order"; and how "what Ivan I Kalita had begun, Ivan III completed."[45] It is beyond dispute that Segur adopted the ground-plan of his work (excluding, of course, the part on Peter the Great) from the *History of the Russian State*.

Among the works listed in Segur's bibliography is Herberstein's *Rerum Moscoviticarum*. Yet, surprisingly, Herberstein is never once cited in the body of the *History*. It should not be supposed, on this score, that Herberstein's work had no influence on Segur, though perhaps it did so indirectly. The Frenchman may not actually have read Herberstein, but just as he depended heavily on Karamzin, in turn the latter depended heavily on Herberstein. The fifth, sixth, and eighth volumes of Karamazin's *History of the Russian State* each contain a scattering of references to Herberstein. The seventh volume, which covers the reign of Grand Prince Vasilii Ivanovich

42 Segur, 25. Marx underlined the word "aggrandizement."

43 Ibid., 177–78. Segur focuses on despotism and its role in Russian history in 172–98.

44 *Karamzin's Memoir on Ancient and Modern Russia*, ed. and trans. Richard Pipes (New York, 1966), 55. The summary account, up to and including part of the Time of Troubles, occurs in 103–113.

45 Ibid., 105–109. Of course, as the bard of autocracy, Karamzin gives a positive spin to developments that Segur and Marx thought loathsome.

(1505–1533), cites Herberstein 54 times in its 143 pages.[46] While this is noteworthy, it must also be noted that Segur (and Marx) give little or no attention to the political history of Vasilii's time. However, the last chapter of the Karamzin volume, entitled "The Condition of Russia, 1462–1533," is devoted almost entirely to Herberstein, constituting, in fact, a comprehensive précis of his work. It reviews Herberstein's treatment of Muscovy's government, including the well-known passage on the extravagant power of the prince; the army; the system of justice; trade and money; state finance; the city of Moscow; customs and mores of the people, including the slave-like status and disposition of the people; and the neighboring lands to the north and east of the realm. In considering these matters, Karamzin manages to give a positive interpretation to what Herberstein and later Western writers viewed negatively, and even incredulously. To Herberstein's conundrum: "It is a matter of doubt whether the brutality of the people has made the prince a tyrant, or whether the people themselves have become brutal and cruel through the tyranny of the prince," Karamzin replies: "Without a doubt [the people] granted [this authority] so that Russia would be saved and be a great power." "Tyranny," he goes on, "is the abuse of autocracy," and "no one... ever doubted the monarch's obligation to care for the popular welfare."[47] Karamzin's final judgment on *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii* runs as follows: "In general the Herberstein description of Russia is an important work for our sixteenth-century history, although it contains some errors."[48]

In our view, Segur's work was powerfully influenced by Herberstein, through the medium of Karamzin. Even if he did not know Herberstein at first hand, he surely had read Karamzin's abstract of the Hapsburg diplomat's work. He obviously did not endorse Karamzin's attempted refutation of Herberstein on the Russian state order,[49] and, indeed, the leitmotif of his opus is the idea that Russia had for centuries been in bondage to a despotic regime. Of course, this theme resonated with Marx's thinking on Russia, and he readily assimilated Segur's representation of the Muscovite era to his own image. By a kind of osmotic process, we suppose, Marx absorbed Herberstein's conception of the Muscovite regime.

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46 N. M. Karamzin, *Istoriia gosudarstva rossiiskago* 7 (St. Petersburg, 1892; repr. ed. The Hague, 1969).

47 Karamzin (123–24) renders the Herberstein conundrum in a somewhat muted manner: "I do not know whether the character of the people demands for Russia such autocrats, or whether the autocrats gave 'the people such a character'."

48 Ibid., 143.

49 At one point, though (172), Segur concedes to Karamzin's position, at least in part: "A foreign despotism, that of united central Asia, fettered Russia, which was enfeebled by anarchy; it was by the concentration of power that Russia recovered its independence, and, thence, despotism established itself in Russia, without encountering any obstacle."

There is one more tantalizing thing to be noted. In the bibliography of his copy of Segur's *History*, Marx inscribed a star or asterisk next to eleven of the titles listed. *One of these markings occurs next to Herberstein, Rerum Moscoviticarum.* It is, of course, impossible to say with certainty what this signifies. For one thing, it might suggest that Marx had once read the work, and was indicating that he recognized it. Because we have found no evidence in his writings of first-hand knowledge of Herberstein, however, it is more likely that he was aware of the work, and marked it as an item worth looking into—although he did not follow through. A third possibility is that he had not heard of it, and found the title interesting. Inasmuch as there are no references to Herberstein in the body of Segur's work, and since Marx had little familiarity with pre-Petrine Russia, we are inclined to think that the second option is most probable: that Marx was vaguely familiar with Herberstein's name, but had not read his book. Nevertheless, he had unwittingly been influenced by Herberstein's ideas, which were still current among nineteenth-century historians; and more proximately, if still indirectly, through the mediation perhaps of Custine, and very definitely of Karamzin via Segur.

At some later, indeterminate date, Marx certainly read Karamzin.[50] In doing so, he must have become aware of the latter's heavy reliance on Herberstein and, more importantly, gained a fuller apprehension of the substance of Herberstein's work. This may have occurred when Marx's interest in Russia had shifted to those features that gave promise of the downfall of tsarist autocracy. Accordingly, what he then learned about Herberstein would not have made anything like the impact that one might have expected from an earlier discovery. A late encounter with Herberstein might have seemed unremarkable to Marx, moreover, because he had long been familiar with these views, which he had gained through derivative sources. On the other hand, it may have come as a revelation that these views were grounded in Herberstein's *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*.[51]

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50 See *supra*, n. 39.

51 Marx evidently had only an indirect connection, but the "father of Russian Marxism" had a first-hand knowledge of Herberstein's opus (the Russian edition of 1866), and used it effectively. In his *Istoriia russkoi obshchestvennoi mysli*, Plekhanov quoted the Hapsburg diplomat's famous lines on the extravagant power of the Muscovite rulers and the "slavery" of almost everyone else, to demonstrate that old Russia shared fundamental traits with such oriental despotisms as Persia and Egypt. See G. V. Plekhanov, *Sochineniia*, 24 vols. (Moscow-Leningrad, 1923–1927), 20:78–79.

Muscovite Ambivalence

JAMES CRACRAFT

This essay focuses briefly on the artist Simon Fedorovich Ushakov (1626–1686), whose career is taken as emblematic of late Muscovite court culture, a position very recently reinforced by research showing that he was a landowning *moskovskii dvorianin* by birth and not simply by grant of the tsar.[1] Two works by Ushakov as well as two closely related verbal texts—one perhaps written by him—are adduced in the effort to contribute in some small way to our understanding of that culture. But it must be admitted at once that these texts have not been subjected to the kind of searching, systematic scrutiny which Professor Keenan has taught us to apply to any and all monuments of Muscovite history—a matter more of time and patience, now, thanks notably to his example, than of access or willingness. In this respect, therefore, the essay is only exploratory in nature, its conclusions tentative: itself emblematic, perhaps, of the state of much of the historiography on Muscovy (thanks notably, again, to Keenan's efforts).

In the present instance the historiography is also remarkably ambivalent—my first main point. I have in mind not the monographic studies of Ushakov that have been undertaken, in which he is treated as the most important artist of his time,[2] but Russian art-historical scholarship more broadly. Two prominent cases in point, spanning the history of this scholarship, are the Ushakov presented by I. E. Grabar' in his venerable survey of seventeenth-century Russian painting, published in 1916; and the Ushakov of V. G.

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[1] A. V. Lavrent'ev, "K biografii 'gosudareva ikonnika' Simona Ushakova," *Filevskie chteniia*, no. 8 (1994):3–18, with thanks to the author. Ushakov's social origins, hitherto obscure, have usually been located in the *posad* population (e.g., Bekeneva, *Ushakov* [note 2 below], 10).

[2] G. D. Filimonov, *Simon Ushakov i sovremennaia emu epokha russkoi ikonopisi* (Moscow, 1873); A. [I.] Uspenskii, *Piat' vnov' otkrytykh ikon kisti Simona Ushakova* (Moscow, 1901); D. K. Trenev, *Ikony tsarskago izografa Simona Ushakova v Moskovskom Novodevich'em monastyre* (Moscow, 1901); idem, *Pamiatniki drevnerusskago iskusstva tserkvi Gruzinskoi Bogomateri* (Moscow, 1903); V. P. Gur'ianov, *Ikony Spasitelia pis'ma Simona Ushakova* (Moscow, 1907); A. [I.] Uspenskii, *Tsarskie ikonopistsy i zhivopistsy XVII v.*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1910), 321–69; V. [N.] Nechaev, *Simon Ushakov, Izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo* (Leningrad, 1927). Recent biographical studies, drawing on the preceding, include T. A. Anan'eva, *Simon Ushakov* (Leningrad, 1971) and N. G. Bekeneva, *Simon Ushakov, 1626–1686* (Leningrad, 1984). More specialized articles on aspects of Ushakov's *oeuvre*, too numerous to list here, have also been published.

Briusova, whose sizable volume of 1984 is by far the most detailed, best documented, and best illustrated study of the same general subject in print.[3]

In his survey, Grabar′ highlighted and to some extent documented the European influence to be seen in visual art produced in seventeenth-century Russia, meaning portraiture most obviously but also icon-painting, where new modes of depiction appeared as well as new subject matter, viz., illustrations of the biblical *Song of Songs* or of the theme, an old one in the Latin church, of the "Coronation of Mary." Innovations like these were introduced by "foreign" masters (Ukrainian, Polish, Armenian in background) when painting panel icons and murals for high-ranking Muscovite patrons and were then adopted by admiring Muscovite artists. Although such innovations promptly provoked hostile reactions, patrons favoring this "Italianate" *(friazhskii)* style were more important than its detractors; "and Russian icon-painting rapidly approached its end." Muscovite masters were similarly infected by the *friazhskii* spirit through their exposure to various prints in the new style, like those to be found in the illustrated bible first published by Piscator (Jan Visscher) in Amsterdam in 1643. And Ushakov was Grabar′'s outstanding example, indeed casualty, of the whole process: "the tragedy of Ushakov's art was that he was in essence neither an icon painter nor a painter from life [neither *ikonopisets* nor *zhivopisets*]; having ceased to be the first, he did not become the second" (cf. Plate 1). Nevertheless his "influence on the fate of Russian icon-painting was so great that we can call the entire second half of the seventeenth century, and even a good part of the eighteenth, the era of Ushakov."[4]

Grabar′ spoke mainly about painting for the court in Moscow. The decline that he saw there in the "era of Ushakov" was not so steep in the provinces, he thought, and particularly not in wall painting. "At the very time that the court churches of Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich and his successors were being filled almost daily with more and more new images in the feeble *friazhskii* style, in the most wretched taste," murals were being painted in churches in the old towns north of Moscow—in Iaroslavl′, Pereslavl′-Zalesskii, Rostov Velikii, and Kostroma—the "beauty of which delights us to this day." These were the "last echoes of a great style" that had flourished in the sixteenth century and again, following the Time of Troubles, early in the seventeenth. By the end of that century, Grabar′ allowed, such murals had ceased being monumental in character—a few massive figures, relatively simple lines, three or four basic

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[3] I. E. Grabar′, the last six chapters of Grabar′ et al., *Istoriia russkago iskusstva*, vol. 6: *Istoriia zhivopisi: Dopetrovskaia epokha* (Moscow, [1916]); V. G. Briusova, *Russkaia zhivopis' 17 veka* (Moscow, 1984).

[4] Grabar′, *Istoriia zhivopisi*, 411–12, 422, 425, 440.

colors—and were now pictorially complex as well as richly colored. Yet here, he implied, the *friazhskii* spirit was properly restrained by the local genius. Row upon exuberant row of bright pictures, often of biblical episodes never seen before in Russian painting, were painted on walls and vaults of Northern churches well into the eighteenth century, producing art of a high order. "Not in any other country," Grabar' declared, "not excluding Italy, are to be found so many frescoes painted in so short a time."[5]

In this last remark as well as elsewhere in his survey Grabar' was suggesting perhaps that by the late seventeenth century visual art in Russia (particularly in the North), analogously with that of Italy (Tuscany) in the early fourteenth, had embarked on a renaissance. It was a notion that Grabar' himself did not pursue. But in one form or another it has haunted Russian art scholarship ever since, as in Briusova's volume, where, near its end, the analogy becomes explicit.

Briusova hugely accentuates Grabar''s distinction between late Muscovite court and provincial art, arguing that several major "schools and trends" flourished in the period, one of which, that of the Upper Volga region (*Povolzh'e*), rivaled and eventually surpassed that of Moscow itself in both artistic quality and historical importance.[6] In her view, the expansion of the Muscovite state and concurrent centralization of artistic forces in and around Moscow had led by the later sixteenth century to the imposition on icon-painting of a "state tutelage" that was "ruinous [*gubitel'naia*] for art." And such tutelage accounts for Ushakov's shortcomings as a painter: "the world of the court—his true element—did not facilitate the development of self-consciousness and an understanding of the responsibilities of the artist before society on the social plane; having unswervingly placed his talent at the feet of the almighty Moscow rulers, Ushakov put himself in the position of a willing servant, receiving in return only noble rank and a better salary than his colleagues'." As time went on, Ushakov's art, like that of his fellow court painters, acquired "an ever more superficial character, an attraction to mastery

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[5] Ibid., 481–82, 495, 512–14, 497. I must quibble with Grabar''s use of the term fresco—*freska*—here, as in virtually all subsequent Russian art scholarship, where it tends to be used interchangeably with *stenopis'*, meaning a mural or wall painting, and even with *rospis'*, which can mean painting more generally as well as a mural or wall-painting. In true fresco (*buon fresco*), as revived classically by Giotto in his cycle of ca. 1305–1306 covering the walls of the Arena Chapel in Padua, colors are applied section by section to the artist's design while the plaster ground is still wet, making the images when dry one with the wall and extremely durable. Since there is considerable doubt as to whether true frescoes were ever painted in Old Russia, the more inclusive term "mural" or "wall painting," in which colors are typically applied to dry surfaces (a much simpler technique), is preferred here.

[6] Briusova, *Russkaia zhivopis'*, 6–8, 11, 14–15, and passim.

for mastery's sake," and was "devoid of inspiration and creativity." It was "purely external and mindless," its ideals were "moribund," its "sole aim a formal virtuosity"; it was an "ecclesiastical-salon art" and, at base, "sterile" (cf. Plate 1). This was not to deny the "obvious fact that precisely Moscow with its material and ideological tutelage of the cultural life of Russia created in this period all the necessary conditions for the development of art in both the capital and the periphery." But it was to assert that truly "progressive" development took place only or mainly in the latter.[7]

Briusova clearly shares Grabar′'s negative assessment of late Muscovite court art in general and of Ushakov's in particular, although she is rather more ebullient in describing the rot. But we follow her to the northern towns with some trepidation, perhaps, sensing in her approach a whiff of special pleading. Indeed, she finds in the North not only a vibrant "upper Volga school" (*shkola Povolzh'ia*) but distinct "schools" within it, particularly those of Iaroslavl′ and Kostroma, whose finest exponent was the "school," again, of Gurii Nikitin. He was the leading Kostroma icon-painter from 1660 to about 1690, she asserts, and more—the greatest Russian painter of the age. Briusova admits that next to nothing is known about Gurii Nikitin's life, including the years of his birth and death. Yet on the basis of her long and close study of the painting of the region she can detect unmistakably his "style" or "hand."[8]

Briusova does not link the obvious foreign influence on later seventeenth-century Upper Volga painting to the region's greatly increased trade with Europe and particularly Holland; she cares only for the contribution of the ensuing economic upsurge to the strengthening of the industrial and commercial classes within the northern towns and for the role of these *posadkie liudi* as patrons of art. Her best examples of this art (following Grabar′ and other pioneers[9]) are the abundant murals and related panel icons painted in 1680–1681 in the merchant church of the Prophet Elijah in Iaroslavl′ by a team of local and Kostroma artists—the team led, she is sure, by Gurii Nikitin. The aesthetic qualities as well as "progressive" character of this astounding display, she argues, make it patently superior to that of the court, a distinction seen most plainly in its greater "realism," in which tendency, she infers, it eluded the iconic strictures of the central authorities and reflected the influence of popular culture. The wall paintings of the church of St. John the Baptist in nearby Tolchkovo, executed in 1694–1695 by a new generation of local artists, surpassed even those of the church of Elijah.

[7] Ibid., 9, 42, 44, 49, 51–52, 172, et seq.

[8] Ibid., 77–88, 94ff.

[9] E.g., I. A. Vakhromeev, *Tserkov' vo imia sviatago i slavnago proroka Illii v g. Iaroslavle* (Iaroslavl′, 1906), copiously illustrated.

Here the *posad* folk "realized itself as the true protector of the traditional national culture and set out to be its worthy heir."[10]

Briusova does not go so far as to call the later seventeenth century in Russian painting "the Upper Volga era" or "the era of Gurii Nikitin." She recognizes that even Simon Ushakov, that leading exponent of the decadent court school, "nonetheless possessed undoubted creative individuality, as manifested in his special attention to the representation of the human face as bearer of the idea of the 'God-man' [cf. Plate 1] and in his unending zeal to find in this respect every new nuance for the expression of spiritual and psychological character." In this respect, as in his organizational work as head of the court school at a time of "maximal creative exertion," Ushakov, for all his shortcomings, achieved a "uniquely high position among the most important actors of pre-Petrine Russian culture."[11] Briusova thus amplifies rather than revises Grabar'’s ambivalence towards Ushakov, a point borne out by her handling of the larger *friazhskii* question. For it was this "foreign" style, she insists, that engendered the "deep contradictions" and "symptoms of imminent decline" afflicting court art even as it "flourished" from the 1650s to the 1680s. Under its pressure, court art moved away from tradition and the concerns of the people (*narod*) and finally succumbed to the attractions of "Western Art," which entailed learning a whole new way of representation (*zhivopisanie*) and a whole new technique (painting with oil-based colors on canvas) as well as a whole new genre (portraiture) and new iconic subject matter. More foreign masters—German and Dutch now as well as Ukrainian or Polish—found work in Moscow, where they trained local artists while executing choice commissions. The jig was nearly up. If at first Ushakov would have nothing to do with the "foreign artists" who worked alongside him for the tsar, eventually he and his students "mastered the new painting" themselves—and so hastened the downfall of traditional Russian art.[12]

Briusova has nothing to say about the Muscovite *patrons* of the new art (who seem to have included virtually the entire core elite) or about the factors (aesthetic, psychic, political, social) animating their increasingly obvious preference for it; nor does she link this instance of cultural diffusion with the wider movements in Europe and lands beyond known as the Renaissance and

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10 Briusova, *Russkaia zhivopis'*, 96–100 with figs. 87–93, 96, 97, 143, 145 and pls. 51, 55–59, 63, 66, 126, 131–36, 144, 148, 171–78, 180, 181; also pp. 173–74, 123.

11 Ibid., 69, 78, 42.

12 Ibid., 16, 29, 39, 53, 55.

the Baroque.[13] In any event, the "crisis" she depicts in Moscow court painting by 1690 did not spread, she emphasizes, to the North: not yet. There, artists "sought new means of expanding the potential latent in the traditional method of Old-Russian painting," producing art that remained "thoroughly alive."[14] As for the patently foreign influences reflected in this art, too, influences long since documented by Grabar' and other early students,[15] Briusova has only this to say:

> The murals of the church of the Prophet Elijah [in Iaroslavl'] are often cited as an example of the wide use of Western models.... Indeed, the artists enthusiastically used Western and other [? Ukrainian?] engravings but only as subsidiary material. Gurii Nikitin used them only for motives of the most general kind, creating completely new compositions....

Further:

> It is possible to say that the realism of the Western engravings emancipated the eyes of the [Russian] artist, permitting him to see and to express in painting the beauty of life around him, of man. But the [Western engraver] would have recognized his original here only with difficulty. The [Russian] adaptation is not in the least to be explained by a different stage of development or by a different level of painting conception, but by the different tasks, the different problems of method and style posed and resolved by Western and Russian artists of the seventeenth century. Most important, the adaptation definitely accompanied a process of development in culture and art. In the same way that the masters of the Renaissance took off from Byzantine and antique painting, creating a new style, Russian artists used the experience of Western European painting to expand the possibilities of their own art, the development of which flowed along its own internal course.[16]

Similarly Briusova later draws not a link but a "parallel" between seventeenth-century murals in Kostroma and "frescoes of the early Renaissance." She also occasionally applies the term "baroque" to her

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[13] Huge subjects; but for recent contributions, splendidly illustrated, see B. Jestaz, *Art of the Renaissance*, trans. I. M. Paris (New York, 1995, original French ed. Paris, 1984), and Y. Bottineau, *l'Art Baroque* (Paris, 1986).

[14] Briusova, *Russkaia zhivopis'*, 29ff.

[15] E.g., M. K. Karger, "Iz istorii zapadnykh vliianii v drevnerusskoi zhivopisi," in Karger et al., *Materialy po russkomu iskusstvu*, vol. 1 (Leningrad, 1928), 66–77; E. P. Sachavets-Fedorovich, "Iaroslavskie stenopisi i bibliia Piskatora," in F. I. Smit et al., *Russkoe iskusstvo XVII veka: sbornik statei po istorii russkogo iskusstva do-petrovskogo perioda* (Leningrad 1929), 85–108.

[16] Briusova, *Russkaia zhivopis'*, 98–99.

subjects, as when describing icons painted by the court artist Fedor Zubov as "examples of the developing baroque style in seventeenth-century Russian painting" or a detail of a mural she attributes to Gurii Nikitin as a "baroque twist." Her apparent authority for both usages is the literary scholar D. S. Likhachev, whom she quotes (ellipses hers):

> The seventeenth century in Russia took on the function of the era of the Renaissance, although in special conditions and complex circumstances.... The significance of the seventeenth century in the history of [Russian] culture approximates that of the Renaissance in the cultural history of Western Europe.... [It was] an era in which archaic influences merged with new ones, in which local and Byzantine traditions were united with influences coming from Poland, the Ukraine, Belorussia.... The Baroque [also] appeared in Russia from outside: from Poland, Ukraine, Belorussia.... The Baroque fulfilled the role in seventeenth-century Russia of the Renaissance.... The Russian Baroque... was humanistic, not otherworldly... [and] closely tied to realism.[17]

Likhachev was of course referring to literature, which he may have meant to serve as a paradigm of contemporary Russian court or elite (or even *posad*) culture. With respect to visual art, however, one can only respond by noting that such assertions are, at a minimum, counterfactual. Neither the Renaissance nor the Baroque in European painting had arrived in Russia by the end of the seventeenth century in anything like their full force. And if a "parallel" is to be drawn between Russian visual art at this juncture and that of Italy at any time, it surely would be with various products of the late Middle Ages or very early Renaissance—as Grabar' seemingly once suggested and as D. K. Trenev, another pioneer, plainly proposed. Trenev thought that at their best Ushakov's iconic faces reached the level of late Gothic examples from northern Europe or others of the Italian *Trecento*.[18]

In her conclusion Briusova rejects the "widely accepted view that there existed only one path to the new art" in Russia, the "path of destruction of the traditional method, as adumbrated by the art of Simon Ushakov and his circle... or by the method introduced by immigrant Western masters." She grants that "realism," once absorbed under Peter I, "lifted Russian art to a new, on the whole higher level of artistic culture"; equally, that "it is impossible to deny the positive [elements] which entered our national culture with this method." But was it necessary, she complains, "so drastically to eradicate the traditional method, as was dictated by official policy?" Briusova

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[17] Ibid., 313, quoting D. S. Likhachev, "Semnadtsatyi vek v russkoi literature," in *XVII vek v mirovom literaturnom razvitii* (Moscow, 1969), 299–328.

[18] Trenev, *Ikony Ushakova*, 7.

also contests the view that traditional Russian art "was 'doomed' because it had reached a dead end." If this were so, she says, it was not because that art had "exhausted its possibilities; it was doomed as a consequence of the social-historical development of Russia and of Russian culture." More precisely, "mastery of the new artistic method did not necessarily have to mean rejection of the creative achievements of the deeply popular [*narodnoe*] art of the preceding periods"; it was only that "he who held the reins governing artistic life completely in his hands" decided otherwise—an allusion, again, to Peter I. The "harshness of the [Petrine] reform" meant that the "centuries-old art of Russia was thus bled white and reduced to provinciality."[19]

Unrivaled to date in its scope and detail, Briusova's study of seventeenth-century Russian painting remains ambivalent to the end in its assessment of developments and is overcome at last by a kind of nationalist nostalgia. We are reminded in some measure of the romantic medievalism of the Gothic Revival in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Europe, or of the Pre-Raphaelite Movement in England. Yet European art scholarship has surely never been marked to the same degree by the atavism characteristic not only of Briusova's work and, less so, of Grabar's, but of almost all Russian scholarship devoted to the history of visual art in Muscovite times. And it might well be asked why this is so.

Part of the answer to this pressing historiographical question could lie in history itself—and so to the second main point of this essay. I offer in evidence two writings produced in Moscow in the Ushakov era, texts which together constitute the first known attempt in Russia to raise discussion of painting to the level of theory. They also provide testimony (if they may be taken as authentic) of what Ushakov and his "school" thought they were doing, or trying to do, in their painting. More striking still, both texts exude a pervasive ambivalence.

The first was written by Joseph (*Iosif*, also *Osip*) Vladimirov sometime between 1656 and 1666 and is rather tellingly entitled, in the fullest of its surviving manuscript copies, which dates to the 1680s, "Epistle of a certain icon-painter Joseph to the royal icon-painter and most sage life-painter

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[19] Briusova, *Russkaia zhivopis'*, 171–76 with notes, 187–88. In a culminating footnote (ibid., 176, 188 n. 27) Briusova quotes with apparent sympathy the "extreme attitude" expressed by a Russian scholar in 1909: "'Had it not been for Peter's devastation [*razgrom*] our art would have developed still further, would have grown strong with Russian blood alone, by [the efforts of] the Russian people, and we would have had our own, original, characteristic art. But the thunder struck, and there was no Russian art; nor will there ever be.'"

[*zhivopisets*] Simon Fedorovich [Ushakov]."[20] Vladimirov came it seems from Iaroslavl' and worked as a designer and painter of icons in Moscow from the 1640s to the 1660s, evidently as a pupil of Ushakov;[21] his "Epistle" responds to criticisms of the latter's innovative "abuses" in icon-painting ascribed to an immigrant Serbian archdeacon, Ioann Pleshkovich, who apparently also lived in Iaroslavl'.[22] And a close reading of the text reveals not the straightforward champion of the new art represented by later scholars, but an artist, we might agree, of quite ambivalent views.

On the one hand, Vladimirov bases himself squarely on the authority of the "*Stoglav* of Tsar Ivan Vasilevich" (Ivan IV), at one point citing all of its relevant passages and elsewhere twice quoting its admonitions on the proper painting of icons, in accordance with good models and with an eye to the old masters.[23] He also invokes St. John of Damascus (twice), various Byzantine precedents, numerous passages from the Old and New Testaments, hagiographical sources, recent polemical works of both Ukrainian and Polish origin, and the example of the reigning Moscow patriarch, Nikon, whose "great zeal for the skillful painting of icons" as against the work of "crude and mindless icon painters, whether Latin or Russian," Vladimirov fully affirms. Earlier in his "Epistle" he alludes to Nikon's more general campaign to reform the "old [liturgical] customs" in accordance with "Greek [service] books," and with equal approval: "So also, sir [Ushakov], it is with icons: much Russian painting is not in accord with the good Greek models themselves."[24] In these ways Vladimirov asserted his loyalty to the Byzantine or Greek tradition of sacred imagery in Russia—although by comparison with the authors of the *Stoglav*, it may be noted, he demonstrates a much stronger grasp of the tradition's theology.

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20 E. S. Ovchinnikova, ed., "Poslanie nekoego izugrafa Iosifa k tsarevu izugrafu i mudreishemu zhivopistsu Simonu Fedorovichu," in V. N. Lazarev et al., *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo: XVII vek* (Moscow, 1964), 24–61; the manuscript, in 78 quarto leaves, is now at GIM (Sobr. Uvarova No. 915). In her introductory remarks (ibid., 17–21), Ovchinnikova suggests that the work was in preparation in 1660–1664 and completed not before 1665–1666; but Saltykov more recently argues that it was written in 1656–1658: A. A. Saltykov, "Esteticheskie vzgliady Iosifa Vladimirova (po 'Poslaniiu k Simonu Ushakovu')," *TODRL* 28 (1974): 272–73.

21 For the only surviving painting definitely attributable to Vladimirov (it is signed on the back), see Ovchinnikova, "Poslanie Izugrafa Iosifa," 10; A. A. Fedorov-Davydov, "Iosif Vladimirov," in idem, ed., *Russkoe iskusstvo XV–XIX v.* (Moscow/Leningrad, 1937), 25; and Briusova, *Russkaia zhivopis'*, 27–28 and fig. 18.

22 Ibid., 167–70.

23 "Poslanie izugrafa Iosifa," Ovchinnikova edn., 24–25, 55–56; cf. *Stoglav* (Kazan', 1862), 51–52, 202–10.

24 "Poslanie izugrafa Iosifa," 53, 57 (for John Damascene) and 55, 25 (for Patrarch Nikon and his reforms).

At the same time, in his "Epistle" Vladimirov frequently defends the new or expanded iconography of his time—of his own painting and that of Ushakov—by direct reference to the Bible rather than Byzantine or Russian precedent, thus asserting the artist's own authority as an interpreter of Scripture for the purposes of depicting its personages and scenes, its truths and mysteries. Also, he repeatedly emphasizes one element of the Byzanto-Muscovite tradition to the virtual exclusion of all others, namely, the principle of similitude or likeness (*podobie*) in icon-painting. He insists in effect that the entire matter was reducible to whether a likeness is well or badly rendered—and this with respect not only to any prototype it may have had, living or dead (or divine), but to such things as shading, coloring, "perspective [*perspektiva*]," and scale. His criteria, in short, clearly also reflect the new art. It was badly painted "Latin" or "German" images that were to be condemned equally with foreign works as such. At one point he upbraids his opponent for saying that only Russians could paint icons and that only Russian icons may be venerated, when marvellous images drawn from Scripture, including the "Apocalypse [*Apokalipsis*]," had been executed "as if from life" in "other lands." He appends a list of prints to be found in Piscator's *Theatrum Biblicum*, various of which (as Grabar' first demonstrated) would soon inspire Russian painters.[25] The principle of *podobie* had become *zhivopodobie* or "life-likeness," a term that Vladimirov apparently invented.

In sum, Vladimirov emerges from his "Epistle" as both Europeanizer and traditionalist on the subject of holy images, ever a most sensitive one in Muscovy. Invoking the authority of Byzanto-Muscovite tradition he nevertheless asserts, like a Renaissance man, the autonomy of the artist. Sensible of outside criticism of the quality of Russian painting, he urges that it be improved by the standards of what he knew, with Piscator's help, of the new European art. One might even say that in claiming, implicitly, the right to interpret Scripture and in denouncing, indirectly, the Russian tendency to idolize icons (that frequent criticism of foreigners), Vladimirov reveals a Protestant aspect. The very language of his "Epistle" inclined him to the larger European world: often colloquial (Russian) rather than bookish (Slavonic) in the traditional manner, its text abounds in Ukrainianisms and Polonisms, and features numerous Latin calques as well as outright borrowings and neologisms. Examples of the latter include *perspektiva*, as mentioned, and *personigrafiia*, meaning the art of depicting persons: "I would write to thee, sir [Ushakov], about the most skillful art of true

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[25] Ibid., 48, 45, 11 (and n. 3). Cf. Grabar', *Istoriia zhivopisi*, 518–33; also Sachavets-Fedorovich, "Bibliia Piskatora."

personigrafiia, to thee who has spoken of the fine mastery [needed by] those who would be icon painters."[26] But then it is clear from his "Epistle" (as from his own painting) that at bottom Vladimirov shared the basic Byzanto-Russian conception of art as idealized imagery, however skillfully done. It was imagery of a more or less symbolical kind executed in accordance with certain technical conventions and purely religious in significance. Lamenting the widespread ignorance in Russia, even among "those who consider themselves grand and intelligent," of what constituted good painting, essentially a problem, he seems to have thought, of excessive deference to the "old ways," Vladimirov was still loyal to his religious heritage. We approach here the source, perhaps, of late Muscovite ambivalence about the new art: the unrivaled sacralization, going back to early Muscovite times, of religious imagery in Russia and the attendant aversion to change. "The sacred," as Weber found, "is the uniquely unalterable."[27]

Ushakov, to whom the "Epistle" is addressed, replied in kind. Or so it would seem. Filiminov found in a manuscript *podlinnik* of the later seventeenth century an "Address [*slovo*] to a Lover of Icon-Painting" which he then published (1874), tentatively attributing it to Ushakov,[28] an attribution that scholars since have more or less tentatively accepted.[29] The text itself of the "Address" certainly suggests composition in the later 1660s in that Moscow circle of erudites and aesthetes among whom Ushakov was a leading figure. And it certainly is, in context, a remarkable statement of the artist's vocation. It might be paraphrased thus:

God, who created man in his image and likeness (*po obrazu i po podobiiu svoemu*), endowed him with a special capacity, called fantasy (*fantaziia*), to represent in images all things; but some are able to use this natural gift with great facility while others must develop it by intensive study. Among the many and various arts and crafts known to man only seven are considered liberal arts; and among these, according to Pliny, the ancient Greeks ("Hellenes") considered image-making (*ikonotvorenie*) preeminent. Image-making is divided into six kinds: carving in gems, wood, or ivory; working

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26 "Poslanie Iosifa," 24.

27 Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, trans. E. Fischoff (Boston, 1993), 9.

28 "Slovo k liubotshchatel'nomu ikonnago pisaniia," in G. [D.] Filiminov, ed., *Vestnik Obshechestva drevnerusskago iskusstva pri Moskovskom publichnom muzee* (Moscow, 1874), "Materialy," no. 4, 22–24; manuscript now at the Russian National Library, St. Petersburg (No. 0. XIII–4); text reprinted in N. K. Gavriushin, ed., *Filosofiia russkogo religioznogo iskusstva XIV–XX vv. Antologiia* (Moscow, 1993), 56–60 with editor's notes, 387.

29 See Iu. N. Dmitriev, "Teoriia iskusstva i vzgliady na iskusstve v pis'mennosti Drevnei Rusi," *TODRL* 9 (1953): 98–99, for a survey of the literature on this question.

in various metals; sculpting in stone; modeling in clay, wax, etc.; and engraving on copper plates for reproduction on paper. Among these in turn the sixth kind, painting in colors (*sharopisatelnoe ikonotvorenie*), is preeminent, as it more exactly and vividly recreates the original and more fully conveys its likeness; it is also used (approved of) by the Church (also an allusion to the traditional abhorrence of graven images). Image-making in its several forms has been honored in all ages, lands, and classes because of its great utility; for images are the stuff of memory, memorials of the dead, witnesses of the times, heralds of good deeds, immortal expressions of praise and glory. Images bring near that which is far. Therefore in ancient times this honorable art was so loved that not only the well-born learned it, but even famous kings, thus joining brush to scepter (*kist' skipetru prisovokupl'she*). For if the King of kings and Lord of lords was the first creator of images (*obrazotvorets*), how could not earthly kings honor image-creating?[30]

Moreover (the "Address" continues), while it is true that in the Ten Commandments God forbade the making of (graven) images, this referred only to idols worshipped as divine and not to simple images, bearers of beauty, bringers of spiritual good, providers of glimpses of the Divine. Christian images are revered not as God nor in themselves but for their prototype (*pervoobraz*). Christ himself provided an image of himself (a reference to the Mandylion of the ancient legend of King Abgar, or icon of the "Savior not made with hands [*Spas nerukotvornyi*]" in the Russian tradition, a type Ushakov himself painted: cf. Plate 1).[31] And not only is the Lord God himself a master of icon-painting, but all living beings with the sense of sight possess this divine skill: if they stand before a mirror, they cast their image in it. More wonderful still, the likeness in the mirror reflects their every movement, although it has neither body nor soul. Similarly in water, in marble, and in other things we see good images emerge without effort. Thus not God alone but man's own nature teaches him the art of icon-painting. And thus the church has from its beginning blessed images of Christ, his Mother, and the saints, whence have come many miracles.[32]

The "Address" also cites the speech on the martyrdom of St. Barlaam in Antioch in the fourth century traditionally attributed to St. Basil the Great, in which Basil exclaims: "Arise now, O splendid painter of the feats of martyrs. Magnify with your art [Barlaam's] mutilated image. Adorn with your cunning colors [him] whom I have but dimly described.... Let Christ, too, who

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30 "Slovo k liubotshchatel'nomu ikonnago pisaniia," Filiminov ed., 22.

31 Icons in this tradition were painted in Russia from the fourteenth century. Vladimirov in his "Epistle" to Ushakov also refers to the legend (Ovchinnikova ed., 30).

32 "Slovo k liubotshchatel'nomu ikonnago pisaniia," Filiminov ed., 23.

presides over the contest [scene of the martyrdom] be depicted on the panel"[33]—this an obvious as well as authoritative affirmation of the high value of the painter's art. The "Address" then excoriates the "many of us" who for lack of sufficient training paint badly, attracting divine wrath and the scorn of foreigners; and with all due modesty its author proclaims his God-given "talent" (*talant*) for icon-painting, which, recalling an injunction of the *Stoglav*, he would fear to hide. The "Address" closes with the author's promise to produce an "alphabet [primer] of this art [*alfavit khudozhestva sego*]" that should include the parts of the human body needed in "our art" and be engraved on copper plates for printing (an art scarcely as yet known in Russia), this for the benefit of all lovers of icon-painting. A lengthy final sentence forms a kind of icon painter's prayer;[34] its close correspondence with an inscription on an icon painted and signed in 1685 by Ushakov is our main external evidence for attributing the "Address" to him.

In European terms, to be sure, Ushakov's "Address" is a curious pastiche of late medieval and Renaissance thought about painting intermixed with elements of the classical Christian doctrine on imagery. In its Russian context, however, it is an altogether extraordinary effort, more erudite as well as more richly ambivalent than the "Epistle" of Vladimirov that may have incited it. Its literary qualities, moreover, along with its explicit references to Pliny (the Elder, a main source of Renaissance art theory) and to several Byzantine authorities (St. Athanasius of Alexandria and the Second Council of Nicaea in addition to St. Basil) suggest that if Ushakov the practicing artist wrote the "Address," he had a good deal of learned help. And such help was close at hand. A "Charter" (*Gramota*) issued in May 1668 by the patriarch of Moscow together with the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, who had come to Moscow for the recent church council, makes some of the same basic points with a still greater display of recondite learning and rhetorical finesse ("Indeed the skill of icon-painting surpasses in honor the other arts and crafts as the sun surpasses the planets, as fire the other elements, spring the other seasons of the year, the eagle every bird, and the lion all beasts").[35] The patriarchs would have been assisted in this operation by various of the erudite divines who had also assembled in Moscow for the church council; and their "Charter" is distinguished as well by its call for the tsar's support and

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[33] Cyril Mango, ed., *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972), 37.

[34] "Slovo k liubotshchatel'nomu ikonnago pisaniia," Filiminov ed., 24.

[35] P. P. Pekarskii, ed., "Materialy dlia istorii ikonopisaniia v Rossii," *Izvestiia Imp. arkheologicheskago obshchestva* 5, no. 5 (1865), cols. 320–25 (col. 323 for the passage quoted).

regulation of painters of both icons and "secular things"—the latter referring no doubt to the "Italianate" portraits and decorative painting increasingly in favor at court.[36] The call was heeded. In 1669 Aleksei Mikhailovich issued a charter confirming that of the patriarchs and commending it to his subjects. The tsar's charter also makes many of the references and points made in the "Address," also in very similar terms.[37]

The coincidences of language, content, and purpose in these four documents from the 1660s in Moscow concerning icon-painting beg explanation. Briefly, the key figure here may well have been Paisios Ligarides (ca. 1610–1678), who had arrived in the tsar's city in 1662 and quickly become an influential advisor on religious affairs. Born on the island of Chios, educated at the College of St. Athanasius in Rome, Ligarides had thereafter followed a somewhat checkered career mostly in Constantinople and the Balkans. Working at first as a Catholic (Uniate) priest for the Vatican's department for the Propagation of the Faith, he came to be so well regarded by various Orthodox hierarchs that eventually one of them nominated him metropolitan of Gaza in Palestine, in which dignity he descended on Moscow seeking alms. The level of his learning was fairly high by general European standards, as is attested by his literary legacy, which includes replies to sixty-one questions on religion posed by Tsar Aleksei, a history of the patriarchs of Jerusalem (where he had served), and a detailed history of the Moscow Church Council of 1666–1667, in which he played a leading role. Ligarides most probably was responsible for the adroit East-West iconographic compromises enunciated by the council following proposals ostensibly submitted by the attending patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria. He might well have provided historical, theological, and even aesthetic advice to Joseph Vladimirov and to Simon Ushakov in addition to Joasaph, the patriarch of Moscow (1667–1673) in succession to the retired Nikon.[38]

Nor should we overlook that other leading erudite in the Moscow of the 1660s, Simiaon Polatski (Simeon Polotskii, 1629–1680). Belarusian in origin (Polatsk), a graduate of the Kyiv Academy and sometime student of the Jesuit college in Vilnius, Polatski arrived in Moscow in 1663 and was promptly taken up by Ligarides. Polatski acted as interpreter for Ligarides, and through him would have made his own contribution to the deliberations

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[36] Ibid., col. 325.

[37] Printed in ibid., cols. 326–29.

[38] For Ligarides and his history of the Moscow Church Council of 1666–1667, see the still authoritative edition by W. Palmer, which forms vol. 3 of Palmer's *The Patriarch and the Tsar* (London, 1873). See also E. Legrand et al., *Bibliographie héllénique, ou Déscription raisonée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au dix-huitième siècle*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1928), 8–61; and H. T. Hionides, *Paisius Ligarides* (New York, 1972).

of the Church Council of 1666–1667. In fact, he was specifically commissioned by the Council to write a treatise refuting the petitions of two dissident priests who had complained of the new and "heretical" tendencies in the Russian Church, a treatise which was published in 1667 and soon denounced by opponents. Polatski's knowledge of theology and literature in their contemporary Latin, scholastic, Jesuit-Baroque incarnations, not to mention his ability to declaim impressively on short notice (on royal deaths, births, and namedays, on major festivals, and so on), were exceedingly rare in Moscow, and had led to his appointment as tutor to the tsar's children. He was well positioned accordingly to influence the iconodulic controversy waging in Moscow in the 1660s (not over whether, but over how one made images to venerate). Indeed it has been argued that his "philosophical-aesthetic ideas" dominated the debate, finding expression equally in the patriarchal and royal charters of 1668 and 1669, in Vladimirov's "Epistle" and Ushakov's "Address," and in two works on icon-painting written in 1667 by Polatski himself, neither of which has ever been printed.[39]

Given Polatski's personal history, we are not greatly surprised to discover that in the second of these manuscript works, after making suitable reference to Byzantine authorities, he discusses icon-painting in terms borrowed from Baroque poetics. He suggests that *every* iconic image is nothing more than a painted sign or symbol—*znamenie*—of some spiritual reality or essence and that to insist otherwise is nothing less than heresy. It is "especially obvious," he says here, that "among the many thousands of images of the Savior not one approximates the living face of Christ... not one is completely like him." He thereby strayed from the classic Byzantine conception of images as special channels to and from their divine or saintly prototypes,[40] and certainly struck a blow at the Muscovite habit of viewing icons as literally the images, often

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[39] V. K. Bylinin, "K voprosu o polemike vokrug russkogo ikonopisaniia vo vtoroi polovine XVII v.," *TODRL* 38 (1985): 281–89, which advances the discussion well beyond L. [N.] Maikov, "Simeon Polotskii o russkom ikonopisanii," *Bibliograf: vestnik literatury, nauki i iskusstva* 4, no. 8 (1888): 341–50. See also V. K. Bylinin and V. A. Grikhin, "Simeon Polotskii i Simon Ushakov: k probleme estetiki russkogo barokko," in A. V. Lipatov et al., eds., *Barokko v slavianskikh kul'turakh* (Moscow, 1982), 191–219. The first of the two manuscript works by Polatski in question is now at the Russian State Library, Moscow (Sobr. Rumiantseva No. CCCLXXVI, listy 12–20), the second, in an autograph as well as a closely contemporary copy, at the State Historical Museum (Sinod sobr. No. 660, listy 80–95 and No. 289, listy 95–112). Other copies of the latter dating to the end of the seventeenth century or the beginning of the eighteenth are at the Library of the Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg (Arkhang. Sobr. No. 459, No. 460; Olonets sobr. 33.7.4). An extract is printed in Bylinin, "K voprosu o polemike," 287–89.

[40] Cf. G. Mathew, *Byzantine Aesthetics* (London, 1953), or J. Pelikan, *Imago Dei: The Byzantine Apologia for Icons* (Princeton, 1990).

miracle-working at that, of their originals. Polatski was opening the door to the widest possible use of symbols in icon-painting, not just conventional symbols but also unusual or even superficially inappropriate ones; artists were to be free to depict the Savior and the saints however they pleased so long as basic propriety (*chin tserkovnyi*) was maintained. He perhaps sought to justify the actual proliferation in recent Ukrainian, Belarusian, and now Muscovite religious art of new architectural, botanical, sartorial, and other details as well as whole emblems of an increasingly elaborate as well as stylized kind: emblems whose models if not actual sources are to be found in the baroque art of Catholic Europe. At a more practical level, Polatski urged that even "clumsily painted icons," numerous as they were and needful of "correction," were worthy of veneration since they hardly dishonored their prototypes but only the artists who painted them, and anyway did not scandalize simple folk. He thus rebuked the Muscovite hierarchy's incessant demand for strict central control of icon-painting while evincing, to the contrary, a kind of Catholic toleration of holy pictures in popular styles.[41]

Polatski's typically baroque musical psalter (*Psaltyr' rifmotvornaia*) and his version of the old *Tale of Barlaam and Joasaph*, both printed in Moscow in 1680–1681, were illustrated with engravings after designs by Ushakov. These designs went further than anything Ushakov ever painted in their adoption of baroque imagery and style. Indeed Ushakov's title-page for the *Tale* (Plate 2), with its classical portal and personifications on pedestals of *War* and *Peace*, has been designated the first known example of the use of classical symbolism by a Russian artist.[42]

But we must not leave it at that. For it becomes increasingly obvious, all considered, that both Polatski and Ushakov sought in their literary or artistic endeavors to reconcile what they found attractive in the new art with what they valued in their religious heritage—which heritage, it deserves emphasis, had sacralized imagery to a degree unknown elsewhere in the Christian world. Their ensuing "problem," as we might call it, was that of true believers eager to assimilate the best of contemporary art, a phenomenon familiar enough to students of the Renaissance or of the Baroque in Europe (or of Patristic times or of Modern art), but here greatly complicated by the intense iconodulism endemic in the Muscovite context. To make matters worse, so to speak,

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[41] Cf. Bylinin, "K voprosu o polemike," especially 285, 286, 288. On Baroque religious art in Europe, see generally E. Mâle, *L'art religieux du XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1984).

[42] Anan'eva, *Ushakov*, 18.

Muscovite "image-worship" had naturally acquired, in response to the rising criticism from Reformation-minded foreigners, a decidedly patriotic aspect.[43]

This is not the place to spell out an alternative interpretation of Ushakov in particular or of seventeenth-century Russian painting (painting in Russia) more generally. Suffice it to observe that ambivalence was an altogether appropriate stance to be taken by the makers of late Muscovite court culture, until their "problem" was decisively resolved, beginning about 1690, by Peter I. In pursuit of this aim, of course, the autocrat received no little help from the new art's other well-placed Russian friends, meaning the sufficiently numerous artists and patrons whose efforts collectively constituted the Petrine revolution in Russian imagery.[44] Ushakov (died 1686) and Polatski (1680), their works clearly tell us, had learned to live in what we can see was a moment of epic transition, one in which contrarieties coexisted and ambiguity flourished.

Most later Russian students of Muscovite visual art (virtually all prominent ones) have eschewed the religion of the Muscovite tradition while retaining its patriotism, whether in nationalist, populist, or Soviet forms. In so doing, I suggest, they not only retain a distracting ambivalence in assessing crucial developments: they undermine the effort itself to understand and interpret this art, richly informative of its cultural matrix, and pleasing, as it can be. It is hoped that in this field, too, Professor Keenan's rigorously critical methods may be emulated.

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43 On the sacralization of imagery in Muscovy and its patriotic defense against Protestant attacks, see now, with further references, S. Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts: The Protestant Image Question in Western and Eastern Europe* (New York, 1993), especially 99–101, 131ff. See also, for further comparative study, T. D. Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister, and City: The Art and Culture of Central Europe, 1450–1800* (Chicago, 1995), especially chap. 5.

44 The title, and subject, of my forthcoming volume, *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Imagery* (Chicago, 1997).

Crisis, Conjuncture, and the Causes of the Time of Troubles

CHESTER DUNNING

One of the crucial tasks facing historians of pre-Petrine Russia is to explain why Muscovy, which in the sixteenth century appeared to be emerging as a powerful state capable of challenging its European neighbors on equal terms, suffered a catastrophic internal crisis at the beginning of the seventeenth century which nearly destroyed the country. Muscovy did of course survive its "Time of Troubles" (1598–1613), but the emergence of Russia as a great power was delayed. Why did Muscovy suffer such a setback? Why did the Time of Troubles happen? To many Russians who lived through it the answer was nothing more or less than divine retribution for the sins of Muscovy's rulers or its people.[1] Historians, on the other hand, long ago decided that at the center of the Time of Troubles was a powerful rebellion of the oppressed masses. For this reason they focused primarily on long-term social causes, usually linking the Time of Troubles back to the tumultuous reign of Ivan IV and the enserfment of the Russian peasants.[2] In 1983, in a panel discussion at the annual convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Edward L. Keenan challenged the traditional theory of long-term social causes of the Time of Troubles. Citing signs of recovery in the 1590s, the extinction of the Danilovich dynasty in 1598, the famine of 1601–1603, and the theory of a general crisis of the seventeenth century, Keenan suggested that the connection between the Time of Troubles and the reign of Ivan IV may have been exaggerated. He urged specialists, "despite our post-

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[1] See, for example, O. A. Derzhavina, ed., *Vremennik Ivana Timofeeva* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1951), 110–11; O. A. Derzhavina and E. V. Kolosova, eds., *Skazanie Avraamiia Palitsyna* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1955), 252–53; *Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka*, 2nd ed., 39 vols. (St. Petersburg-Leningrad, 1872–1927), 13: cols. 101–105, 224–25.

[2] V. N. Tatishchev was the first historian to connect the Time of Troubles directly to the enserfment of the Russian peasants. See V. N. Tatishchev, *Istoriia rossiiskaia*, 7 vols. (Moscow-Leningrad, 1962–1968), 7:367. A similar view was held by M. M. Shcherbatov: *Istoriia rossiiskaia*, 7 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1770–1791), vol. 7, part 2:147. S. M. Solov'ev was one of the first historians to view the Time of Troubles as a class war and the first to refer to it as a "peasant war": "Obzor sobytii russkoi istorii ot konchiny tsaria Feodora Ioannovicha do vstupleniia na prestol doma Romanovykh," *Sovremennik*, 13, no. 1, part 2 (1849):11. For arguments linking the Time of Troubles to Ivan IV and enserfment, see S. F. Platonov, *Smutnoe vremia* (Prague, 1924), 31–59; B. D. Grekov, *Krest'iane na Rusi*, 2 vols. (Moscow, 1952–1954), 2:310; Richard Hellie, *Enserfment and Military Change in Muscovy* (Chicago, 1971), 102–103; A. A. Zimin, *V kanun groznykh postriasenii: Predposylki pervoi krest'ianskoi voiny v Rossii* (Moscow, 1986).

Annales assumptions," to look for political and cultural causes. It was vintage Keenan: heretical, thoughtful, and stimulating. In this article I wish to explore Keenan's challenge to tradition by examining closely the prevailing social interpretation of the period and by outlining some alternative ways of looking at both short-term and long-term causes of the Troubles.

Before considering Professor Keenan's challenge it will be useful to review briefly the historiography of the traditional social interpretation of the Time of Troubles. The eminent historians Vasilii Kliuchevskii and Sergei Platonov popularized the idea of the Time of Troubles, and especially the Bolotnikov rebellion of 1606–1607, as a social struggle of the masses against the development of serfdom.[3] According to Platonov, the Bolotnikov rebellion marked the beginning of the second phase of the Time of Troubles, the period of "social struggle," which lasted until 1610. Early Soviet scholars also emphasized this social interpretation but rejected the concept of the Time of Troubles as a bourgeois label used to mask class war in the early seventeenth century. Influenced by Lenin and Engels, they preferred labels such as "peasant revolution," "cossack revolution," or "peasant war," but still focused on the Bolotnikov rebellion as the defining event of the period.[4] In the Stalin era, Ivan Smirnov produced the first detailed study of the Bolotnikov rebellion and declared that the rebellion was indeed Russia's first peasant war, the most significant peasant war in Russian history, in which the rebels—mostly slaves and peasants—fought to destroy "feudal" oppression.[5] In the 1950s, Aleksandr Zimin and others put forward the view that the Bolotnikov rebellion was only the culmination of the First Peasant War. In their view, Khlopko's rebellion in 1603, the Bolotnikov rebellion, and cossack unrest up to 1614 all belonged to one large peasant war. Although Smirnov never accepted that view, declaring repeatedly that the peasant war was limited to the Bolotnikov rebellion, the expanded definition came to be accepted by a majority of Soviet historians.[6] During the 1960s and 1970s Vadim Koretskii

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[3] V. O. Kliuchevskii, *Sochineniia*, 8 vols. (Moscow, 1956–1959), 3:48; S. F. Platonov, *Ocherki po istorii Smuty v Moskovskom gosudarstve XVI–XVII vv.*, 3d ed. (St. Petersburg, 1910), 305; Platonov, *Smutnoe vremia*, 93.

[4] M. N. Pokrovskii, *Russkaia istoriia v samom szhatom ocherke*, pts. 1–2 (Moscow, 1920), 66; N. N. Firsov, *Krest'ianskaia revoliutsiia na Rusi v XVII v.* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1927), 61; Ts. Aronovich, "Vosstanie Ivana Bolotnikova," *Istoricheskii zhurnal*, 1937, no. 1:113.

[5] I. I. Smirnov, *Vosstanie Bolotnikova 1606–1607* (Leningrad, 1951), 493, 495.

[6] A. A. Zimin, "Nekotorye voprosy istorii krest'ianskoi voiny v Rossii v nachale XVII v.," *Voprosy istorii*, 1958, no. 3:97–99; I. I. Smirnov, "O nekotorykh voprosakh istorii bor'by klassov v Russkom gosudarstve nachala XVII veka," *Voprosy istorii*, 1958, no. 12:116–17; A. P. Pronshtein, "Reshennye i nereshennye voprosy istorii krest'ianskikh voin v Rossii," *Voprosy istorii*, 1967, no. 7:156–57; Vladislav Nazarov, "The Peasant Wars

made important archival discoveries related to the Bolotnikov rebellion and the timing of the arrival of serfdom in Muscovy. Koretskii placed the critical step in the development of serfdom—suspension of the St. George's Day privilege of peasant departure—in the 1590s. That decade also saw a sharp decline in the legal status of certain types of slaves. Thus, Koretskii viewed the First Peasant War as the first massive popular rebellion against something like de facto serfdom.[7]

Thanks to Koretskii and others, an elaborate model of the First Peasant War developed and became standard in Soviet historical literature. According to Vladislav Nazarov's description, the first period of the peasant war lasted from 1603 to 1605. The central event of the period was the Khlopko rebellion of 1603. After the rebels were defeated, there was a temporary decline in the war. The second stage of the first period was a mass rising of the lower classes which coincided with the pretender Dmitrii Ivanovich's campaign for the Muscovite throne in 1604–1605. Once Dmitrii succeeded in becoming tsar, there was another temporary decline in the war. The second period of the First Peasant War lasted from 1606 to 1607; that was the Bolotnikov rebellion. The third period stretched from 1608 to 1614.[8] Western scholars have often scoffed at this doctrinaire Marxist model, but their own work either echoes Soviet scholarship or merely falls back on Platonov's earlier social interpretation of the Time of Troubles.[9] The image of revolutionary masses fighting for their freedom in the Time of Troubles has had a powerful impact upon the historical imagination. Most Russian and Western studies of the

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in Russia and their Place in the History of the Class Struggle in Europe," in *The Comparative Historical Method in Soviet Mediaeval Studies* (Moscow, 1979), 118–19.

[7] V. I. Koretskii, *Formirovanie krepostnogo prava i pervaia krest'ianskaia voina v Rossii* (Moscow, 1975), 364–66.

[8] *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia*, 3d ed. (Moscow, 1971–81), s.v. "Krest'ianskaia voina nachala 17 v." See also D. P. Makovskii, *Pervaia krest'ianskaia voina v Rossii* (Smolensk, 1967); V. I. Buganov, *Krest'ianskie voiny v Rossii XVII–XVIII vv.* (Moscow, 1976).

[9] See, for example, Hellie, *Enserfment*, 102–103, 107; idem, *Slavery in Russia, 1450–1725* (Chicago, 1982), 574–76; Paul Avrich, *Russian Rebels, 1600–1800* (New York, 1972), 10–47; Jerome Blum, *Lord and Peasant in Russia from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1966), 254–59; Daniel Field, *Rebels in the Name of the Tsar* (Boston, 1976), 2–7; John L. H. Keep, *Soldiers of the Tsar* (Oxford, 1985), 73–74; Philip Longworth, *The Cossacks* (London, 1969), 77–79; James Billington, *The Icon and the Axe* (New York, 1966), 198–99; R. E. F. Smith, *Peasant Farming in Muscovy* (Cambridge, 1977), 108–109, 144–49; George Vernadsky, *The Tsardom of Moscow, 1547–1682*, 2 vols. (New Haven, 1969), 1:237–40; Roland Mousnier, *Peasant Uprisings in Seventeenth-Century France, Russia, and China* (New York, 1970), 153–95; Nicholas Riasanovsky, *A History of Russia*, 5th ed. (New York, 1993), 157–74; David MacKenzie and Michael W. Curran, *A History of Russia, the Soviet Union, and Beyond*, 4th ed. (Belmont, Calif., 1993), 176–82.

social history of Muscovy, the development of serfdom, popular rebellions, and the "revolutionary tradition" and its origins reflect this class war interpretation.

Professor Keenan's challenge to conventional wisdom about the causes and nature of the Time of Troubles came at a time when similar challenges were being made to the social interpretation of the English Revolution and the French Revolution. Partly inspired by those "revisionist" works about Western revolutions, I published an article in 1983 which challenged Soviet scholarship about the immediate causes of the Bolotnikov rebellion. Since then Ruslan Skrynnikov, Aleksandr Stanislavskii, and I have published several works which collectively challenge virtually every aspect of the Marxist interpretation of the Time of Troubles.[10] Many of our conclusions support Keenan's reservations about the traditional social interpretation of the Time of Troubles, so it is appropriate to review briefly this recent revisionist scholarship.

As we have seen, in discussing the origins of the First Peasant War Soviet scholars emphasized the subjection and radicalization of Russian peasants and slaves by the beginning of the seventeenth century. In contrast, Skrynnikov and Stanislavskii offer a more complex and rigorous view of the origins of the "first civil war" in Russia.[11] Like scholars before him, Skrynnikov traces the origins of the political and social crisis of the early seventeenth century back to the reign of Ivan IV. Like so many others, he also focuses attention on the policies of Boris Godunov, especially the development of serfdom—regarded even by Skrynnikov as the fundamental prerequisite for civil war in the early seventeenth century. Nonetheless, Skrynnikov looks more deeply into the issue than many of his predecessors. He views serfdom as the Muscovite government's response to a severe crisis within the *dvoriane* militia. As the

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[10] Chester Dunning, "The Use and Abuse of the First Printed French Account of Russia," *Russian History* 10, pt. 3 (1983): 357–80; R. G. Skrynnikov, *Rossiia v nachale XVII v. "Smuta"* (Moscow, 1988); idem, *Smuta v Rossii v nachale XVII v. Ivan Bolotnikov* (Leningrad, 1988) (hereafter cited as *Bolotnikov*); A. L. Stanislavskii, *Grazhdanskaia voina v Rossii XVII v.: Kazachestvo na perelome istorii* (Moscow, 1990); Chester Dunning, "R. G. Skrynnikov, the Time of Troubles, and the 'First Peasant War' in Russia," *Russian Review* 50, no. 1 (1991): 71–81; idem, "Cossacks and the Southern Frontier in the Time of Troubles," *Russian History* 19, nos. 1–4 (1992): 57–74; V. V. Polikarpov, "V Rossii grazhdanskuiu voinu nazyvaiut Smutoi," *Voprosy istorii*, 1994, no. 2:189; R. G. Skrynnikov, "Spornye problemy vosstaniia Bolotnikova," *Istoriia SSSR*, 1989, no. 5:92–110; idem, "The Civil War in Russia at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century (1603–1607): Its Character and Motive Forces," in *New Perspectives on Muscovite History*, ed. Lindsey Hughes (New York, 1993), 61–79; Chester Dunning, "Byla li v Rossii v nachale XVII veka krest'ianskaia voina?" *Voprosy istorii*, 1994, no. 9:21–34.

[11] Skrynnikov, *Rossiia v nachale XVII v.*, 3, 5, 250–51; idem, *Bolotnikov*, 5–8, 248–52; Stanislavskii, *Grazhdanskaia voina*, 247.

ranks of the militia swelled, the fund of available land and peasant labor for the tsar's cavalry force declined, leading to smaller and smaller land grants (with fewer peasants) and a general impoverishment of the lowest ranks of the militia. Many petty *pomeshchiki,* especially *deti boiarskie*, were ruined and fell out of the "ruling class" altogether. They were forced to serve as low-status infantry or, in extreme cases, to sell themselves into slavery or to join the cossacks on the southern periphery of the state. In the midst of the *dvoriane* militia crisis, the government attempted an ambitious program of extending the state south. New towns were built and an attempt was made to transfer the already overstrained *pomest'e* landholding system to the southern frontier. Almost anyone was accepted into southern military service, even cossacks and peasants. Life was hard for these new *pomeshchiki* who were forced to plow the land for themselves. Collectively this group was poor and differed sharply from the "lords" of central Muscovy. They were a dissatisfied lot and became important participants in the civil war. Skrynnikov has also spent considerable time analyzing the slaves who participated in the civil war. Traditionally assumed to be lower-class menials and peasants with "anti-feudal" attitudes, many of these men were actually elite military slaves—including many former *deti boiarskie*. A very large number of them served in the *dvoriane* militia in the early seventeenth century. Many others, turned out by their masters during the famine years, fled south to join the cossacks. Cossacks receive special attention from Stanislavskii and Skrynnikov. They show that as serfdom spread in central Muscovy, the southern steppe frontier was still free and acted as a magnet for peasants and slaves fleeing oppression. Many joined the cossacks, but cossacks were not just runaway members of the lower classes. They were a diverse group, including many ruined *pomeshchiki* and elite military slaves. According to Stanislavskii, cossacks were a new military class in formation, a communistic brotherhood of social bandits and mercenary soldiers. They did not regard themselves as peasants or peasant leaders, and the destruction of serfdom was never proclaimed as a cossack goal. Nonetheless, Boris Godunov understood that serfdom could not triumph in Muscovy while the cossack frontier remained free. He therefore tried to subordinate the cossack lands and encountered stiff resistance. Cossacks became extremely important participants in the civil war.[12]

Let us now turn to the revisionist critique of the First Peasant War itself. First, we should ask whether there was in fact a peasant war raging as early as the period 1603 to 1605. To answer that question, it is necessary to focus on

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[12] Skrynnikov, *Rossiia v nachale XVII v.*, 51–57, 104–111, 215–22; Stanislavskii, *Grazhdanskaia voina,* 6–45, 243–47.

the central event of the period, Khlopko's rebellion in 1603, which is often regarded as the beginning of the First Peasant War. Smirnov regarded the Khlopko rebellion as a sharp insurrection of hungry slaves during the great famine, a terrible precursor to the Bolotnikov rebellion. Zimin, Nazarov and others, however, saw it as part of the First Peasant War, regarding it as a rebellion of mass character and wide sweep.[13] During the past decade Skrynnikov devoted much attention to the subject and concluded that Zimin's hypothesis about peasant participation in Khlopko's rebellion is invalid. He also found no real basis for linking all the various acts of brigandage during the famine years to Khlopko's rising or for seeing that rising as having a mass character or wide sweep. Skrynnikov emphasizes initiation of such acts of brigandage by elite military slaves, casts doubt on their "anti-feudal" tendencies, and concludes that there is no basis for viewing the Khlopko rebellion as the beginning of the First Peasant War.[14]

According to the expanded version of the First Peasant War, after Khlopko's rebellion was crushed there was a temporary decline in the peasant war. Then the second phase of the first period coincided with Dmitrii's campaign for the Muscovite throne. According to Koretskii and others, Dmitrii managed to come to the throne due to a resurgence of the peasant war. Rebels demanded the abolition of serfdom and the "feudal system." The adventurer Dmitrii supposedly made many rash "anti-feudal" promises in order to take advantage of the peasant rising which was not so much pro-Dmitrii as it was "anti-feudal."[15] In the view of Kirill Chistov and others, a popular social utopian legend about Dmitrii's escape from Uglich in 1591 and return as the deliverer of the masses from serfdom grew up before Dmitrii's campaign and explains the mass support for his struggle for the throne.[16]

There are serious problems with this interpretation. Although there is little doubt that Dmitrii's campaign was aided by a deep social crisis in famine-weary Muscovy, there is no evidence that the rebellion was a peasant war against serfdom to which Dmitrii attached himself. It was in fact a popular rebellion in support of Dmitrii; and, contrary to Chistov's argument, the

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[13] Koretskii, *Formirovanie*, 364; Smirnov, *Vosstanie*, 74–83; Zimin, "Nekotorye voprosy," 97–98, 105–109; Nazarov, "Peasant Wars," 118.

[14] R. G. Skrynnikov, *Sotsial'no-politicheskaia bor'ba v Russkom gosudarstve v nachale XVII veka* (Leningrad, 1985), 324–25; idem, *Bolotnikov*, 249–50.

[15] Koretskii, *Formirovanie*, 365; V. V. Mavrodin, "Sovetskaia istoricheskaia literatura o krest'ianskikh voinakh v Rossii XVII–XVIII vekov," *Voprosy istorii*, 1961, no. 5:39–40; *Ocherki istorii SSSR. Period feodalizma. Konets XV v.—nachalo XVII v.* (Moscow, 1955), 494–95.

[16] K. V. Chistov, *Russkie narodnye sotsial'no-utopicheskie legendy XVII–XIX vv.* (Moscow, 1967), 40–42.

rebellion was definitely not the result of the circulation of popular social utopian legends about Dmitrii before his invasion of Muscovy in 1604.[17] There is also no evidence of rebel demands for the abolition of serfdom or the "feudal order." Dmitrii did profit from lower class discontent, but his promises of rewards to his supporters did not include the abolition of serfdom and were not even aimed primarily at the lower classes.[18] Attempts to focus on peasants and slaves with "anti-feudal," social utopian goals have greatly distorted Dmitrii's civil war. Peasants were not the main force of the movement in support of Dmitrii; the revolt of towns and southern provinces where few peasants resided was far more important. There was something like a genuine peasant rebellion in the Komaritskii district, but these were prosperous peasants.[19] Attempts to view the urban revolts in Dmitrii's favor as lower-class, "anti-feudal" risings are also not supportable; *dvoriane, deti boiarskie,* and other service people often initiated such rebellions. As for slaves, many of them who rallied to Dmitrii's banner were elite military slaves—ruined *pomeshchiki* who did not advocate the overthrow of the "feudal order" and whose participation in the rebellion is closely related to the *dvoriane* militia crisis.[20] The Don cossacks were the most important military force in achieving Dmitrii's victory; however, as Stanislavskii has demonstrated, they were definitely not social revolutionaries.[21] Most cossacks were naïve monarchists. Some were clever enough to use Dmitrii's cause in order to oppose the encroachment of the state on their territory and freedom. Many others were simply seeking status and salary from the "good tsar." There is no reason to view the rebellions in Dmitrii's favor as "anti-feudal" or social utopian. Dmitrii's civil war in fact united the most varied social strata. Recently, Skrynnikov bluntly asked whether one could justifiably view the

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[17] Maureen Perrie, "'Popular Socio-Utopian Legends' in the Time of Troubles," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 60, no. 2 (April 1982): 227–28. Perrie's conclusions have troubling implications not just for the class war interpretation of the Time of Troubles but also for some work in the semiotics of early Russian culture. See, for example, B. A. Uspenskii, "Tsar and Pretender: *Samozvanchestvo* or Royal Imposture in Russia as a Cultural-Historical Phenomenon," in Ann Shukman, ed., *The Semiotics of Russian Culture* (Ann Arbor, 1984), 259–60.

[18] *Akty, sobrannye v bibliotekakh i arkhivakh Rossiiskoi imperii arkheograficheskoiu ekspeditsieiu imperatorskoi akademii nauk*, 4 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1836), 2:76, 89, 92–93.

[19] Isaac Massa, *Kratkoe izvestie o Moskovii v nachale XVII v.* (Moscow, 1937), 81.

[20] Skrynnikov, *Sotsial'no-politicheskaia bor'ba*, 324–25; idem, *Rossiia v nachale XVII v.*, 206–214, 249–51.

[21] Stanislavskii, *Grazhdanskaia voina*, 7–8, 20–21, 243–47.

period of Dmitrii's campaign for the throne as the second stage of the First Peasant War. The answer is "no."[22]

According to historians who support the expanded version of the First Peasant War, the war temporarily subsided after Dmitrii became tsar. The second period of the peasant war flared up a year later, in the spring of 1606. Given the problems with Soviet views of the first period of the First Peasant War and the fact that there is no evidence of any peasant war during Dmitrii's reign, I am forced to conclude that there was no peasant war in the period 1603–1605. But what about the Bolotnikov rebellion itself? Was it a peasant war? There are many problems with Soviet scholarship asserting that it was.

How did the Bolotnikov rebellion begin? According to Platonov, the second phase of the Time of Troubles, the period of "social struggle," began in the spring of 1606 with the assassination of Tsar Dmitrii and the seizure of power by Vasilii Shuiskii. This led to a rebellion of many towns and southern provinces against Shuiskii in the name of Dmitrii. Essentially the same view of the beginning of the First Peasant War was held by Smirnov.[23] Koretskii and others, however, have tried to link the Bolotnikov rebellion to the mythical peasant war raging since 1603. Instead of seeing Dmitrii's assassination as the trigger of the Bolotnikov rebellion, Koretskii believed Tsar Dmitrii himself was facing an impending peasant rebellion before his assassination. Regarding Dmitrii as an adventurer who used the masses to gain power and then betrayed them by ruling in the interests of the *dvoriane,* Koretskii argued that Tsar Dmitrii suddenly changed his policies in the spring of 1606 in order to appease the peasants. A rebellion was supposedly brewing against Dmitrii and the whole "feudal order," and that forced the tsar to make plans to abolish serfdom. He apparently had no choice; if he had not abolished serfdom, the masses would have rejected him as the "true tsar" who was supposedly forced to fulfill the social utopian dreams of his lower class supporters. Koretskii described a terrified Dmitrii who made plans to restore the St. George's Day privilege of peasant departure but who was assassinated by the boyars before he could implement such a radical policy. The assassination, however, only intensified the peasant war.[24]

This fantastic theory, which demands the suspension of most of the basic assumptions of the Muscovite political system, is based upon shaky evidence. Koretskii cited unrest in southern Muscovy during the winter of 1605–1606. It is, however, by no means clear that the winter disturbance in the south should have been of any real concern to Tsar Dmitrii. Even Koretskii was

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[22] Skrynnikov, *Bolotnikov,* 250.

[23] Platonov, *Smutnoe vremia,* 120–33; Smirnov, *Vosstanie*, 88.

[24] Koretskii, *Formirovanie,* 249–57.

forced to admit that it was not aimed at Dmitrii, but rather naïvely against some evil local administrators who acted unfairly and without the tsar's consent or knowledge. Indeed, in the spring of 1606, just when he was supposedly most fearful of revolt, Dmitrii ordered punishment for those responsible for the disturbance.[25] Whatever one makes of this incident, Dmitrii's response to it certainly does not lend support to Koretskii's view of the period. Koretskii also made much of the pretender Tsarevich Petr's appearance in the south in the spring of 1606. Faced with a growing revolt of the masses, Dmitrii supposedly intended to invite Petr and his cossacks to Moscow in order to intimidate the boyars. According to Koretskii, if Dmitrii had not agreed to placate the cossacks and peasants or perhaps even begin some kind of class war against the boyars, his own authority over the south would have evaporated—he would no longer be considered the "true tsar" by Tsarevich Petr and others. Therefore, Dmitrii must have planned to change his social policies radically in order to maintain support in the southern provinces. Koretskii was unable, however, to provide much evidence to support his theory, which is based primarily on ambiguous statements made under duress by Tsarevich Petr shortly after his capture by Tsar Vasilii Shuiskii's forces in the fall of 1607. Koretskii conveniently dismissed the important testimony of Captain Jacques Margeret (commander of Tsar Dmitrii's bodyguard) simply because it does not agree with his own view of Tsar Dmitrii's situation in the spring of 1606.[26] In fact, there is very little evidence of burning class consciousness and commitment to class war operating in Petr's mind in the spring of 1606. For all his later representation as a social revolutionary, at that time Petr was instead just an adventurer.[27] Even if Petr had been a true revolutionary in the spring of 1606, he would probably not have found all that many supporters to join him in rebellion against Dmitrii. Many southerners, after all, had fought for Dmitrii in 1604–1605 and later had their tax burden lowered by him.

Koretskii assumed that by the time of Petr's appearance Tsar Dmitrii had already made up his mind to change his policies in order to placate the masses. The plots in Moscow against the tsar are cited as evidence that Dmitrii was probably ready to turn against the Muscovite aristocracy. Actually, there is no evidence that Dmitrii took any of these plots seriously or

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[25] Ibid., 252.

[26] Ibid., 253–57; Jacques Margeret, *The Russian Empire and Grand Duchy of Muscovy: A 17th-Century French Account*, Chester Dunning, ed. and trans. (Pittsburgh, 1983), 70–71. While not accepting the view that Dmitrii was planning to change his social policies, Skrynnikov agrees with Koretskii that the tsar planned to use Tsarevich Petr against his political opponents. [See Skrynnikov, *Bolotnikov*, 29–30.] I strongly disagree.

[27] Smirnov, *Vosstanie*, 365–70.

ever considered a radical change in his policies. He clearly favored the lords, as is evidenced by his decrees regarding peasants and slaves issued in early 1606—just when he supposedly should have been worried about revolt. What evidence did Koretskii cite to show that Dmitrii was about to change his social policies in the spring of 1606? He was able to cite only one undated, unsigned document concerning the restoration of the peasants' right to move after the fall harvest. Koretskii believed that this controversial document (the *Svodnyi sudebnik*) represented Dmitrii's desperate attempt to placate the masses, an attempt which virtually guaranteed his assassination by the lords.[28] In fact, however, Koretskii has provided a weak case at best for Dmitrii needing to placate the masses, and the *Svodnyi sudebnik* by itself does not provide enough additional evidence to prove his theory. It is worth noting that not all Soviet historians were convinced that the *Svodnyi sudebnik* in any way represented Dmitrii's thinking or even belonged to the period of his reign.[29] Koretskii clearly failed to offer enough evidence to prove that Dmitrii was facing an impending peasant rebellion. Despite many historians' hostility toward Tsar Dmitrii, he was actually a relatively popular ruler when he was killed by Shuiskii's henchmen.[30] It was Vasilii Shuiskii who faced a rebellion. In many ways the assassination of Dmitrii is the key to understanding the real Time of Troubles, the civil war which raged from 1606 to 1612 and nearly destroyed Muscovy.

The Bolotnikov rebellion was clearly triggered by Dmitrii's assassination and was not part of an on-going peasant war since 1603, but was the Bolotnikov rebellion itself a peasant war against serfdom? Platonov declared that Bolotnikov was a social revolutionary bent on destroying the "feudal order," a perspective which strongly affected how Soviet scholars viewed the rebellion.[31] As we have seen, it has been called a peasant war (or part of a peasant war) against serfdom and the "feudal order"—a simplistic and misleading interpretation. The causes and nature of the rebellion are much more complex. No doubt serfdom and a deep social crisis aggravated the situation and contributed to the violence of the rebellion in places. Many rebels were serfs, slaves, and other "burdened" people, or former serfs and slaves who had joined the cossacks. Many other rebels were, however, *dvoriane* and *deti boiarskie*. The rebellion was never a clear-cut lower-class

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[28] Koretskii, *Formirovanie,* 243–46, 252–57.

[29] Zimin, for example, placed the composition of the document in the reign of Tsar Vasilii Shuiskii. Skrynnikov also decisively rejected Koretskii's interpretation of the document. See *Pamiatniki russkogo prava,* 8 vols. (Moscow, 1952–1963), 4:480–81; R. G. Skrynnikov, *Samozvantsy v Rossii v nachale XVII veka. Grigorii Otrep'ev* (Novosibirsk, 1987), 160–61.

[30] Skrynnikov, *Bolotnikov,* 14–15, 37–39.

[31] Platonov, *Smutnoe vremia,* 130–31; idem, *Ocherki po istorii Smuty,* 305.

rising against oppression. In general, its causes must be sought by looking at each group involved. In many cases, local conditions help to explain why the rebellion took various forms in different places—some more radical than others.

The towns of Seversk and southern Muscovy started the rebellion, the same towns which provided the main base of support for Dmitrii in 1604–1605; and, as was true then, it was not just the lower classes of these towns who were involved. In many cases the initiators of the rebellion were *dvoriane* and *deti boiarskie*, who also played a prominent role in military operations. These men were not interested in the abolition of serfdom. As for peasants, they did participate in the rebellion but were by no means its main force. Something like a genuine peasant rebellion did reoccur in the Komaritskii district, the same district of prosperous peasants who rose in favor of Dmitrii in 1604–1605 and who were severely punished by Godunov's army. Their participation in the Bolotnikov rebellion may be explained by something other than serfdom. In fact, serfs of central Muscovy were slow to join the rebellion and played only a secondary role in it.[32] The southern provinces where few peasants resided became the center of the rebellion.

In viewing the rebellion as "anti-feudal," much has been written about the participation of slaves. Many slaves did join the rebellion; according to some writers they played a leading role.[33] Many of them, however, were elite military slaves whose participation may be more closely related to the *dvoriane* militia crisis than to serfdom. The overall number of slaves in the rebellion may also have been greatly exaggerated by historians' over-reliance on one contemporary source which mentioned over twenty thousand slaves fleeing to the southern frontier during the famine years at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Skrynnikov has recently challenged that number, pointing out that Avraamii Palitsyn's reference to "slaves" may actually have been a reference to cossacks.[34] Cossack participation in the rebellion was great; they provided the main fighting force in the struggle against Shuiskii. As we have seen, though, cossacks were a distinct social group with their own non-revolutionary agenda. They consistently emphasized their uniqueness and separation from other groups in Russian society and were basically indifferent to class origin. Cossacks of all types and backgrounds strongly supported the rebellion in order to oppose the encroachment of the state on their territory and freedom.[35]

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[32] Skrynnikov, *Bolotnikov*, 132, 250–51; Nazarov, "Peasant Wars," 123–24.
[33] Smirnov, *Vosstanie*, 495; Hellie, *Slavery in Russia*, 574–76.
[34] *Skazanie Avraamiia Palitsyna*, 108; Skrynnikov, *Bolotnikov*, 180–83.
[35] Stanislavskii, *Grazhdanskaia voina*, 7–8, 36, 38, 243–47; Skrynnikov, *Bolotnikov*,

Soviet scholars went to great lengths to demonstrate that Bolotnikov's campaign against Shuiskii was "anti-feudal" in nature. To do so, they focused much attention on the composition and behavior of the rebel armies. It is known that two rebel armies marched on Moscow in the fall of 1606. One was led by Bolotnikov; the other was led by a *pomeshchik* from Tula, Istoma Pashkov, who was later joined by the *dvorianin* Prokofii Liapunov and his Riazan' militia. Soviet scholars, following Platonov's lead, emphasized apparent social differences between the two rebel armies and their commanders. Bolotnikov's army was supposedly composed of radical lower-class rebels. Pashkov's army was seen as primarily a "gentry" force. Bolotnikov, a former slave, was seen as a social revolutionary determined to abolish the "feudal order." Pashkov, on the other hand, was often regarded as a prominent spokesman for the *dvoriane* and *deti boiarskie* in the rebel forces. While on the march to Moscow, Pashkov's army supposedly treated captured *dvoriane* "lawfully" by keeping them in captivity or even letting them go. This was seen as evidence of class solidarity binding the Muscovite *dvoriane*. Bolotnikov's army, on the other hand, supposedly carried out a wave of executions of *dvoriane* opponents, determined to exterminate the "feudal lords." As the rebels approached Moscow, Bolotnikov supposedly alarmed his *dvoriane* allies even further by sending letters to the Moscow poor urging them to take up arms against their masters who supported Shuiskii, in return for which they would receive their former masters' property, jobs, titles, and even their wives. This was apparently too much for the likes of such "feudal lords" as Pashkov and Liapunov. During the siege of Moscow, first Liapunov and then Pashkov betrayed the rebel cause. These "gentlemen" supposedly led a desertion of *dvoriane* and *deti boiarskie* from the rebel camp—clear evidence of class division in the rebel forces which helped doom the siege and the rebellion itself.[36]

There are serious problems with this interpretation. In the first place, the two rebel armies and their leaders were not as different as some scholars believe. Both armies had diverse social elements. In fact, the two armies were virtually identical to the rebel forces which supported Dmitrii's campaign for the throne.[37] As for the rebel commanders, Bolotnikov—regarded as a mere slave by some—was actually a runaway elite military slave, possibly of petty *pomeshchik* background. Pashkov, on the other hand, was not from a

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7–8, 251.

[36] Platonov, *Ocherki*, 308–309, 334; Smirnov, *Vosstanie*, 138–40, 188, 296; Koretskii, *Formirovanie*, 259, 267, 282–83, 290, 304; *Vosstanie Bolotnikova: Dokumenty i materialy* (Moscow, 1959), 381.

[37] Skrynnikov, *Bolotnikov*, 79, 131–33; Makovskii, *Pervaia krest'ianskaia voina*, 471.

prominent family nor was he an important landowner; he was a mere petty *pomeshchik* with possible cossack connections.[38] Concerning the conduct of the two rebel armies, careful study reveals that their behavior was basically the same. Pashkov's army was not particularly lawful and carried out several executions of *dvoriane, deti boiarskie,* and rich merchants who supported Shuiskii. According to Skrynnikov, freeing some prisoners had more to do with avoiding the burden of many captives than with class solidarity.[39] As for Bolotnikov's supposedly more radical army, it did execute a few lords but there was certainly no wave of executions. For *dvoriane* and *deti boiarskie* in the rebel armies these acts against Shuiskii supporters were not seen as an ominous class war against "feudal lords" but as reprisals against their enemies.[40] The drift into greater use of violence in the later stages of the civil war has often been cited as evidence of the "anti-feudal" character of the Bolotnikov rebellion. No doubt such violence did have class-war overtones, but cossack terror—by Tsarevich Petr and others—may actually be linked to Shuiskii's terror campaign and mass executions of captured rebels, especially cossacks.[41] It was definitely linked to the disarray in rebel leadership and goals in light of the failure of Bolotnikov's campaign against Moscow and the continued failure of Tsar Dmitrii to appear in the rebel camp. That, however, does not really tell us much about the goals or activities of Bolotnikov in 1606–1607.

The most significant evidence cited by scholars to support the peasant war theory are Bolotnikov's letters inciting the Moscow poor to rebel. It is very important to note, however, that none of these inflammatory letters has survived. What exist are a few documents referring to them, documents clearly belonging to or influenced by Shuiskii's vigorous propaganda campaign against the rebels as dangerous social revolutionaries. In an attempt to shore up wavering support, Shuiskii did not hesitate to tell lies. That is understandable, as is the fact that some Marxist historians were eager to credit those lies; but there is no reason why we should accept a class war theory based primarily on Shuiskii's propaganda. In fact, as Skrynnikov points out, there is no reason to believe the letters sent to Moscow were directed only to the poor, nor is there any reason to assume that Pashkov did not approve of the letters, whatever their content.[42]

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[38] Skrynnikov, *Bolotnikov,* 74, 135–36.

[39] Ibid., 112–13.

[40] Ibid., 130–31, 133, 250–51; B. N. Morozov, "Vazhnyi dokument po istorii vosstaniia Bolotnikova," *Istoriia SSSR,* 1985, no. 2:166.

[41] Skrynnikov, *Bolotnikov,* 156–60.

[42] Ibid., 120–21, 134–35, 251.

There has been a lot of misinformation in the literature concerning the desertion of Liapunov and Pashkov during the siege of Moscow. Smirnov regarded Liapunov's betrayal as a fully conscious shift in attitude of the Riazan' "gentry" toward their lower class allies; Zimin and others described Liapunov leading five hundred *dvoriane* and *deti boiarskie* from the rebel camp.[43] Skrynnikov has recently challenged that figure, citing sources which mention only forty *dvoriane* and *deti boiarskie* joining Liapunov.[44] Liapunov's treachery may well have been influenced by social tension, but his departure did not mark any mass exodus of lords from the rebel camp. Pashkov's betrayal presents even more problems. In addition to confusion over his social status, sources vary widely in their estimations of who joined him. One source incorrectly claimed that he deserted with all the *dvoriane* and *deti boiarskie*; another source mentions four hundred cossacks; others mention five hundred or even a thousand deserters joining Pashkov but do not specify who they were.[45] In any case, the overwhelming majority of Pashkov's army, including many *dvoriane* and *deti boiarskie*, remained loyal to the rebel cause. In evaluating Pashkov's motives, Skrynnikov has recently emphasized the personal rivalry between Pashkov and Bolotnikov, a rivalry having nothing to do with social tension or rebel goals. One should also keep in mind that Pashkov was bribed by Shuiskii.[46]

Taking all these things into account, it is difficult to see how the Bolotnikov rebellion can be regarded as a social revolution or peasant war. Rebel political goals were clear—to oust Shuiskii in the name of Tsar Dmitrii; rebel social goals were not at all clear. In fact, no document exists which shows a rebel demand to abolish the "feudal order" or serfdom. The assumptions of many historians writing about this were based on their own preconceived ideas or on the very effective propaganda campaign conducted by Shuiskii in order to frighten his wavering supporters. That is simply too narrow a base to support the theory of a class war. In fact, Stanislavskii has demonstrated that Shuiskii's persistent efforts to woo cossack rebels into his

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[43] Smirnov, *Vosstanie*, 296; A. A. Zimin, "Krest'ianskaia voina v Rossii v nachale XVII v." in *Istoriia SSSR s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1966), 259; V. I. Koretskii, "Novye dokumenty po istorii vosstaniia I. I. Bolotnikova," *Sovetskie arkhivy*, 1968, no. 6:70.

[44] Skrynnikov, *Bolotnikov*, 126–27.

[45] *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* 14 (Moscow, 1965), 72; *Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka* 13: col. 117; Konrad Bussow, *Moskovskaia khronika, 1584–1613* (Moscow, 1961), 140; Massa, *Kratkoe izvestie*, 163.

[46] Skrynnikov, *Bolotnikov*, 137–39.

own service shows that he did not believe his own propaganda and had no fear of class war.[47]

Some Soviet scholars acknowledged the lack of a distinctive "anti-feudal" program on the part of Bolotnikov, explaining it in terms of naïve monarchism. The rebels, it is argued, were ready to bring down the "feudal order" and serfdom but were simply unable to conceive of any other political system besides tsarism. By supporting a rebellion in the name of the "good tsar" Dmitrii, peasants and slaves were hoping for liberation, but their naïve monarchism actually interfered with their conscious (or unconscious) social goals and helped doom the rebellion.[48] This is a weak argument, one which provides no evidence in support of the peasant war theory. I have real doubts about the use of any variation of the social utopian argument to explain popular support for Dmitrii or the rebellion in his name. There is no doubt that the Bolotnikov rebellion was greatly aided by the popular image of Dmitrii as a "good tsar." It should be remembered, however, that Dmitrii had ruled in the interest of the lords, not the lower classes; Bolotnikov was never forced to invent a false image of Dmitrii as "anti-feudal" in order to gain supporters.

If the Bolotnikov rebellion was not a peasant war, then what about the later years of the so-called First Peasant War? After the suppression of the Bolotnikov rebellion, Shuiskii was forced to fight against the second False Dmitrii, whose appearance marks a new phase in the civil war. Attempts by historians caught up in the peasant war model to view the second False Dmitrii's supporters as social revolutionaries do not hold up to close scrutiny. Not only did this "Dmitrii" support serfdom, but there were also peasant rebellions against his regime. Although many lords deserted the second pretender's chaotic and dangerous Tushino camp, others were enticed away from Shuiskii and received land from "Dmitrii."[49] Obviously, the latter group did not fear social revolution. It is generally agreed that cossacks were the main fighting force at Tushino, but, as noted above, these cossacks were not social revolutionaries.

In the final years of the Time of Troubles Muscovy descended into chaos brought on by the combination of the continuing civil war and foreign military intervention. Attempts to organize a national militia to repel the invaders were greatly complicated by civil war divisions and by friction

[47] Stanislavskii, *Grazhdanskaia voina*, 24–25, 30; Bussow, *Moskovskaia khronika*, 148.

[48] Koretskii, *Formirovanie*, 366; Pronshtein, "Reshennye i nereshennye voprosy," 154–57; Mavrodin, "Sovetskaia istoricheskaia literatura," 39–40, 45.

[49] Bussow, *Moskovskaia khronika*, 149, 157–58, 368 n. 107, 372 n. 130.

between cossacks and the *dvoriane* militia. Many scholars from Platonov on thought they discerned class conflict in the "social revolutionary" actions of the cossacks during those years.[50] However, Stanislavskii has dealt a mortal blow to such an interpretation. Even though cossacks and *dvoriane* did compete for status and scarce resources and cossacks may have regarded themselves as an alternative to the weak *dvoriane* militia, that does not mean cossacks were social revolutionaries. Among other things, Stanislavskii has demonstrated that the conflict between cossacks and militia commander Prokofii Liapunov which led to Liapunov's death was not really about class antagonism and did not result in a frightened *dvoriane* deserting a radical, cossack-dominated militia. It was hardship and hunger which drove the *dvoriane* away.[51] Cossacks subsequently worked well with Prince Dmitrii Pozharskii and were instrumental in the liberation of Moscow. Problems in getting cossack forces and *dvoriane* forces to cooperate in the siege of Moscow had more to do with the ambition of Prince Dmitrii Trubetskoi (a commander of cossack units) and others than with class friction. Cossacks played a principal role in the Time of Troubles, but they were not peasant revolutionaries or promoters of social revolution. They were also not interested in spreading "cossack democracy" to others. In fact, cossacks in the camp of the second False Dmitrii and the national militias preserved their quasi-democratic self-government only at the unit level. There were no elected atamans commanding a monolithic cossack host and only loose contact between more or less independent cossack units. Cossack forces were under the overall command of courtiers, not their own elected leaders.[52] This is a far cry from the view of revolutionary cossacks found in Soviet historical literature.

This brief review of problems with the concept of the First Peasant War clearly shows that the peasant war theory has not been helpful and ought to be abandoned. Instead of social revolution based on horizontal class divisions, at the center of the Time of Troubles was a civil war which produced a vertical split through all layers of Muscovite society. This means that the traditional social interpretation of the Time of Troubles is inadequate. Is Professor

[50] Platonov, *Ocherki*, 460–89; idem, *Smutnoe vremia*, 190–97; I. S. Shepelev, *Osvoboditel'naia i klassovaia bor'ba v Russkom gosudarstve v 1608–1610 gg.* (Piatigorsk, 1957); N. P. Dolinin, *Podmoskovnye polki (kazatskie "Tabory") v natsional'no-osvoboditel'nom dvizhenii 1611–1612 gg.* (Kharkiv, 1958); L. V. Cherepnin, ed., *Voprosy metodologii istoricheskogo issledovaniia* (Moscow, 1981), 166–67; Buganov, *Krest'ianskie voiny*, 49.

[51] Stanislavskii, *Grazhdanskaia voina*, 23–24, 31, 39–40, 243–44; Dunning, "Cossacks," 72–73.

[52] Stanislavskii, *Grazhdanskaia voina*, 7–8, 27–30, 36, 38, 40, 43, 45, 243–47.

Keenan's skepticism about long-term social causes therefore justified? Can we identify with confidence any long-term causes, or were the Troubles caused merely by a chance conjunction of unfortunate circumstances and events? As it turns out, that is precisely the same dilemma now facing historians of the English and French Revolutions in light of the decline of the Marxist interpretation. Many respected scholars now claim that those Western revolutions had no long-term social causes. While some have suggested that they were mainly the result of bad luck and the failure of political leadership, other revisionists have placed renewed emphasis on "political language," ideas, belief systems, and culture as determinants—with very interesting results.[53] Professor Keenan's suggestion that we look for political and cultural causes of the Time of Troubles turns out to be just as timely and provocative.

In searching for political causes of the civil war more attention needs to be focused on the dynastic crisis produced by the death of Tsar Fedor in 1598. That crisis sharpened the split within the ruling elite and contributed to the pretender Dmitrii's success in 1605.[54] It must be emphasized, however, that the Godunov dynasty's political opposition would not have dared to risk open confrontation with the tsar without the existence of the pretender Dmitrii. It is also important to remember that Vasilii Shuiskii and others were utterly powerless to stir the masses against Tsar Dmitrii in 1606. It took the existence of Dmitrii to topple the Godunovs, and it took the assassination of Dmitrii to trigger the civil war. If Tsar Dmitrii had escaped assassination, there would have been no rebellion against his government and there can be little doubt what fate would have awaited Shuiskii and his henchmen. As noted earlier, Tsar Dmitrii was a fairly popular ruler who was not facing mass unrest. Dmitrii's assassination then was the main cause of the civil war and not a mere "surface event" which triggered the unleashing of pent-up social forces. The civil war which broke out in 1606 was not inevitable. In light of this, there is a real need for more research on Dmitrii himself. The quality of existing scholarship on this fascinating character is not impressive. Russian, Soviet, and Western scholars have long had problems dealing with Dmitrii, invariably underestimating his significance and usually dismissing him as an impostor, a tool of the Polish government or the boyars, or the conscious or

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[53] See, for example, François Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 1981); Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, 1984); Mark E. Kennedy, "Legislation, Foreign Policy, and the Proper Business of the Parliament of 1624," *Albion* 23, no. 1 (spring 1991): 41–43. For critical comments about this trend in revisionist scholarship, see Lawrence Stone, "The Revolution over the Revolution," *The New York Review of Books* (June 11, 1992): 47–51.

[54] A. P. Pavlov, *Gosudarev dvor i politicheskaia bor'ba pri Borise Godunove* (1584–1605 gg.) (St. Petersburg, 1992).

unconscious leader of social revolutionary masses. Even Skrynnikov's recent biography of Dmitrii, written without reference to the peasant war model, is not very helpful. Among other things, Skrynnikov fails to make a convincing case for regarding Tsar Dmitrii as a virtual captive of the boyars who was terrified by aristocratic opposition. Although that view tantalizingly coincides with Professor Keenan's interpretation of Muscovite autocracy (that the tsar was in effect a "hostage" of the boyar oligarchy), there is plenty of evidence to the contrary. Tsar Dmitrii was definitely not a puppet of the boyars; and, as noted earlier, he was not frightened by political opposition nor did he concoct a desperate plan to use Tsarevich Petr against his boyar opponents—as Skrynnikov believes.[55] Tsar Dmitrii is worthy of far more careful study and may turn out to be one of the keys to understanding the Time of Troubles.

In searching for cultural causes of the Time of Troubles specialists need to move beyond the traditional image of the Russian people of that era as essentially passive and apolitical. In the ideal *tsarstvo*, of course, the tsar ruled and his subjects were "as mute as fish."[56] When things went wrong, however, as they surely did in the Time of Troubles, the Russian people did not sit idly by. They were forced to make choices, sometimes dangerous choices, during the civil war years. Most researchers have sought social explanations for the popular movements of the Time of Troubles; many have denied that they had any true political content. We know, however, that the rebels in the civil war were not fighting for social revolution and were in fact deeply conservative. The other traditional explanation, naïve monarchism, has some validity but has too often been used as a substitute for analysis—allowing scholars to continue viewing the Russian people as essentially apolitical, spontaneous, and unthinking. A closer look at Russian naïve monarchism reveals a somewhat different picture. In the God-centered, tsar-centered political culture of Muscovy, pious Orthodox subjects could legitimately resist a tsar they perceived as evil, one who violated his obligations to God and his people. Indeed, removal of such a *tsar' muchitel'* was apparently encouraged.[57] Under these circumstances, truly religious Muscovites of all classes must have had trouble passively accepting Tsar

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[55] See note 26 above and my comments about Skrynnikov's *Samozvantsy* in Dunning, "R. G. Skrynnikov, the Time of Troubles, and the 'First Peasant War' in Russia," 75–76. See also Edward L. Keenan, "Muscovite Political Folkways," *Russian Review* 45, no. 2 (April 1986): 115–81.

[56] *Vremennik Ivana Timofeeva*, 109.

[57] Daniel Rowland, "Did Muscovite Literary Ideology Place Limits on the Power of the Tsar (1540s–1660s)?" *Russian Review* 49, no. 2 (April 1990): 125–55; Valerie Kivelson, "The Devil Stole His Mind: The Tsar and the 1648 Moscow Uprising," *American Historical Review* 98, no. 3 (June 1993): 733–56.

Dmitrii's assassination and Vasilii Shuiskii's seizure of power. Not only was Shuiskii (like Boris Godunov before him) a mere "boyar-tsar" instead of a member of the Danilovich dynasty, but he came to power by murdering the "resurrected" last representative of Muscovy's sanctified ruling family. Russian Orthodox political culture itself immediately provided the rebels with motivation and a powerful tool to use in the struggle against such a usurper *tsar' muchitel'*. Shuiskii in turn launched a major propaganda campaign aimed at breaking the religious bond between the masses and the dead tsar precisely because he knew that bond was powerful. Although some believed his claims that Dmitrii had been an evil impostor and false tsar, Shuiskii's opponents took to the field in large numbers to fight for God and "good Tsar Dmitrii." So great was their righteous fury that many did not lay down their weapons until long after the usurper was deposed. This violent intrusion of the masses into Muscovite high politics severely shocked the elite and provoked serious efforts to prevent such occurrences in the future. One of the most successful of those efforts was the repeated assertion that revolts by the Russian masses were "senseless." Historians for too long accepted that false notion at face value, and it became one of the reasons for the predominance of the social interpretation of the Time of Troubles.

It should be clear by now that no monocausal explanation of the Time of Troubles is adequate. There were indeed short-term political and cultural causes, but there were obviously also long-term causes—in spite of the inadequacy of the traditional social interpretation. Muscovy undeniably faced a deep social and economic crisis on the eve of the Time of Troubles. One of the often overlooked causes of that crisis was a change in the global climate. Bad weather associated with the "little ice age" contributed to Muscovy's growing misery in the late sixteenth century and caused the terrible famine of 1601–1603, which was itself a contributing factor to Muscovy's social crisis and civil war.[58] So where does this leave us? In fact, it leaves us with the need to use a conjunctural approach to the causes of the Troubles. Trying to make some sense out of the period in light of the collapse of the Marxist interpretation of the Time of Troubles, Skrynnikov recently listed what he regarded as the principal causes of the civil war: Ivan IV's reign of terror and introduction of an autocratic regime in Muscovy, a crisis in the *pomest'e* system of service landholding, the enserfment of Russian peasants at the end

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[58] Peter Clark, ed., *The European Crisis of the 1590s: Essays in Comparative History* (London, 1985), 6–9; Andrew B. Appleby, "Epidemics and Famine in the Little Ice Age," in Robert Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb, eds., *Climate and History* (Princeton, 1981), 62–83; Mousnier, *Peasant Uprisings*, 314; E. I. Kolycheva, *Agrarnyi stroi Rossii XVI veka* (Moscow, 1987), 172–77, 195–201.

of the sixteenth century, Boris Godunov's frontier and cossack policies, and the three-year famine.[59] In my view, Skrynnikov's list is too simplistic and still too heavily influenced by the traditional social interpretation. In addition to ignoring Tsar Dmitrii's crucial role in the civil war and the destabilizing potential of tsar-centered Russian Orthodoxy, Skrynnikov does not address the issue of the relative weight of each of the causes he identifies, nor does he differentiate between causes and preconditions. There is also definitely an air of inevitability in his approach. If we accept his list of causes then the civil war can still be regarded largely as the culmination of an impending social struggle—the same view held by Platonov and Soviet historians of the peasant war school. Such deterministic assumptions about the social nature of the Time of Troubles are extremely powerful in the historiography; however, in light of the demise of the peasant war theory, those assumptions need closer scrutiny. Is there a non-Marxist interpretation which might explain the conjuncture of long-term and immediate social, economic, political, cultural, and ecological causes of the Time of Troubles? As it turns out, social scientists and comparative historians studying early modern state crises and revolutions may offer some assistance in answering that question.

The theory of a general crisis of the seventeenth century has been around for a generation, attempting to make sense out of the wave of state crises, rebellions, and revolutions which occurred throughout Europe and Asia in the seventeenth century.[60] Unfortunately, proponents of the general crisis theory have been far better at identifying the existence of crises than they have been at explaining them. There is no consensus among them about the causes of the general crisis. In fact, much of the crisis theory is based upon Marxist assumptions and theories of long-term social and economic causes, often combined with ecological factors such as the "little ice age." Muscovy in the Time of Troubles is rarely included in studies of the general crisis; when it has been, there has been no breakthrough in understanding causes—only a repetition of the traditional social interpretation.[61] Other recent major comparative studies of the early modern period are not much more help.[62]

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[59] Skrynnikov, "The Civil War in Russia," 70.

[60] See, for example, Trevor Aston, ed., *Crisis in Europe, 1560–1660* (New York, 1978); Geoffrey Parker and Lesley Smith, eds., *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1978); Clark, *European Crisis of the 1590s.*

[61] See, for example, Mousnier, *Peasant Uprisings*, 153–95.

[62] Perry Anderson's comparative study of the origins of absolutism is solidly Marxist and utterly useless concerning Muscovy's Time of Troubles. Skrynnikov's ideas about the possible connection between Ivan IV's attempt to establish autocracy and the Time of Troubles are far more convincing. See Perry Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State* (London, 1979), 210–11, 331–34; Skrynnikov, "The Civil War," 70–71. Immanuel Wallerstein's model of the modern world-system of capitalism is also of no help. It combines

There is a rather extensive body of theoretical social science literature concerning revolutions and violence. Some of the models and theories of general social stress, individual stress and discontent, systemic imbalances, and crises of legitimacy sound plausible enough in the abstract;[63] however, they are not really very helpful in dealing with specific historical problems such as the Time of Troubles. The "social-structural" model of revolutions which emerged in the late 1970s was more historically grounded and more useful.[64] In one of the most influential social-structural studies, Theda Skocpol argued that revolutions are caused by a conjuncture of events, each of which may have different causes and require separate explanations.[65] Building upon the foundation provided by the social-structural model, Jack A. Goldstone has recently developed a robust demographic/structural model of early modern state breakdown, revolution, and civil war by combining Skocpol's multicausal/conjunctural approach to the causes of revolution with a focus on the periodic waves of state crises and revolutions observable in the early modern period.[66] His model may be highly relevant to Muscovy's Time of Troubles.

Goldstone views the crises of large agrarian absolutist states in the early modern period largely as the result of long-term population and price increases which eventually overwhelmed political, economic, and social institutions. Other scholars before Goldstone have focused on demography, of course. In particular, historians of the French *Annales* school have long been interested in how population shifts affect long-term social and economic change. Proponents of the *Annales* school, however, have generally avoided relating

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an essentially Marxist framework with a poor understanding of Muscovite history. Linda Gordon's comments about the inapplicability of Wallerstein's model to Ukraine are relevant for Muscovy also. See Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1974), 315–20; Linda Gordon, *Cossack Rebellions: Social Turmoil in the Sixteenth-Century Ukraine* (Albany, 1983), 36–39, 46–50. Studies of the "military revolution" usually ignore Muscovy's Time of Troubles or mention it only in passing. See, for example, Brian M. Downing, *The Military Revolution and Political Change: Origins of Democracy and Autocracy in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton, 1992), 149–50.

[63] See, for example, Neil J. Smelser, *Theory of Collective Behavior* (New York, 1963); Chalmers Johnson, *Revolutionary Change* (Boston, 1966); Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven, 1968); Ted R. Gurr, *Why Men Rebel* (Princeton, 1970); Ekkart Zimmerman, *Political Violence, Crises, and Revolution* (Boston, 1983).

[64] Jack A. Goldstone, "Theories of Revolution: The Third Generation," *World Politics* 32 (1980): 425–53; idem, "The Comparative and Historical Study of Revolutions," *Annual Review of Sociology* 8 (1982): 187–207.

[65] Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions* (Cambridge, 1979).

[66] Jack A. Goldstone, *Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World* (Berkeley, 1991).

demographic patterns of the *longue durée* to "surface" events such as the Time of Troubles.[67] Goldstone is one of the first historians to make use of the insights of the "new history" in work focusing on great political events such as state crises and revolutions. A key insight Goldstone brings from demography is that the approximate doubling of the population of the temperate regions of Eurasia over the course of the sixteenth century had some surprising results. For example, younger sons of elite families who lacked positions to inherit and who therefore sought new positions increased much more rapidly than the increase in overall population. This had a destabilizing effect, increasing intra-elite competition and conflict. Just as that elite competition for resources became sharpest, the state had a diminished ability to respond due to the other result of the long-term population increase—a rise in prices which eventually precipitated a fiscal crisis.[68] Goldstone sees the likelihood of revolution or civil war growing out of these two conditions when they are combined with a "high potential for mobilizing popular groups" due to such things as rising grievances, large numbers of rootless young men, or increasing migration away from the center of the state to the periphery.[69] According to Goldstone, although sudden events may trigger a revolution or rebellion, they are not its true causes. Instead, the key is a shift in elite and popular attitudes toward the state. Rather than identifying specific social, economic, cultural, religious, or political "causes," he sees them all as related aspects of an underlying causal pattern directly related to long-term population and price increases.[70]

Although he did not focus on Muscovy, I believe Goldstone's conjunctural demographic/structural model helps explain the Time of Troubles. While there is no agreement among historians about the size of Muscovy's population, there is general agreement that it grew (and possibly doubled) during the sixteenth century.[71] Prices in Muscovy are also subject to debate, but they did rise during the sixteenth century and shot up dramatically during the famine of 1601–1603.[72] Intra-elite conflict in the form of *dvoriane* competition for

[67] For example, Fernand Braudel ignored the Time of Troubles in his remarks about the development of a "strong state" in Russia during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See Fernand Braudel, *The Perspective of the World* (New York, 1984), 444–48.

[68] Goldstone, *Revolution and Rebellion*, 31–35, 102–123, 425.

[69] Ibid., xxiii–xxiv, 10–11, 70–77, 126, 133, 346, 464.

[70] Ibid., 8–9, 35, 462.

[71] V. Ts. Urlanis, *Rost naseleniia v Evrope* (Moscow, 1941), 190; A. I. Kopanev, "Naselenie Russkogo gosudarstva v XVI v.," *Istoricheskie zapiski* 64 (1959): 233–54; Ia. E. Vodarskii, *Naselenie Rossii za 400 let (XVI–nachalo XX vv.)* (Moscow, 1973), 27–29.

[72] See Blum, *Lord and Peasant,* 132–34; Smith, *Peasant Farming*, 108, 143, 145–47; A. G. Man'kov, *Tseny i ikh dvizhenie v russkom gosudarstve XVI veka* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1951), 40–41, 53.

scarce resources is well known and, combined with the state's fiscal problems, definitely precipitated a *dvoriane* militia crisis by the beginning of the seventeenth century. Intra-elite competition in the form of court rivalries is also well known and seems to have intensified after 1598. Muscovy certainly faced a fiscal crisis in this period.[73] There was also a "high potential for mobilizing popular groups" in Muscovy. The social crisis is well known, as is the famine, peasant unhappiness with serfdom, large-scale migration away from the center of the state to the frontier, and the rise of the cossacks. Under these circumstances, it appears that Goldstone's model does indeed apply to the Time of Troubles—even to the point of characterizing the conservative nature of elite and folk "ideologies of rectification" and predicting the strengthening of traditional institutions and a certain degree of cultural stagnation in the post-crisis recovery period.[74] In Goldstone's model, therefore, we may have found not only some of the causes of the Time of Troubles but also a useful framework for the study of elite consciousness and the restoration of order under the early Romanovs.[75]

The causes and nature of the Time of Troubles are far more complex than traditionally thought. Moving beyond a narrow social interpretation will lead not only to a much better understanding of the Time of Troubles and its role in Russian history but also to a better understanding of society, culture, and the development of elite and popular consciousness in Muscovy.

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[73] State finances were in disarray and tax revenues had declined by the end of Ivan IV's reign. According to Skrynnikov, continued fiscal distress was one of the main reasons Boris Godunov agreed to end the St. George's Day privilege of peasant departure in the 1590s—in an attempt to shore up a declining *dvoriane* who were often not paid any salary for years at a time. The famine of 1601–1603 and Boris Godunov's efforts to alleviate the suffering of the Russian people seriously depleted the treasury. Tsar Dmitrii spent much of the rest. Some said he spent the money frivolously, but it appears that most of his expenditures were made to shore up the *dvoriane*. Shuiskii inherited a basically empty treasury and was in deep financial trouble when civil war broke out. See R. G. Skrynnikov, *Boris Godunov* (Gulf Breeze, Florida, 1982), 77–78, 121–22; Hellie, *Enserfment,* 37; Ruslan G. Skrynnikov, *Time of Troubles: Russia in Crisis* (Gulf Breeze, Florida, 1988), 28; idem, *Bolotnikov*, 52; Smirnov, *Vosstanie Bolotnikova*, 411–15.

[74] Goldstone, *Revolution and Rebellion,* 27, 418–20, 450–54, 458, 460.

[75] These are issues I plan to discuss in greater detail in a future article.

Filling in the Blanks: The Church of the Intercession and the Architectonics of Medieval Muscovite Ritual

MICHAEL S. FLIER

When Ivan IV was crowned as tsar in 1547 the surroundings were not only traditional but familiar. The tsar's entourage moved within the confines of a highly regulated, semiotically charged space in the center of the Kremlin fortress, dominated by its three major churches, each with its own function, each a vital station in the official ceremony of royal procession (see plate 3). Along with the royal palace they served to delimit a politically and spiritually charged field within which the tsar was most closely identified with his divine purpose and the destiny of Rus'. The creation and elaboration of the Muscovite center through royal ritual recalls the general structures of rulership identified by Clifford Geertz in his study of the symbolism of power:

> The very thing that the elaborate mystique of court ceremonial is supposed to conceal—that majesty is made, not born—is demonstrated by it.... This comes out as clearly as anywhere else in the ceremonial forms by which kings take symbolic possession of their realm. In particular, royal progresses... locate the society's center and affirm its connection with transcendent things by stamping out a territory with ritual signs of dominance.[1]

No less tangible a sign of royal dominance emerged after the Russian military victory over the Kazan' Tatars in 1552. The symbolic space of the ruler was extended from Cathedral Square to Red Square beyond the Kremlin walls with the construction of the Church of the Intercession on the Moat, finally completed in 1561 (see plate 4). The Church of the Intercession, later called Saint Basil's Cathedral, was erected opposite the main gate leading into the Kremlin, just south of the central marketplace overlooking the moat. The church we see today, however, was not the first to occupy this site. Rather it was the last of several different architectural projects, the end of a progression that reveals a clear change in conception at the highest levels of the Muscovite government during the 1550s. A single stone Church of the Trinity (originally wooden?) was supplemented with a wooden Church of the Intercession and six chapels, that is, a cluster of one plus seven. Later the cluster was

[1] "Centers, Kings, and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power," reprinted in Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York, [1977] 1983), 124–25.

completely replaced with an ensemble, the current stone Church of the Intercession surrounded by eight chapels (see figure 1). The shift in emphasis from Trinity to Intercession, the addition of an extra chapel, and the architectonic change from cluster to axial ensemble have never been properly explained.

I contend that two functions of Ivan's persona, historical victor and royal progenitor, were responsible for the formal evolution of the commemorative church on the moat outside the Kremlin walls. My analysis interprets this major cultural artifact as a direct expression of Ivan's dominance of territorial space and patrilinear time. I will review the parallel tracks of Ivan's struggle with Kazan' and paternity in order to demonstrate the contribution of each to the church's ultimate design as encoded in its individual chapels. Consideration of their number, placement, and naming marks a very real attempt at filling in the blanks.

It will be useful at the outset to review the basic structure of the Intercession. The plan of the church represents an octagonal pattern based on orthogonal and diagonal axes (figure 2). According to various chronicle accounts,[2] the chapels were dedicated to the feastdays on which great deeds and victories occurred in the battle for Kazan', although it is not always possible to discern this motivation in every case. The chapels directly associated with dates important for the campaign against Kazan' are listed here in chronological order:

[2] See Nikon Chronicle, *PSRL* 13, pt. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1906), 251; supplement to the Nikon Chronicle, Synod and Lebedev copies, *PSRL* 13, pt. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1906), 320, in which all chapels are named in axial order except the last, possibly left off the complete list from an earlier copy, thus east, west, south, north, southwest, southeast, northwest; and a manuscript of the *Tale about the Holy Miracle-working Velikoretskii Icon of Saint Nicholas the Miracle-worker*, which I have examined and studied in person. Vostokov dated the manuscript to the late seventeenth-early eighteenth century, based on paleography and the latest dated manuscript (1700) in a convoy concerned thematically with miracle-working icons, relics, and epiphanies. The *Tale* is twelfth in the MS. RGB, Rumiantsev, No. 364, written in late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century cursive, fols. 283r–286v, in quarto. The text was first published in Ivan Kuznetsov, "Eshche novye letopisnye dannye o postroenii Moskovskogo Pokrovskogo (Vasiliia Blazhennogo) sobora," *ChOIDR* 1896, bk. 2, pt. 5, pp. 23–36. The eight chapels surrounding the central tower are given in axial order: east, west, north, south, northeast, southeast, northwest, southwest. All but the southern chapel are given their current names; the southern chapel is apparently without name, but destined to have one as God might wish it (ему же имя [не?—Kuznetsov interpolation] нарековася, но его же имя Богъ изволитъ [fol. 285r]). Later in the *Tale* the miracle-working Velikoretskii icon is described as the stimulus for Tsar Ivan and Metropolitan Makarii naming the chapel for Saint Nicholas Velikoretskii (fol. 285v).

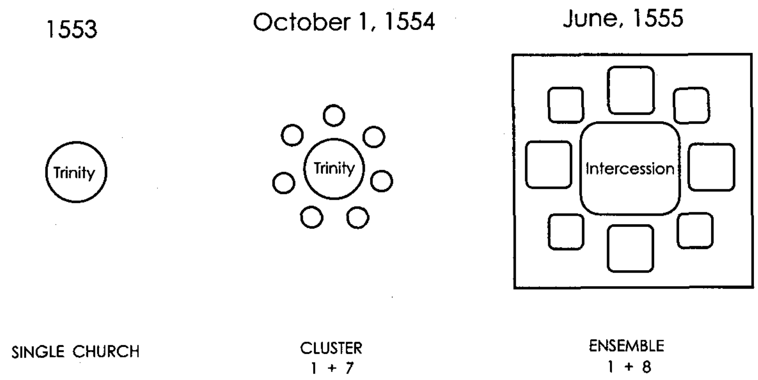


Fig. 1

CHAPEL LAYOUT AND DEDICATION
CHURCH OF THE INTERCESSION ON THE MOAT (LATER SAINT BASIL'S CATHEDRAL)
MOSCOW, RED SQUARE. 1555-1561.

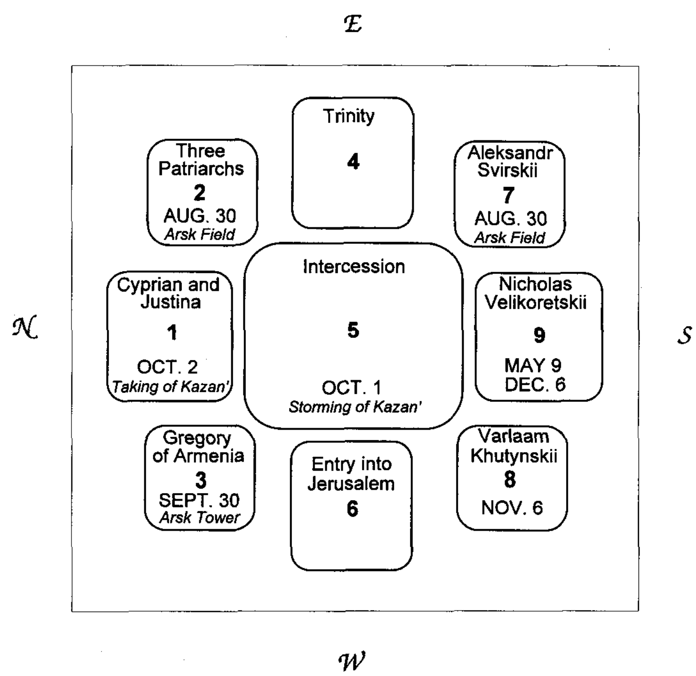


Fig. 2

Chapels 2, 7	August 30	Russian victory on Arsk Field
Chapel 3	September 30	Russian demolition of Arsk Tower
Chapel 5	October 1	Russian preparation to storm Kazan'
Chapel 1	October 2	Russian capture of Kazan'

The association of two chapels with the date August 30 is unusual and raises the possibility that factors other than merely calendrical are involved, especially since the victory on Arsk Field cannot be understood as carrying greater weight than the actual capture of the city on October 2, which received a single representation. Indeed, both feasts commemorated on August 30, that of the Three Patriarchs of Constantinople and of Aleksandr Svirskii, are mentioned in the description of the battle contained in the "Fragment of a Russian (Novgorod) Chronicle" (covering the years 1445–1553) from the mid-sixteenth-century Resurrection copy of the Sophia II Chronicle.[3] Aleksandr Svirskii appears here not only because his feastday marks a major Russian victory, but because he is a national Russian saint, apparently canonized in 1547, the year Ivan was crowned as tsar. I return to this issue below.

None of the four remaining chapels has received a satisfactory calendrical explanation. The Entry into Jerusalem and Trinity (Chapels 6, 4) are both celebrated during the movable feasts of Palm Sunday and Pentecost, respectively. Their dates in 1552, April 10 and June 5, are irrelevant for Kazan', *contra* Kämpfer's unsupported assumption that the former must refer to the April planning of the attack on the Volga outpost and the latter to an as yet unknown event connected with the Kazan' campaign.[4]

The feastday of Varlaam Khutynskii (Chapel 8) falls on November 6. Although some scholars have proposed this date as marking Ivan's triumphant return to Moscow,[5] the chronicle accounts place the event in October, specifically on October 29, the feastday of Saint Anastasia.[6]

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[3] *PSRL* 6 (1853): 307.

[4] Frank Kämpfer, "Über die theologische und architektonische Konzeption der Vasilij-Blazennyj-Kathedrale in Moskau," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 24 (1976), 486. Likewise the attempt to link the Trinity Chapel and the departure of the Russian troops for Kazan' on June 16, 1552, is not supported by the evidence. The latest possible date for Easter is April 25, which yields a latest date of June 14 for Trinity Day. In 1552, however, Easter fell on April 17 and Trinity was accordingly celebrated fifty days later, on Pentecost Sunday, June 5, 1552. See also I. V. Iakovlev, *Pokrovskii sobor (Khram Vasiliia Blazhennogo). Putevoditel' po muzeiu* (Moscow, 1957), 30.

[5] M. A. Il'in, "O naimenovanii pridelov sobora Vasiliia Blazhennogo," *Novoe v arkheologii. Sbornik statei posviashchennyi 70-letiiu Artemiia Vladimirovicha Artsikhovskogo* (Moscow,

Nicholas Velikoretskii (Chapel 9) is named in honor of the miracle-working icon of Saint Nicholas from the village of Velikoretskoe near Viatka in the Russian north, an icon that Ivan ordered brought to Moscow for renovation in 1555, three years after the taking of Kazan'.[7] The feastdays for Saint Nicholas, May 9 and December 6, are also irrelevant to the campaign.

With no direct calendrical connection to Kazan' in four of the nine chapels, we are justified in searching for other more broadly thematic or ideological motives for the naming. In so doing, we look to the architectonics of naming, the placement of the specifically named chapels relative to one another, for clues. The orthogonal axes, east-west, north-south, define the most important chapels of the Intercession. Their towers are higher and their cupolas larger than those on the diagonal. Thematically, the chapels lend themselves to triadic grouping: northern (1, 2, 3), central (4, 5, 6), and southern (7, 8, 9).

Chapels 1, 2, and 3, the northern group, are all calendrical, each representing defining moments in the battle for Kazan'. The diagonal northeast and northwest chapels, numbers 2 and 3, mark two victorious battles, Arsk Field and Arsk Tower; the orthogonal north chapel, number 1, celebrates the actual taking of Kazan'. All are associated with non-Russian saints: Patriarchs Alexander, John, and Paul of Constantinople, Gregory of Armenia, and Saints Cyprian and Justina.

The central, dominant east-west row, Chapels 4, 5, and 6, bear an ideological-theological rather than a narrowly calendrical relationship to Kazan' and the victorious tsar, and are placed in accordance with the cosmological arrangement of a macro-church: the Trinity, representative of heaven, in the position of eastern sanctuary; the Intercession, representative of earth, in the position of central nave; and the Entry into Jerusalem, representative of the kingdom to come, in the position of western narthex.

As for Chapel 4, it was the Trinity that Ivan invoked when he addressed his troops before they left for war against the accursed "sons of Hagar." Once captured, Kazan' was sanctified on October 4 in the name of the Trinity, according to Ivan himself in his victory speech to Metropolitan Makarii.[8] It is the dedication of Kazan' to the Trinity rather than the precise date of October 4, the feastday of Ierothea, bishop of Athens, that takes precedence in the

1972), 292; Kämpfer, "Über die...Konzeption," 487.

[6] *PSRL* 6 (1853): 314–15; and 19 (1903): 475.

[7] *PSRL* 13, pt. 1 (1904): 254.

[8] The narrative of the capture in the Nikon Chronicle states that Kazan' was sanctified in the name of the Life-creating Trinity, the Most Pure Mother of God, and the Miracle-working saints, but the tsar's own words are limited to the Trinity, cf. *PSRL* 13, pt. 1 (1904): 221, 225; pt. 2 (1906): 516, 520.

naming. Ivan's profound devotion to Saint Sergii and his Trinity Monastery is also recognized metonymically in this dedication.

Chapel 6 is dedicated to Christ's Entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday. As I have indicated in previous studies,[9] the image of an emperor entering a city of unbelievers in triumph was an obvious one to celebrate through the Roman-based metaphors of the imperial *adventus* inherent in the iconography of Palm Sunday. Likewise Ivan's return to Moscow as conqueror of Kazan' projected the image of the biblical Jerusalem onto the capital itself, the New Jerusalem. From an architectonic perspective, it is the Jerusalem Chapel that is most extraordinary, standing at the spot normally reserved for the main, western entrance of an Orthodox church. As the largest of the eight surrounding chapels, the Jerusalem Chapel served as a focal point of the elaborate Muscovite Palm Sunday Ritual in which the tsar walked on foot from the Kremlin to Red Square, pulling a horse disguised as an ass at the end of a long lead, with the metropolitan seated sidesaddle in imitation of Christ at the center of a huge cross procession. By leading the metropolitan's horse on foot to the Jerusalem Chapel on Palm Sunday, Ivan recalled his own entry into Moscow on foot after his victory over Kazan'. But it is the theological-ideological interpretation of Kazan''s capture that inspires the chapel dedication, not the calendrical.

The large, central chapel, surmounted by a tent tower, is dedicated to the Intercession of the Most Pure Mother of God, celebrated on October 1. Although the preparations for the final storming of Kazan' and the beginning of that assault occurred on that day, the dominant dedication of the central chapel to the Intercession would seem to have implications beyond the memorialization of a single day.

The Intercession is a major holiday primarily in the Russian Orthodox Church. It commemorates the mid-tenth-century vision of the Mother of God witnessed by Saint Andrew the Fool and his disciple Epiphanius in Constantinople. Appearing at a time when the Byzantine Greeks were being besieged by the Muslim Saracens, Mary entered through the large western

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[9] Michael S. Flier, "The Iconology of Royal Ritual in Sixteenth-Century Muscovy," in *Byzantine Studies: Essays on the Slavic World and on the Eleventh Century*, ed. Speros Vryonis, Jr. (New York, 1992), 53–76; idem, "The Iconography of Royal Procession: Ivan the Terrible and the Muscovite Palm Sunday Ritual," in *European Monarchy: Its Evolution and Practice from Roman Antiquity to Modern Times*, ed. Heinz Duchhardt, Richard Jackson, and David Sturdy (Stuttgart, 1992), 109–125; idem, "Breaking the Code: The Image of the Tsar in the Muscovite Palm Sunday Ritual," in *Medieval Russian Culture, II*, ed. Michael S. Flier and Daniel Rowland. California Slavic Studies, vol. 19 (Berkeley–Los Angeles, 1994), 213–42; idem, "Tsar' kak mifotvorec. Ivan Groznyi i Obriad v Nedeliu Vaii," in *Rossica*, ed. C. Ingerflom, T. Kondrat'eva, and B. Uspensky (Moscow, in press).

doors of the Church at Blachernai, supported by Saint John the Forerunner on one side and Saint John the Divine on the other, the precursors of the First and Second Coming of Christ. After praying fervently on her knees, she stood before the altar, raised her maphorion or veil, which shone like lightning over her head, and spread it over all standing in the church as a sign of her protective intercession. The Greeks repelled the invading Saracens. The cult of the Intercession was popularized first in the Russian northeast during the reign of Grand Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii, whose patron saint was Andrew the Fool; eventually it spread to all of Rus'. The maphorion of the Mother of God is characterized in the liturgy of the day as an aid to faithful emperors in battle and as protection for soldiers.[10] Without diminishing the calendrical reference of the Intercession, I suggest that the symbolism of corporate protection of the Orthodox against the Muslim infidels and the specific references to the military roles of the ruler and his army inherent in this feast were *in part* responsible for the dominant role of the Intercession in the primary dedication of the church.[11]

The chapels of the southern group (7, 8 and 9) are somewhat more intractable. The diagonal chapels, 7 and 8, are dedicated to Saints Aleksandr Svirskii and Varlaam Khutynskii, respectively. Both were miracle-working Russian saints from the north and were held in high esteem by the rulers of Muscovy. As mentioned above, the August 30 date of the former repeats the function of Chapel 2 whereas the November 6 date of the latter has no obvious calendrical reference. The southern orthogonal Chapel 9 is named for a specific miracle-working northern Russian icon, that of Saint Nicholas Velikoretskii. All three southern chapels thus have a specifically Russian, miracle-working orientation, a selection that leads irresistably to Metropolitan Makarii, the archbishop of Novgorod from 1526 to 1542. Makarii oversaw the Councils of 1547 and 1549 that apparently canonized some thirty national saints[12] and actively worked to enhance their role in the history of Muscovy. A

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[10] It is worth noting that when Andrei Bogoliubskii defeated the Volga Bulgars in 1165, a war in which he lost his first son Iziaslav, he commissioned the Church of the Intercession on the River Nerl' not far from the royal compound in Bogoliubovo; see N. N. Voronin, *Zodchestvo severo-vostochnoi Rus XII–XV vekov* 1 (Moscow, 1961): 262–63. Official Muscovite ideology commonly linked the Bulgars and the Tatars of Kazan'; see Jaroslaw Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan': Conquest and Imperial Ideology (1438–1560s)* (The Hague-Paris, 1974), 139–73.

[11] Cf. N. F. Gulianitskii, "Sobor Pokrova na Rvu i 'Kazanskaia tema' v pamiatnikakh arkhitektury XVI–XVII vv.," *Arkhitekturnoe nasledie Moskvy. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov*, ed. N. F. Gulianitskii (Moscow, 1988), 55.

[12] E. Golubinskii, *Istoriia kanonizatsii sviatykh v Russkoi tserkvi*, 2nd ed., rev. and exp. (Moscow, 1903), 99–101. Sources are listed on p. 99, n. 3. For a contrary view on the actuality of canonization in the early Russian Church and in the major mid-sixteenth-century councils, see

former icon painter himself, Makarii personally restored the Viatka icon of Saint Nicholas Velikoretskii.[13] The northern Russian orientation by no means exhausts the referential functions of the southern chapels. But these can be fully appreciated only after considering the remarkable history of this complex church on the moat.

Once the streets had been cleared of corpses on October 4, Ivan entered Kazan' and planted a cross with his own hands on the site of the new cathedral church, dedicated to the Annunciation, which was constructed in a single day. Another church, of Saints Cyprian and Justina, was quickly erected to honor the saints on whose feastday, October 2, the city had been taken. Although the chronicles make explicit reference to churches built in Kazan' in honor of the Russian victory, there are no entries in 1552 and 1553 for similar construction in Moscow. Yet it seems inconceivable that a memorial church would not have been built in the capital, given the activity in Kazan' and the historical and ideological significance of the victory for state and ruler.[14] Later entries confirm our suspicion.[15]

After the victory of Kazan' a stone Church of the Trinity was constructed near the moat on Red Square in the building season of 1553 (late April or May through October), perhaps replacing an earlier wooden one hastily erected after the return of the Russian forces in late October–early November 1552.[16]

Paul Bushkovitch, *Religion and Society in Russia: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York and Oxford, 1992), chap. 4 (74–99).

[13] *PSRL* 13, pt. 1 (1904): 254, 273.

[14] V. L. Snegirev, *Pamiatnik arkhitektury khram Vasiliia Blazhennogo* (Moscow, 1953), 22–23. The provenience is unclear for the variant reading of the *History of Kazan'* with the heading "Glava 78: O postavlenii v Kazani sobornyia tserkvi i na Moskve postavlenii tsarskiia radi pobedy" [*PSRL* 20 (1914), 557].

[15] *PSRL* 13, pt. 1 (1904): 251–52 <s.a. 7063/1554 (October)>, 254–255 <s.a. 7063/1555 (June)>. See also the L'vov Chronicle, *PSRL* 20, pt. 2 (1914): 557 <s.a. 7063/1554 (October)>.

[16] Without tangible evidence, Buseva-Davydova has claimed that a wooden, nonvotive Church of the Trinity must have existed on the site near the moat prior to the campaign against Kazan', since Saint Basil the Blessed was buried August 2, 1552, in its graveyard: I. L. Buseva-Davydova, "Ob izmenenii oblika i nazvaniia sobora Pokrova na Rvu," *Arkhitekturnoe nasledie Moskvy. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov*, ed. N. F. Gulianitskii (Moscow, 1988), 40, 49 (n2). Her sole primary source for this claim is the Mazurinskii Chronicle (last quarter 17th c.) [*PSRL* 31 (1968): 131], in which the entire entry for 7060 (September 1551 to August 1552) is devoted to the death of Basil, the Moscow miracleworker and fool-in-Christ. Aside from brief details of his birth, age at death, and the number of years he flourished as a fool-in-Christ, there is no specific indication of the precise date of his death or the place of burial in this text. Although there is no question of Saint Basil being buried at the site (*PSRL* 14, pt. 1 [1910]: 38), or of churches standing there previously (*PSRL* 13, pt. 1 [1904]: 252; 20, pt. 2 [1914]: 557), there is no evidence of a church dedicated to the Trinity on the site before the capture of Kazan'. Any reference in a later chronicle to the cemetery of the Church of the *Trinity* on the Moat is for the benefit of contemporaries but anachronistic for the interment of Basil the Fool.

In 1554, the tsar had a wooden Intercession and six other chapels built around the Trinity. In the summer of 1555, work commenced on a stone Intercession with nine tops, in other words, one church surrounded by eight others, all built on a single base, essentially the very church seen today in Red Square, save the motley, external details. The surrounding chapels were sanctified on October 1, 1559. The large central Church of the Intercession was completed and sanctified in 1561.[17]

It is striking that the tsar waited some two years after the defeat of Kazan' to order the erection of the Church of the Intercession on the Moat, first in wood, then in stone. What prompted this change of heart, especially since he had dedicated the taking of Kazan' to the Trinity, made frequent pilgrimages to the Trinity Monastery, and had at first ordered a stone Church of the Trinity built on the moat? The answer is not to be found solely in the taking of Kazan'. It is true that the extension of royal space from inside the Kremlin out to Red Square was in itself a symbolic expression of the spread of Muscovite political and spiritual domination over the territory of Kazan'. But symbolic extension in time was no less significant for Ivan: like his father before him, he needed a male heir to continue the royal line.

On his return from Kazan', in the vicinity of Vladimir, Ivan was met by a messenger from Moscow bearing the glad tidings that Anastasiia had borne him a son, Dmitrii.[18] When Ivan had left for battle in June 1552, his wife must have been about six months pregnant. The tsar surely anticipated glad tidings on his return to Moscow.

Ivan went immediately to the Convent of the Intercession in Suzdal'—with its churches of the Intercession, the Annunciation, and the Conception of Saint Anne—to pray and give thanks. This was a highly appropriate gesture since his father Vasilii III had rebuilt the convent in 1518 to obtain the help of the Mother of God in overcoming the infertility plaguing him and his wife Solomoniia. Vasilii ultimately divorced her in 1525 and banished her to the convent in order to marry Elena Glinskaia, the future mother of Ivan IV. From the Convent of the Intercession Ivan continued on to the Trinity Monastery to

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[17] *PSRL* 13, pt. 2 (1906): 320 <s.a. October 1, 7068/1559>. In the *Book of Degrees*, a similar passage remarks that Metropolitan Makarii sanctified the church, built cleverly and wonderfully with various churches on a single foundation. Here the church proclaims God's miracles in the capture of Kazan' and Astrakhan' as well: *PSRL* 21, pt. 2 (1913): 674 <s.a. October 1, 7068/1559>. The Nikon Chronicle supplement reports that in the year 1561 the stone Church of the Intercession, and the Trinity and other chapels were completed: *PSR* 13, pt. 2 (1906): 334 <apparently late in the year, s.a. 7069/1561>.

[18] Dmitrii Ivanovich was named in honor of the Muscovite grand prince who had himself won a great victory over the Tatars in 1380 on Kulikovo Pole; see *PSRL* 6 (1853): 314.

pay homage to Saint Sergii. These events take on particular importance in the *History of Kazan'*, a lengthy narrative ostensibly written in 1564–1565, shortly after the completion of the Church of the Intercession on the Moat. There is disagreement on the date of the nonextant protograph—mid-sixteenth century, late sixteenth–early seventeenth century, mid-seventeenth century—but specialists assume that contemporary sources were used as the basis of the *History*, sources reflective of official government views on the events at Kazan'.[19] With embellishments, visions, and miracles scattered throughout the text, the *History*, highly favorable to Ivan IV, makes a point of remarking that Ivan saw the victory over Kazan' and the birth of a male heir as a twofold gift from God.

Ныне же двема радостьми радуюся и двема веселием веселюся; сплетаю веселие и радость. Обоими сими хвалу возсылаю дивному и славному непости(жи)мому и неиследованному Богу, едина о победе данныя Божия помощи, другая же о подани младыя ми леторасли. Великии светилниче [Saint Sergii]! Помолися небесному царю Христу, дабы даровал прочая лета живота моего в тишине и в смирении преити со отрочатом моим. Молитвами твоими дарова ми Бог его.[20]

A dynastic crisis ensued in March of 1553, when Ivan fell gravely ill with fever and asked his boyars to swear allegiance to his infant son. Some refused to do so at first, favoring Ivan's adult cousin instead. The tsar forced the issue, but remained doubtful about the loyalty of the nobility. After his recovery, he took his wife and son on a pilgrimage in May to monasteries in the north and east, including the Convent of the Intercession and the Trinity Monastery.[21]

On the way back to Moscow, Tsarevich Dmitrii, the heir apparent, died (June 1553).[22] Once again the *History of Kazan'* placed emphasis on the emotional state of affairs:

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[19] See Edward L. Keenan, Jr., "Coming to Grips with the Kazanskaya Istoriya: Some Observations on Old Answers and New Questions," *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., Inc.* 11 (1964–1968), nos. 1–2 (31–32): 168ff, 183; and M. B. Pliukhanova, "Kazan' i Tsargrad. O montazhe istochnikov v 'Kazanskoi istorii'," *Montazh. Literatura, iskusstvo, teatr, kino*, ed. B. V. Raushenbakh (Moscow: Nauka, 1988), 190–92.

[20] [And now I rejoice with two joys, I am happy with two happinesses; I weave joy and happiness together. With both of them I send up praise to the wondrous and glorious incomprehensible and inimitable God, the one for God's help granted in the victory, and the other for the gift to me of a young offshoot (branch). O great prelate (Saint Sergii)! Pray to Christ, the Emperor of Heaven, that he let me spend the remaining years of my life with my child in peace and humility. God has given him to me through thy prayers.] *PSRL* 19 (1903): 474–75.

[21] *PSRL* 13, pt. 1 (1904): 230–31 <7061/1553 (March, May)>; pt. 2 (1906): 523–26 <March 1, 7061/1553>).

[22] Dmitrii was born in late September or early October 7061 (1552) and died in June 7061

Царь же и царица зелною печалъю объяти быша, понеже не имуще тог(да) ни единаго чада; прежде бо сего две тщери их, царевна Анна и царевна Мария, к Богу отидоша. Тако самодержавныи царь и царица его, сугубо скорбяще приидоша же в Ростов и быша у всех их тамо чюдотворцов, молящися у честныя раки святителя Леонтия: прилежно моляхуся, со усердием, просяще у Бога милости чадородия, в наследие царству своему.[23]

After a visit to Pereiaslavl', they were blessed with the news that Anastasiia had conceived once again. A son was born in March 1554. The birth of Tsarevich Ivan challenged the tragic pattern of failure in sustaining the dynasty. Within a space of three years, Ivan and Anastasiia had experienced three births and three deaths.[24] Given Tsar Ivan's devotion to the Convent of the Intercession in Suzdal', especially its Church of the Conception of Saint Anne, he must have felt the special blessing of the Mother of God in young Ivan's birth nine months after Dmitrii's death. The new heir apparent was born March 28, three days after Annunciation Day, coincident in 1554 with Easter Sunday.

The defeat-turned-into-victory in Tsar Ivan's dynastic crisis provided a personal parallel to his historical struggle with Kazan', the city finally subdued after two unsuccessful major campaigns and viewed as a new birth of the Russian realm.[25] It was in this building season of 1554 that the wooden Church of the Intercession and chapels were erected around the stone Church of the Trinity on the Moat, thus creating a site dominating the marketplace and dedicated to the tsar's great Christian victory and the continuation of his line, both linked to Mary's protective intercession.[26] Once the stone Intercession and chapels were begun in June of the following year, 1555, and the

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(1553), based on the year beginning September 1. *PSRL* 13 (1904): 232 <s.a. June 7061/1553>.

[23] [And the tsar and tsaritsa were overcome with great sadness, since they had not even a single child then; for before this their two daughters, Tsarevna Anna and Tsarevna Maria had gone to God. Thus the autocratic tsar and his tsaritsa, both grieving deeply, went to Rostov and visited all the miracle-working saints there, praying at the venerable shrine of the prelate Leontii; and they prayed assiduously, fervently, begging God's mercy in the bearing of a child, for the continuity of their tsardom.] *PSRL* 19 (1903): 484–85. Cf. the corresponding passage in the *Stepennaia kniga*, *PSRL* 21, pt. 2 (1913): 651–52.

[24] The chronology is as follows: Anna (August 10, 1549–July 20, 1550), Mariia (March 17, 1551–December 1551), Dmitrii (late September or early October 1552–June 26, 1553).

[25] A. L. Batalov and T. N. Viatchanina, "Ob ideinom znachenii i interpretatsii ierusalimskogo obraza v russkoi arkhitekture XVI–XVII vv.," *Arkhitekturnoe nasledstvo* 36 (1988), 33.

[26] *PSRL* 19 (1903): 474. Il'in notes a possible connection of the Moscow Intercession and the Convent of the Intercession in Suzdal', but in the context of the birth of Dmitrii in 1552: "O naimenovanii," 291. Since the Moscow Intercession is not mentioned until the fall of 1554, the association with Dmitrii is anachronistic.

predecessors on the site were demolished, the dedication of the old stone Trinity was shifted to the eastern chapel of the main east-west orthogonal axis, thus transferring greatest honor to the Intercession.[27]

When the original cluster of Trinity plus seven gave way to the ensemble of Intercession plus eight, more than the simple addition of a chapel was involved. The stone Trinity surrounded by seven wooden chapels suggested in the very difference of materials a cluster of individual, disconnected architectural entities. By contrast the stone Intercession surrounded by stone chapels, all on a single base, presented itself as an architectural unity. But with that unity came a specific architectural mandate: the imposition of axes on what was now a single ensemble. Seven chapels could be built on axes around the central Intercession: four on the diagonal and three on the orthogonal axes on the north, east, and south sides, thus leaving the western pole available for the customary entrance to the central church (see figure 3a). But the theological significance of the Trinity, Intercession, and Jerusalem chapels made imperative their ordered placement—east, central, west—along the dominant orthogonal east-west axis, their current position. With three chapels thus committed, the remaining five chapels would have been distributed asymmetrically, three on one side, two on the other, clearly an unacceptable arrangement (see figure 3b). The solution, of course, was to add another chapel, for a total of eight surrounding the central Intercession (see figure 3c). The documentary account of this innovation defies credulity, but adds an element of mystery and miracle to the ultimate design of the church.

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[27] The site of the whole ensemble was so tied in the popular mind to the former Church of the Trinity that the new stone Intercession was called interchangeably Trinity on the Moat or Intercession on the Moat well into the eighteenth century: Kuznetsov, "Eshche novye letopisnye dannye," 31–32.

IMPOSITION OF AXES ON THE ENSEMBLE

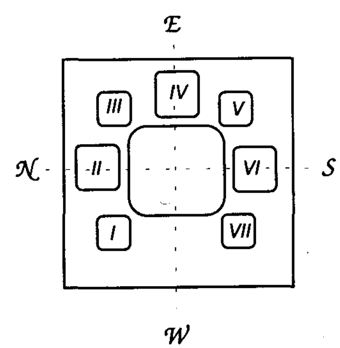


Fig. 3a. Intercession + 7 chapels.
Symmetrical plan on axis

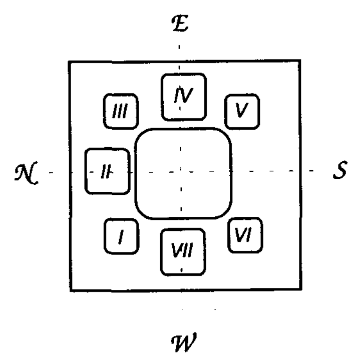


Fig. 3b. Intercession + 7 chapels.
Asymmetrical plan on axis

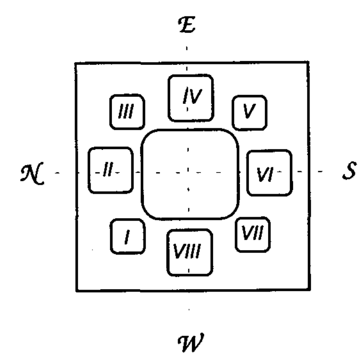


Fig. 3c. Intercession + 8 chapels.
Symmetrical plan on axis

> И потом дарова ему Бог дву мастеров руских, по реклу Постника и Барму, и быша премудрии и удобни таковому чюдному делу. И по совету святительску повеле им здати церкви каменны заветныя, 8 престолов, мастерыж Божиим промыслом основаша 9 престолов, не якож повелено им, но яко по Бозе разум даровася им в размерении основания.[28]

Given that the patron being overruled was no less a personage than the tsar himself, one suspects other forces at work. The unnamed chapel was given over to the miracle-working icon of Saint Nicholas Velikoretskii. Recent research has shown that the tsar had ample time to plan this "divinely inspired" additional chapel well in advance of the foundation of the stone Intercession.[29] The tsar ordered the icon to be brought from Velikoretskoe in the north to Moscow by water routes, thus guaranteeing its passage through newly captured territory, including Kazan'. The chronicles record numerous miracles, healings, and conversions of heathen people of both sexes to Christianity. The icon was initially installed in the Kremlin's Dormition Cathedral, then moved to Red Square, the tsar's newly marked space, where it was placed in a temporary wooden chapel near the new stone Intercession, already reaching slightly less than a *sazhen*—some six feet—in height. Numerous miracles were recorded in both places.[30] According to the Piskarëv Chronicle (compilation of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century texts):

> И первое основание сам царь касается своима руками. И разсмотриша мастеры, что лишней престол обретеся, и сказаша царю. И царь и митрополит,

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[28] [Then God granted him (Tsar Ivan) two Russian architects, Postnik and Barma by name, and they were exceedingly wise and well suited for such a wonderful task. And on the advice of the higher clergy, he ordered them to build votive stone churches, eight chapels (altars); but through God's direction, the architects laid the foundation for nine chapels, not as they were commanded but as their God-given reason suggested in measuring out the foundation.] *Tale of the Miracle-working Icon,* in Rumiantsev, 364, fols. 284–285, cited in Kuznetsov, "Eshche novye letopisnye dannye," 25.

[29] See A. L. Batalov, "K interpretatsii arkhitektury sobora Pokrova na Rvu," in *Ikonografiia arkhitektury. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov* (Moscow, 1990), 21–22.

[30] The wooden chapel was built adjacent to the stone Chapel 9 under construction in order to house a life-size copy of the miracle-working icon, which also produced miracles: *PSRL,* v. 13, pt. 1 (1904), 254 <s.a. 7063/1555>; Kuznetsov, "Eshche novye letopisnye dannye," 26. Unlike the chronicle accounts of the war with Kazan', the *History of Kazan'* links Saint Nicholas with the final, successful campaign. The saint appeared in a dream to a soldier of the tsar's court during the final days of the war. The saint urged the soldier to tell the tsar to attack Kazan' immediately, without fear, on the feastday of the Intercession. God, Saint Nicholas declared, would turn the city over to the tsar, along with the Saracens opposing him. The mention of Saracens in this case is a clear reference to the tenth-century war between the Byzantine Greeks and the Saracens associated with the original vision of the Intercession of the Mother of God at Blachernai. After Saint Nicholas appeared a second time, the now convinced soldier ran to tell Ivan and the storming of the city was begun: *PSRL* 19 (1903): 142.

и весь сунклит царьской во удивление прииде о том, что обретеся лишней престол. И поволи царь ту быти престолу Николину: «И изволи де бог, и полюби то место Никола, а у меня да не бысть в помышлении того».[31]

The desire of the tsar to link the power of miracle-working Russian saints and their icons with the Church of the Intercession infuses the southern row of chapels (7, 8, 9) with a practical function distinct from the non-Russian calendrical (1, 2, 3) but with affinities to the theological-ideological (4, 5, 6). The saints' active involvement in the political, social, and spiritual life of Muscovy is recalled through direct intercession, intervention through miraculous visions, or through their thaumaturgic icons. The cathedral itself becomes a station for pilgrimage, a site of miracles.

In the case of Chapel 7, Aleksandr Svirskii is one of the national saints specifically singled out as a great miracle-worker in miracles by Metropolitan Makarii, for example, in his third epistle to Ivan just before the final assault on Kazan'.[32] The *Tale of the Icon of Saint Nicholas Velikoretskii* also documents the miracle-working powers of the icon of Saint Aleksandr Svirskii, installed in Moscow's Cathedral of the Dormition.[33]

The dedication of Chapel 8 to Saint Varlaam Khutynskii is not apparently motivated by the saint's connection to the battle of Kazan' or by his miracle-working icons. Il'in, citing Sheredega, has proposed that a chapel dedicated to Saint Varlaam is included in the Intercession on the Moat in reference to Ivan's father, Vasilii III, who took his vows under the monastic name of Varlaam shortly before his death.[34] But since Ivan did not dedicate a chapel here to his own patron saint, John the Forerunner, it is doubtful that he would so honor his father, whose primary connection to Kazan' was in being on the losing end of a number of engagements.

According to the *Stepennaia kniga* (mid-1560s), Varlaam appeared in a vision together with Saint Sergii and interceded on behalf of Vasilii III and the city of Moscow in convincing a large synod of past prelates not to abandon

[31] [And the tsar himself lays his own hands upon the first layer of the foundation. And the architects saw that there was an extra chapel and told the tsar. And the tsar and the metropolitan and the entire royal entourage were amazed at the fact that there was an extra chapel. And the tsar permitted a chapel of (Saint) Nicholas to be there: "And God apparently wished it so; and Nicholas has grown to love this place, whereas the thought never occurred to me at all."] *PSRL* 34 (1978): 189 <s.a. 7068/1559>.

[32] *PSRL* 6 (1853): 309.

[33] Cf. the *Tale of the Icon of Saint Nicholas Velikoretskii* included in Rumiantsev, 364, cited in Kuznetsov, "Eshche novye letopisnye dannye," 24–26.

[34] "O naimenovanii," 292. This ascription is repeated in Buseva-Davydova, "Ob izmenenii," 41.

the capital to the infidels.[35] If we examine Varlaam in his role as intercessor for the Muscovite court, we can uncover the primary motivation for his inclusion.

The *Life of Varlaam Khutynskii* contains an account of the miracle of Varlaam's prophecy of frost and snow for his return to Novgorod on the first Friday of the Apostolic Fast in the late spring.[36] Archbishop Antonii of Novgorod was horrified at the extraordinary weather timed with Varlaam's arrival, weather that threatened to destroy the rye crop. Not only would the snow not destroy the rye, retorted Varlaam, the harvest would be even better because the worms in the roots would die. According to legend, Antonii established a service in honor of Varlaam's prophecy after the saint's death and whenever Novgorod was threatened by too much rain or by drought, the archbishop would lead a cross procession to the Khutyn Monastery and invoke Varlaam's aid for good weather. In later, expanded versions of the *Life*,[37] the actual service was described in some detail, with the participants in the cross procession praying not only for good weather but for order in their lives, for the well-being of the whole world and for God's churches, for the well-being of the pious and Christ-loving tsar and grand prince (insert name) and his pious and Christ-loving tsaritsa and grand princess (insert name), that the Lord God might grant them long life, health, and salvation. There were further prayers for the army and for the gift of victory against the Muslims and the Latins. After this, there was a special prayer begging God for a gift to the tsar and tsaritsa, the fruit of their loins, a noble son. With the exception of the prayer for the weather, the remainder of the material is clearly a later addition, suggesting that in the miracle of the frost and the snow Varlaam had already achieved status as a national saint, an intercessor for the whole Russian land, for the Muscovite tsar and grand prince, and all Orthodox Christians.[38] This intercessor against drought was ultimately invoked to influence royal fertility, although the precise referent here is unknown. The Pskov I Chronicle, however, notes that when Makarii became archbishop of Novgorod in 1524 [actually 1526—MSF], he had to include a prayer in all the litanies to God,

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[35] *PSRL* 21, pt. 2 (1913): 600–602.

[36] The Apostolic Fast begins as early as May 17 and extends to June 28, the eve of the feastday of the Apostles Peter and Paul.

[37] According to *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti drevnei Rusi* [hereafter *SKKDR*], vol. 1 (*XI–pervaia polovina XIV v.*), (Leningrad, 1987), the earliest redaction of the *Life* arose sometime between 1250 and the beginning of the fourteenth century (139–40). The so-called expanded version arose in 1526 and a second variant thereof in the mid- to second half of the sixteenth century.

[38] L. A. Dmitriev, *Zhitiinye povesti russkogo severa kak pamiatniki literatury XIII–XVII vv.* (Leningrad, 1973), 60–61.

the Mother of God, and the miracle-workers for Muscovite grand prince Vasilii III and his new second wife Elena Glinskaia, that God might grant them the fruit of their loins.[39] Ivan IV was born to them four years later. Thus, in addition to being a national saint revered by Moscow in general, and Vasilii III in particular, Varlaam was also associated with the successful birth of a male heir to the throne.

The double orientation of political and dynastic well-being resonates with the two-fold inspiration of the Intercession on the Moat itself. Corroboration of this duality in the veneration of Saint Varlaam comes in the form of the seventeenth-century Pogodin copy (no. 602) of the *Life of Varlaam,* which contains annotated variant readings. The presence of such variants demonstrates that the compiler had access to a copy of the so-called special (*osobaia*) redaction of the *Life*, a variant of the extended redaction that had first arisen in the second quarter of the sixteenth century.[40] Included in the prayers after the miracle of the frost and the snow are the same references to the tsar and tsaritsa. But written in above the spaces marked "insert name" (*imiariek*) are Ivan Vasilievich of all Rus' and Anastasiia, unambiguously Ivan IV and his first wife.

The original text containing the names would have been written between 1547, when Ivan and Anastasiia were married, and 1554, when young Ivan was born. The birth of the tsarevich prior to October, 1554, when the wooden Intercession with chapels was sanctified, must have influenced the naming of the second of the two "national Russian" chapels in honor of Varlaam Khutynskii. The tradition of appealing to the Mother of God and Varlaam Khutynskii for a male heir to continue the royal line had been established long before the war with Kazan' was even engaged, during the reign of Vasilii III and that of his son, Ivan IV. The memorial church on the Moat provided Ivan the opportunity to express his devotion to both for the birth of his successor in 1554.

The architectonics of the Church of the Intercession on the Moat constitute a text as appropriate for reading and interpretation as the chronicles and other historical documents that provide fleeting glimpses of its development in time and space. The fact of an evolution of ecclesiastical forms and arrangements on the moat in Red Square near the Frolov (later Savior) Gate is itself an index of social and political evolution. The design and placement of so

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[39] *Pskovskie letopisi*, pt. 1, ed. A. Nasonov (Moscow-Leningrad, 1941), 103 (cited in Dmitriev, *Zhitiinye povesti*, 61).

[40] *SKKDR* 1:140–41.

important and visible a commission required the attention and involvement of the highest levels of Church and State.

The rearrangement from a cluster into an ensemble was an indication of the deeper unity of external and internal triumph signified by the defeat of Kazan' and the birth of a male heir to the throne. Belying the statements that all the chapels refer to important dates and deeds in the war with Kazan', the resulting Church of the Intercession and eight surrounding chapels present a structure with broader reference and more tangible appeal. It is at once a memorial to a major Russian military victory; a celebration of the eternal truths about Christ, the Mother of God, and the kingdom to come; and a testimony to the power of national Russian saints and icons to work miracles and in so doing, guarantee the viability of the Russian royal line in the face of the millennium to come. This complex of ideas is subsumed under the protective veil of the intercession of the Mother of God.[41]

Our goal in this study has been to show that the ensemble that arose first as the Church of the Intercession on the Moat is highly structured and hierarchized. From the prominence of the orthogonal (versus diagonal) axes to the triadic arrangement of chapels (military in the north, intercessional-national in the south, and ideological-eschatological in the center), the layout of the church is neither haphazard nor accidental. The interaction of its parts with facts of ecclesiastical prescription, historical conquest, and royal continuity results in a text of great complexity and startling originality, one that Ivan IV in cooperation with his closest advisers was able to use in the aftermath of great personal and professional struggle to express his symbolic dominance over space and time, destiny and dynasty, in the most public venue of his capital. His architectural impulse and its attendant rituals provide significant evidence in a Russian key for Geertz' underlying thesis: majesty is indeed made, not born.

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[41] Cf. M. Pliukhanova, "Kompozitsiia Pokrova Bogoroditsy v politicheskom samosoznanii Moskovskogo tsarstva," *Sbornik statei k 70-letiiu prof. Iu. M. Lotmana*, ed. A. Mal'ts and V. Stolovich (Tartu, 1992), 89.

Sailing to Byzantium: Greek Texts and the Establishment of Authority in Early Modern Muscovy

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"Alas! He is like some boat, small or large, on a great sea,
having no sign to indicate the winds:
for intending to sail directly to the East,
he finds himself in the West."[1]
(The brothers Joannikios and Sophronios Leichudes
on the perils of not knowing Greek.)

In his *Manna* of 1688 Sil′vestr Medvedev made two arguments against the authority of Greek texts. One argument said, in essence, that Greek texts written by Greeks were authoritative. The problem was rather that those texts most readily available in Muscovy had been "corrupted by the Germans." That is to say, they were sixteenth- and seventeenth-century western European printings and not Greek manuscripts themselves, which were two quite different things.[2] Medvedev's other argument said that all Greek texts were potentially suspect, since they had been subject to corruption by Greek heretics: for "where" (he asked rhetorically) "were there such great heresies as in Greece, in the Greek language, and especially among the clergy?"[3]

One type of questioning has often asked of such testimonies where they allow us to place the given figure in the conflict over the direction of a new, early modern Muscovite culture: was the author an Old Believer or a member of the official Church? Was he a Latinizer or a Hellenophile? In these terms, it would be reasonable to place Medvedev—who was, after all, a student of Simiaon Polatski—in the pro-Latin party of the official Church. But there

[1] Aleksandr Prozorovskii, "Sil′vestr Mevedev. (Ego zhizn′ i deiatel′nost′)," *Chteniia v Imperatorskom obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom Universitete (ChOIDR)* (1896), 563: "увы, яко кораблецъ нѣкій малый или великій на велицѣмъ мори есть, не имѣя знамя вѣтроуказателное, помышляя бо прямо къ востоку плыти, на западѣ обрѣтается."

[2] Prozorovskii, "Sil′vestr Medvedev," 500; and cf. the similar argument at Sil′vestr Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe pravoslavnym i pokazanie svetloe o novopravlenii knizhnom i o prochem," ed. Sergei Belokurov, *ChOIDR* (1885): 12, 13, 14. On Medvedev, see Prozorovskii, "Sil′vestr Medvedev."

[3] Prozorovskii, "Sil′vestr Medvedev," 528.

were also some inconsistencies that suggest that the question is not correctly framed.

Another line of interrogation has probed the testimonies for their genealogies—what was the original source of the arguments employed in making the case for a Western-looking or Eastern-looking culture? One common assumption is that the Latinizers drew their arguments from the West and the Hellenophiles from the East. But this approach ignores the requirements of the polemical give-and-take: a standard ploy was to make your opponents' authorities testify against them. Thus we often find "Eastern" arguments in "Western" mouths and vice versa.

In the case I have cited here we can find two different sources for the anti-Greek argument: the "Eastern" one had its origin in the writings of Maksim Grek and was frequently repeated by the Old Believers. The other, "Western" one was probably best known to Medvedev in the works of such disparate Polish biblical philologists as the radical Antitrinitarian Szymon Budny and the Jesuit Jakub Wujek.

First, the "Eastern" argument. Maksim Grek had warned Muscovite society in the sixteenth century that the Greek texts most readily available to them, the printings of the late-humanistic Latin West, were suspect. Even worse—they were the result of a conscious effort to suppress the truth. As the most fully developed version of the story had it, the Latins had plundered Byzantium of its manuscripts and carted them off to the West, where papists and heretics had printed Greek versions that supported their own errors and heresies; and then they had burned the originals.[4] This general argument would enjoy a long and varied career. We find it in one guise in Meletii Smotryts'kyi's *Threnos* of 1610, in another in the tracts of the Old Believers, and in yet another version in the works of Sil'vestr Medvedev.[5]

The second, "Western" argument had a longer genealogy. Its direct origin was in the warnings of the Latin Church against *graeca fides*, which sought to undermine contemporary Greek authorities (and to support contemporary Latin authorities, especially the Vulgate) by claiming that, although Greek

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[4] Gerhard Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft (1453–1821). Die Orthodoxie im Spannungsfeld der nachreformatorischen Konfessionen des Westens* (Munich, 1988), 46–47.

[5] Meletij Smotryts'kyi, ΘΡΗΝΟΣ *To iest Lament iedyney Powszechney Apostolskiey Wschodniey Cerkwie* (Vilnius, 1610), facsimile edition in *Collected Works of Meletij Smotryc'kyj*, Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1987), 125^{r-v}/141–42; N. Subbotin, ed., *Materialy dlia istorii raskola za pervoe vremia ego sushchestvovaniia*, 9 vols. (Moscow, 1875–1895), 2:86–87, 3:15, 4:257, 6:157. See also Ol'ga B. Strakhov, "Attitudes to Greek Language and Culture in Seventeenth-Century Muscovy," *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* 6 (1990): 124–26.

texts had originally been authoritative, they had later been corrupted by the many Greek heretics who had willfully altered them to reflect their own doctrinal positions.[6] Its more distant antecedent is perhaps to be sought in the warnings of antiquity against *graeculi*, who were represented as gift-bearing, crafty, lying, cheating, etc.

Medvedev's argument against *graeca fides* had been employed in various guises in the debates over sacred philology of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. He probably knew it in one of its Polish incarnations. It had been introduced there by the radical Antitrinitarian Szymon Budny, who publicly declared himself cured of his former belief in the authority of the texts of Holy Scripture in the "original languages." Budny alone of the Polish heterodox philologists argued that the Latin Vulgate was often more reliable than the Greek New Testament, because it had been well translated from as yet uncorrupted Greek sources and had been more carefully transmitted, whereas the available Greek texts were all the result of the corrupting activities of stupid, sleepy, or (especially) malicious scribes.[7] This argument suited the Catholic side as well as it served Budny, and the Polish Jesuit Jakub Wujek gleefully cited this "Protestant" argument against all the other Protestants.[8]

I would seek one of the direct ancestors of Medvedev's argument against Greek texts in Budny's formulations (whether in their original context or as cited by Wujek and his editors). Budny and Medvedev used similar formulations in warning their co-confessionalists against their tendencies to make a fetish of the Greek authority allegedly embodied in extant Greek texts. Budny had written that the Greek texts were the most corrupt "because almost all heretics were Greeks, arose in Greece, and lived there; and even if one of

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[6] An authoritative modern statement of this medieval argument can be found in Roberto Bellarmine, *Opera omnia*, vol. 1 (Frankfurt am Main, 1965), 141–42. For a Polish Catholic version of this argument directed against the Orthodox, see Piotr Skarga, *Na Treny y Lament Theophila Orthologa, Do Rusi Greckiego Nabożenstwa, Przestroga* (Cracow, 1610), 53. Cited in David Frick, *Meletij Smotryc'kyj* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), 199, 340.

[7] Szymon Budny, *Nowy Testament znowu przełożony, a na wielu mieyscach za pewnemi dowodami od przysad przez Simon Budnego oczyściony krotkiemi przypiskami po kraioch obiaśniony, Przydany też są na końcu tegoż dostatecznieysze przypiski ktore każdey iakmiarz odmiany przyczyny vkazują* (Łosk, 1574), ciii^{v}–ciiii^{r}. Cited in David Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology in the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation: Chapters in the History of the Controversies (1551–1632)*, University of California Publications in Modern Philology, vol. 123 (Berkeley, Calif., 1989), 93.

[8] Jakub Wujek, trans. *Biblia to iest Księgi Starego y Nowego Testamenty, Według Łacińskiego przekładu starego, w kościele powszechnym przyjętego, na Polski ięyzk znowu z pilnością przełożone z dokładaniem textu żydowskiego y Greckiego, y z wzkładem Katholickim, trudnieyszych mieysc, do obrony Wiary świętey powszechney przeciw kacerztwom tych czasów należących* (Cracow, 1599)**iii^{r}. Cited in Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology*, 196–97.

them happened not to be a Greek, he still used the Greek language."[9] Medvedev may also have leaned on Budny when he argued that the Muscovites should not reject testimonies correctly translated from correct Latin books.[10]

And yet, Medvedev also hastened to warn against "Latin" subterfuge. In one of the passages I mentioned at the outset, he employed his two anti-Greek arguments as successive links in a chain of thought, the final message of which was actually anti-Latin: the Romans had purposefully sent a book full of errors to Moscow written in the Greek language, counting on the superstitious idolatry of Muscovites for all Greek books, manuscript or printed, since the Muscovites had forgotten that no nation had given birth to more heretics than the Greeks.[11]

These genealogies make for an odd family album: on the one side we find Maksim Grek, Meletii Smotryts'kyi, the Old Believers, and Sil'vestr Medvedev; and on the facing page—Szymon Budny, Jakub Wujek, and Medvedev. But if the black sheep of the family were not enough to make us wonder whether we had posed the question correctly, we certainly ought to become a little more suspicious upon noting one further discrepancy: the two arguments Medvedev employed—as part of a single line of reasoning—were, to a great extent, mutually contradictory. The first argument—which was at its base *pro*-Greek—said that Greek texts were reliable up to the (relatively recent) point where they had been taken to the West and printed there by papists and (other) heretics. The second argument—anti-Greek to a considerable degree—said that Greek texts were reliable only up to the (long-past) point where Greek heretics had begun to corrupt them. One could imagine a scenario that made use of both arguments: the originals were first corrupted by Greek heretics and then by Western heretics. But Medvedev did not make this argument, and to retain some coherence he would have had to emphasize the "overkill" aspects of the reasoning: the Greeks corrupted their own manuscripts, and just to be sure the Latins went them one better. Either argument would have been sufficient for Medvedev's purposes without adding the other. And yet he used both in this linked fashion.

The point is that Medvedev was not anti-Greek, anti-Latin, etc., for principle's sake only, in order solely to adhere to some broadly defined worldview. Rather, he was anti-Greek, anti-Latin, etc., in order to oppose two very concrete Greeks, the brothers Joannikios and Sophronios Leichudes,

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[9] Budny, *Nowy Testament*, ciii^{v}, cited in Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology*, 93.

[10] Prozorovskii, "Sil'vestr Medvedev," 519; Budny, *Nowy Testament*, ciiii^{r}, cited in Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology*, 93.

[11] Prozorovskii, "Sil'vestr Medvedev," 528.

who, together with Evfimii Chudovskii, had become his main opponents.[12] Thus, Medvedev's goal may not have been to oppose Greek authority per se, but to employ first anti-Greek, then anti-Latin arguments, etc.—*without regard for the coherence of the case as a whole*—in order to oppose the Leichudes and Evfimii. In the final analysis, Medvedev was willing to suggest that the Greek brothers might actually have been sent to Muscovy by Lutheran heretics, Calvinists, Roman Catholics, or even by the Turkish sultan.[13] This was guilt by association. Medvedev represented all these groups as sources of evil, with which no real Orthodox Christian would have anything to do. His arguments were that the Leichudes were representatives of anything but Eastern spirituality, and that it was he who was the adherent of real Greek Orthodoxy. Thus, his drift was, in a way, fundamentally Greece-ward: it was an effort to co-opt Greek authority from the Leichudes, Evfimii, and the rest of the "Hellenophiles," while arrogating that authority to himself.

I am not suggesting that Medvedev did not believe many of the things he said. I mean rather to draw attention to a central epistemological problem: to what degree did these individuals express their "real" convictions in their public and semi-private pronouncements, and to what degree did they seek through these pronouncements to achieve particular (long- or short-range) goals that may or may not have had some direct connection with the content of the pronouncements? Of course, these two possibilities were not mutually exclusive; it may often have been a question of degree. I mean simply to suggest that it may be useful to shift attention from the opinions expressed to the way repertoires of arguments were employed in particular instances. Part of an examination of Muscovite culture in this period could describe how individuals used particular arguments to achieve specific goals at certain junctures in their lives. A series of investigations at this micro-level may reveal some larger patterns of behavior in Muscovite society during the upheavals associated with its entry into early modern Europe.

The practical implication for this sort of investigation of cultural history is that it becomes less interesting (or perhaps: it is only the first step) to determine who was "pro-Greek" and who was "anti-Greek." More important will be to determine in each instance against whom the arguments were used

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[12] On the Leichudes, see M. Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy. Opyt issledovaniia istorii tserkovnogo prosveshcheniia i tserkovnoi zhizni kontsa XVII i nachala XVIII vekov* (St. Petersburg, 1899). On Evfimii, see Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*; S. Brailovskii, "Otnosheniia Chudovskogo inoka Evfimiia k Simeonu Polotskomu i Sil'vestru Medvedvu (Stranichka iz istorii prosveshcheniia v XVII stoletii)," *Russkii filologicheskii vestnik* 22 (1889): 262–90; A. Florovskii, "Chudovskii inok Evfimii: Odin iz poslednikh pobornikov 'grecheskogo ucheniia' v Moskve v kontse XVII veka," *Slavia* 19 (1949): 100–151.

[13] Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe," 36–37.

and to what end: that is, to establish the general rules for a rhetoric of cultural polemic and to recreate individual instances of the practical use of that rhetoric. I will not, however, make any of these micro-analyses in this paper. My aim here is rather to point out the need for, and the potential usefulness of, such studies and to provide a general guide to one aspect—the sacred-philological aspect—of the rhetorical language in which the episodes were situated.

We should not expect consistency here. It was possible to be pro-Greek and anti-Greek at the same time: anti-Greek against all Greeks who ever lived or against Greeks at only one stage of their historical development; or anti-Greek against the quite specific, flesh-and-blood Greeks who were one's competitors on a daily basis. But one could also be anti-Greek without a Greek in sight: anti-Greek against the Protestants, against all the Orthodox Slavs, or only against the Ruthenians. There were also those (such as Sil′vestr Medvedev, some Old Believers, Szymon Budny, and Jakub Wujek) who were anti-Greek in defense of "real" Greeks. Even the Greeks could be anti-Greek in furthering their own causes.[14] This rhetoric of cultural propaganda could be employed against any of these players for a whole gamut of goals that may have ranged from the shape of a spiritual and proto-national community to the settling of a personal grudge. And most important: a whole range of arguments, opponents, and goals could exist simultaneously in the mind of any individual player, no matter how contradictory those arguments, opponents, and goals might seem to us as spectators from a distance.

The traditional questions—Latin or Greek, West or East—will not take us very far. They reflect a sort of anxiety about influences that ignores the real influence: the decision to play the game at least partially by the new Western rules. Appeal to Greek authority was in many instances a part of the rhetoric used in attempts to further goals that were not necessarily consonant with what we now consider "Greek" spirituality. In fact, that early modern, Russian version of "Greek" spirituality was defined in large measure in the course of the debates of the mid-seventeenth century, which were themselves a response—in part, and at greater and lesser removes—to the controversies of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. Participants in the debates over this Orthodox Slavic Reform had frequent recourse to the arguments of sacred philology. In these debates, in order to defend their own positions and to attack those of their opponents, a portion of Muscovite society began to employ a philological lexicon—actually, a lexicon of philological invective—borrowed from western European discussions of sacred philology.

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[14] See the material cited in Strakhov, "Attitudes to Greek Language," 124–25.

First, a brief survey of terms and concepts. The term *book* (*книга*[15]) was used to refer to texts that were either *manuscript* (*письменый*,[16] *рукописаный*,[17] *рукописьменный*[18]) or *printed* (*печатный*[19]). Texts—whether printed or manuscript—were divided into those that were reliable and could command authority and those that were unreliable and could not command authority. Those of the first group were described as *right* (*правый*[20]), *righteous* (*праведный*[21]), *honorable* (*честный*[22]), *trustworthy* (*достовѣрный*[23]), *holy* (*святый*[24]), *pure* (*непорочный*[25]), *correct* (*справный*[26]), or *genuine* (*подлинный*[27]). Reliable texts were worthy of *honor* (*честь*[28]) or *faith* (*вѣра*[29]). They were characterized by *purity* (*чистота*[30]). The lexicon describing the second, unreliable group of texts was just as highly developed, if not more so. These texts were the result of acts of *corruption* (*растлѣти*,[31] *попорчити*,[32] *препортити* or *перепортити*,[33] *испортити*[34]), *distortion* (*изказити*[35]), *damage* (*повредити*[36]), *depravation* (*развратити*,[37] *превратити*[38]), *destruction* (*истребити*[39]). They were *discordant*

[15] Prozorovskii, "Sil'vestr Medvedev," 442, 490, 500, 528, 559; Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe," 7, 8, 9; Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, xviii.

[16] Prozorovskii, "Sil'vestr Medvedev," 528; Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe," 9; Subbotin, *Materialy* 1:13, 129.

[17] Subbotin, *Materialy* 2:10, 89.

[18] Prozorovskii, "Sil'vestr Medvedev," 490, 500.

[19] Prozorovskii, "Sil'vestr Medvedev," 528; Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe," 6, 7; Subbotin, *Materialy* 2:10, 89.

[20] Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe," 7, 9; Subbotin, *Materialy* 2:22

[21] Subbotin, *Materialy* 2:63.

[22] Ibid. 2:22.

[23] Ibid. 2:63.

[24] Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe," 8; Subbotin, *Materialy* 2:22.

[25] Subbotin, *Materialy* 2:22.

[26] Ibid. 2:10

[27] N. F. Kapterev, "O greko-latinskikh shkolakh v Moskve v XVII veke do otkrytiia Slaviano-greko-latinskoi Akademii," *Pribavleniia k izdaniiu tvorenii svetykh ottsev v russkom perevode* 56 (1889); 674.

[28] Prozorovskii, "Sil'vestr Medvedev," 519.

[29] Ibid., 519, 528.

[30] Subbotin, *Materialy* 9:236.

[31] Prozorovskii, "Sil'vestr Medvedev," 442, 500, 559; Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe," 3; Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, xvii, xviii; Subbotin, *Materialy* 3:15, 6:127, 157.

[32] Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe," 3–4.

[33] Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, xvii; Subbotin, *Materialy* 6:244.

[34] Subbotin, *Materialy* 3:210, 4:258, 264.

[35] Ibid. 2:222, 4:312.

[36] Kapterev, "O greko-latinskikh shkolakh," 677; Subbotin, *Materialy* 1:13.

[37] Simiaon Polatski [Simeon Polotskii], *Zhezl pravleniia* (Moscow, 1753), facsimile reprint: Bibliotheca Slavica, no. 2 (Zug, Switzerland, 1967), 116^{V}; Subbotin, *Materialy* 1:13, 2:86–87.

[38] Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe," 5; Subbotin, *Materialy* 3:159.

(*раздорный*[40]), *un-right* (*неправый*[41]), *limping* (*хромый*[42]), *forsaken* (*покидный*[43]), *non-holy* (*несвятый*[44]), or *un-honorable* (*нечестный*[45]).

The act of judging whether or not a text was reliable could itself be evaluated positively or negatively. Neutral terms for the act of textual criticism were to *judge* (*разсуждати*[46]), *examine* (*разсматряти*[47]), or *investigate* (*испытати*[48]). Negatively colored terms were to *revile* (*хулити*[49]) or to *defile* (*гадити*[50]). The quality of a reading was determined on the basis of whether or not it was in *agreement* ([*не*]*согласный*,[51] [*не*]*сходитися*,[52] *разгласный*[53]) with the "genuine text" (leaving aside for the moment the definition of that last term).

Variance (*несходство*, *несогласie*[54]) from the original could be the result of the act of *adding* to (*прибавляти*,[55] *прикладати*,[56] *приносити*[57]), *deleting* from (*отимати*[58]), or *altering* (*измѣняти*[59]) the uncorrupted reading. *Errors* (*погрѣшенiе*,[60] *опись*,[61] *опечатка*[62]) might be inadvertent, arising from the *carelessness* (*невниманiе*[63]), the *incompetence* (*неискусность*, *неискусный*[64]), the *ignorance* (*невѣденiе*[65]), or the *simplicity* (*простота*[66]) of

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[39] Subbotin, *Materialy* 3:312, 4:244.
[40] Ibid. 2:24.
[41] Ibid. 2:24.
[42] Ibid. 3:69, 4:302.
[43] Ibid. 3:69, 107.
[44] Ibid. 2:24.
[45] Ibid. 2:24.
[46] Prozorovskii, "Sil'vestr Medvedev," 528; Subbotin, *Materialy* 6:127.
[47] I. Rotar, "Epifanii Slavinetskii: Literaturnyi deiatel' XVII v.," *Kievskaia Starina* 71 (November 1900): 190; Subbotin, *Materialy* 2:124–25.
[48] Subbotin, *Materialy* 2:209.
[49] Ibid. 4:127.
[50] Prozorovskii, "Sil'vestr Medvedev," 519.
[51] Ibid., 490, 500, 519; Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe," 5, 6, 9, 12; Subbotin, *Materialy* 1:1, 3:160, 6:22;. Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 391–92.
[52] Prozorovskii, "Sil'vestr Medvedev," 519; Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe," 6; Subbotin, *Materialy* 3:160.
[53] Prozorovskii, "Sil'vestr Medvedev," 519; Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe," 6.
[54] Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe," 6.
[55] Ibid., 5.
[56] Ibid., 20; Subbotin, *Materialy* 7:33.
[57] Subbotin, *Materialy* 7:33.
[58] Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe," 5, 20.
[59] Ibid., 20.
[60] Ibid., 13; Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 391–92.
[61] Subbotin, *Materialy* 6:127, 8:255.
[62] Ibid. 8:255.
[63] Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe," 13.
[64] Ibid., 7.
[65] Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 391–92.

the translators, copyists, and typesetters. But they could also be the result of the *craftiness* (*хитрость*[67]) of willful falsifiers of the texts.

Errors were to be *corrected* (*исправити*,[68] *справити*,[69] *правити*,[70] *перепpавити*[71]) by *skilled* (*искусный*[72]) men. Corrections were to be made by comparing unreliable texts with reliable ones and bringing the former into line with the latter. One spoke of correcting text α *against* text β (*исправити α противъ β*[73]).

Most participants in the debates accorded authority to some original Greek reading, which may or may not have been extant in available Greek texts. Most tacitly assumed that Slavonic texts had once been entirely in agreement with the Greek original. This stance allowed some to ignore Greek altogether. Some admitted the possibility that the Slavonic texts had contained errors from the start. A very few—and only at the turn of the eighteenth century—defended the usefulness of Latin and Polish texts.

Arguments for according authority to texts were based on age: *old* texts (*старый*,[74] *древний*,[75] *ветхий*[76]) were good; *new* (*новый*[77]) texts were bad. Arguments were also based on quantity. Numbers of manuscript witnesses in the hundreds and up to a thousand were marshalled to lend authority to particular readings and revisions. The higher the number, the greater the authority.[78] Oppositions were made between texts that were *old-manuscript* (*старописанный*,[79] *древлеписанный*[80]) and those that were *newly-printed* (*новопечатный*[81]) or *newly-edited* (*новоизданный*[82]). Old Believers spoke

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[66] Ibid., 391–92.

[67] Ibid., 391–92.

[68] Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe," 6, 8; Kapterev, "O greko-latinskikh shkolakh," 677; Polatski, *Zhezl pravleniia*, 116^{V}; Subbotin, *Materialy* 2:22, 3:159, 210, 6:127.

[69] Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe," 7; Subbotin, *Materialy* 4:264, 6:127.

[70] Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe," 12.

[71] Ibid., 22; Subbotin, *Materialy* 4:264, 6:127.

[72] Subbotin, *Materialy* 6:127.

[73] Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe," 121.

[74] Prozorovskii, "Sil'vestr Medvedev," 490, 500; Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe," 8, 9; Subbotin, *Materialy* 1:129, 2:22, 6:25.

[75] Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe," 6, 7, 8; Subbotin, *Materialy*, 2:10.

[76] Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe," 11.

[77] Prozorovskii, "Sil'vestr Medvedev," 490; Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe," 7. See N. F. Kapterev, *Patriarkh Nikon i Tsar' Aleksei Mikhailovich*, 2 vols. (Sergiev Posad, 1909–1912), 1:250 and Subbotin, *Materialy* 1:405–406 for specific ages of manuscript testimonies.

[78] Subbotin, *Materialy*, 1:129.

[79] Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe," 11.

[80] Subbotin, *Materialy* 1:13.

[81] Prozorovskii, "Sil'vestr Medvedev," 490, 500; Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe," 12; Subbotin, *Materaly* 2:10.

[82] Subbotin, *Materialy* 2:22.

respectfully of *old printed books* (*печатныя старыя книги*[83]). A manuscript gained authority with the specificity of its medium: manuscripts were described as written on *parchment* (*на хартии, на хартіяхъ, харатейный*[84]) or on *paper* (*на бумагѣ*[85]). Those written on parchment were considered the older and thus the more authoritative. Texts could also gain authority through their *use* (*употреблятu*[86]) by people holding offices of authority. The opposite case was represented by texts described as unattested (*безсвидѣтельствованный*[87]).

Lurking almost below the surface of this philologically couched debate were the Bible translations of the Polish Reformation and Counter-Reformation that most participants either refused to acknowledge publicly or (later in the debates) made into the negative point of departure for their defense of Orthodoxy.[88] Most members of the official Church and some of the Old Believers who took part in the debates of the second half of the sixteenth century seem to have drawn concepts, terminology, and rhetorical strategies from the discussions over sacred philology that had taken place in the West, and most immediately in Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Let us begin with the textual-philological component of the Nikonian program. Nikon's reform was described at the outset (and in all likelihood by the Kievan scholar Epifanii Slavynets'kyi) as having arisen when Nikon "applied himself to the labor of examining Holy Writ" and discovered there "additions, deletions, and alterations."[89] This was a traditional formula in western European discussions of sacred philology in the Age of Reform. The participants used it whenever they wished to deny absolute authority to any particular set of extant texts (usually all the texts in a given language) and to

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[83] Ibid. 8:255.

[84] Prozorovskii, "Sil'vestr Medvedev," 490, 500; Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe," 8; Subbotin, *Materialy* 1:13, 129.

[85] Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe," 9.

[86] Subbotin, *Materialy* 2:35, 63, 65.

[87] Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe," 13.

[88] We can document the unsurprising fact that many polemicists (Polatski, Medvedev, Evfimii, Dometskii) used Polish Bibles. See Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 391–92; Prozorovskii, "Sil'vestr Medvedev," 98–99. Since many participants in the Muscovite cultural/confessional debates of the later seventeenth century were at pains to hide the degree of their Polish "contamination," it may be appropriate to point out these cross-cultural contacts where they can be proved. Even in instances where we cannot document the use of Polish texts directly, we should be willing to consider the strong possibility of direct contact, and the virtual certainty of second-hand experience with the concerns of Polish sacred philology.

[89] Cited by Medvedev in Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe," 4, 5. See also Rotar, "Epifanii Slavinetskii," 190, 191. On Nikon and the *ispravlenie knig*, see Kapterev, *Patriarkh Nikon*. On Slavynets'kyi, see Rotar, "Epifanii Slavinetskii."

establish their right to perform textual criticism upon them.[90] But Slavynets'kyi was not very clear on the question of the authority according to which the "additions, deletions, and alterations" were to be judged. He motivated the correction in these terms. The group of books that were suspect were the "newly introduced Church rules," "the new Muscovite printed books"; and they were suspect because they contained "many variances, and disagreements, or to speak plainly—errors" when they were compared with the group of texts that Slavynets'kyi sought to establish as the main authority: "the old Greek and Slavonic books."[91] The errors were the result of bad philology: they were made by those who "translated and copied them unskillfully."[92] Therefore, good philology could undo the harm.

Nikon soon initiated a wide search for Greek and Slavonic manuscripts that reached beyond Muscovy to Mt. Athos, Jerusalem, and Constantinople. An examination of the assembled old Greek and Slavonic manuscripts revealed that the Slavonic were "in every way" in agreement with the Greek and that together they "did not contain one error."[93] This reasoning was, of course, bogus, and the philology was bad. Obviously, not all Slavonic books were error-free, since many (it was admitted) had been deprived of their reliability by careless translators (in other words, from the very beginning) or by careless scribes (that is to say, somewhat later in their transmission).[94] Thus, what Nikon's party said here was, in effect, that they had taken all those Slavonic manuscripts that were in agreement with Greek texts, and, after comparing the two groups, they had discovered that the Slavonic manuscripts that were in agreement with the Greek were indeed in agreement with them.

The Nikonian reform movement and its successors employed a set of qualifiers that could be used to establish the authority of (or, rather, confer authority upon) a particular set of texts. For the Nikonians, old texts were more authoritative than new. The antiquity of texts was "established" by calling them "old," written on vellum or on parchment, or by giving them a date. Nikon's manuscripts were "five hundred, seven hundred, and even a thousand years" old. Further, authority could be derived from the number of testimonies. Nikon's correction drew on "no fewer than five hundred old manuscripts."[95]

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[90] For "additions, deletions, and alterations," see Jakub Wujek, trans., *Nowy Testament Pana naszego Iesvsa Christvsa. Znowu z Łacińskiego y z Greckiego na Polskie wiernie a szczyrze przełożony* (Cracow, 1593), 20. Cited in Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology*, 253.

[91] Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe," 6.

[92] Ibid., 6.

[93] Ibid., 12, 13.

[94] Ibid., 6.

[95] Kapterev, *Patriarkh Nikon* 1:250.

The weaknesses in a philological argument based upon testimonies that had been dated and counted, but never weighed, were obvious to Nikon's critics on all sides. Individual Old Believers were no more philologically naive than the elite of the official Church, and no less willing to use a philological lexicon in support of their position. The Nikonian program, according to some of the Old Believers, was flawed not in its principle but in its practice: Nikon had used as his authority not the old Greek manuscripts (which, presumably in this argument, would have supported the Old Believer positions) but the new Western printings, so full of errors and heresies.[96] According to Lazar, the newly "corrected" editions of the Church books were "various, unholy, dishonorable, and incorrect because they disagreed in many things with the old holy printed books."[97] These "old, holy printed books" were not, of course, so very old. But they were "holy" because they were in agreement with some older "original," whether Slavonic or Greek.

The rhetoric of textual criticism was also employed in internecine debates among Old Believers. In a discussion portrayed as having been conducted with Avvakum in their shared incarceration, Deacon Fedor pointed out the philological weaknesses in the argument of his fellow prisoner. Avvakum praised his copy of the Psalter as "more correct than all others," while Fedor sought to convince his companion that it contained a scribal error. According to Fedor, the two argued this point for some time until Avvakum finally retorted ad hominem: "you criticize old books and order me to correct [mine], but I have been tortured for their sake by the Nikonians much longer than you."[98]

This exchange led Fedor to attribute to Avvakum a (philologically) naive belief in the absolute, literal authority of the old books. While Fedor preferred the old printed books to Nikon's editions, he noted:

> It is not to be wondered if there happen to be and are some sort of scribal errors in the old books; and thus it is proper that they are judged and then corrected by trained men. For a scribal error is one thing, but the distortion and alteration of Church books and dogmas is another.[99]

Like Western European sacred philologists of the Age of Reform (especially of the Catholic camp), Fedor distinguished between two types of errors: the scribal errors that were found in one's own texts (and were not

[96] Subbotin, *Materialy*, 2:86–87, 3:15, 4:258, 6:41, 157, 7:26.
[97] Ibid. 2:24.
[98] Ibid. 6:127.
[99] Ibid. 6:127.

harmful to true doctrine and were easy to correct) and the "distortions and alterations of Church books and dogmas" that characterized the behavior of the opponents (in this case, the official Church). Compare, for example, Jakub Wujek's response to the Protestant textual-critical challenge:

> For such was always the virtue and humility of Catholic people, that they preferred to suffer certain mistakes or variant readings in the holy books, rather than correct them according to their conjecture (as the heretics boldly do) or alter even the smallest letter of Holy Scripture. For no one has this power except either a council, that is, a synod or a general congregation of Catholic bishops, or the highest pastor, after Christ the Lord, of the Universal Church, who, having examined and considered these passages with learned men, can conclude which of these variant readings is genuine and which has been interpolated.[100]

Although Fedor did not specify how these scribal errors were to be "judged and corrected," his philological argument (structurally similar to that of the Catholics) was no more naive than that of Nikon's party (which had been borrowed from the Protestants); it is even somehow refreshing in its modesty compared to the claims of the dominant party that all old Greek and Slavonic manuscripts were both in complete agreement and absolutely error-free.

The next "generation" of participants in the debates—Sil'vestr Medvedev, the Leichudes, Evfimii Chudovskii, Gavriil Dometskii—sought to draw the lines more precisely between "Hellenophiles" and "Latinizers." In so doing, they drew more subtly and more precisely upon Western, Polish-based terminology and rhetorical strategies. The debate between Evfimii and Dometskii, to take one example, reads very much like two competing Orthodox Slavic glosses on the lengthy *Apparatus Sacer* that prefaced the authoritative Wujek Bible of 1599.[101] In this by-now standard Polish Catholic reference work all participants could find examples of strategies for appeal to the authority of textual philology as well as to the authority of use for the defense (or criticism) of both the Vulgate and the Septuagint.

Muscovite polemicists of the turn of the century drew heavily on *Latin* authorities to prove that it was Greek that lay at the foundation of all learning. The author of the so-called "Brief Proof That Helleno-Greek Learning and Language are Most Needfully Useful, More Than the Latin Language and Learning; and in What Way It Benefits the Slavonic Nation" enlisted St. Augustine and Cardinal Cesare Baronio (author of the authoritative Counter-Reformation history of the Church) to prove the inspired nature of the

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[100] Wujek, *Nowy Testament*, 4, cited in Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology*, 144.

[101] For discussions and some of the primary sources from this polemic, see Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 396–408 and the appendices.

Septuagint. In good late humanistic style, he made Quintillian, Gellius, Horace, Cicero, and Lucretius confess the Greek basis of their arts. He cited Antonio Possevino's account of his meeting with a Japanese traveler who is supposed to have claimed that Greek was the tourist's passport to the world.[102]

When Paisios Ligarides spoke of the greater "purity of the source than of the rivulet," he was employing a Protestant polemical ploy often anchored on St. Jerome, which opposed pure Greek (and Hebrew) originals to corrupt Latin translations.[103] When Evfimii defended the Septuagint on the basis of its long history of use in the Church he was echoing the Council of Trent and the large body of polemical literature that had grown out of it, which had declared the Vulgate authoritative for faith and morals on precisely those socio-linguistic grounds.[104] And anti-Greek arguments presented similar cases. When Old Believers and Sil'vestr Medvedev criticized the extant Greek texts on philological grounds, they were adapting a line of reasoning that Szymon Budny and Jakub Wujek had employed to meet their mainstream Protestant opponents on their own terms. What all these Hellenizing polemicists failed to acknowledge—or (in a few cases) perhaps even to realize—was that even the pro-Greek arguments and strategies they had come to employ in their culture wars were themselves the "spiritual property" of the Latin West.

Analogies have been drawn between Nikon's theocratic program and the Counter-Reformation Catholic Church, on the one hand, and the personal piety of the Old Believers and the Protestant Reformation on the other.[105] This may make some sense if we are thinking in terms of essences and ideal types. But if we are interested in the rhetorical give-and-take of the polemic, the process whereby the various opposed parties entered into a process of mutual forming and deforming, we should note that *both* the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation represented to the Muscovites static sources of arguments and strategies, the original, contextual significance of which may have been only murkily perceived, but which—both the Catholic and Protestant—could be adapted to the "Orthodox" needs of the moment by all

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[102] Kapterev, "O greko-latinskikh shkolakh," 674–76. (Smentsovskii and Brailovskii attributed the work to Evfimii. Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 32; Brailovskii, "Otnosheniia Chuovskogo inoka Evfimiia," 280.) Kharlampovich ("Bor'ba shkol'nykh vliianii v dopetrovskoi Rusi," *Kievskaia starina* 78 (1902): 36) challenged this attribution and Florovskii ("Chudovskii inok Evfimii," 123) thought N. Spafarii was the author.

[103] Subbotin, *Materialy* 9:236. On Jerome, see Eugene F. Rice, Jr., *St. Jerome in the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1885), 17.

[104] Smentsovskii, *Brat'ia Likhudy*, 403; *Concilium Tridentinum, Diariorum, Actorum, Epistularum Tractatuum Nova Collectio* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1964) 5:91–92.

[105] James H. Billington, *The Icon and the Axe: An Interpretive History of Russian Culture* (New York, 1970), 154.

parties. In positioning themselves in opposition to each other, Nikonites could draw on Protestant strategies for replacing received "vulgates" with "original languages," whereas the Old Believers could draw on those of the Council of Trent for acknowledging the authority of use. But in positioning himself in opposition to "Latinizers," Evfimii Chudovskii could employ the same Counter-Reformation argument from use in defense of the Greek "vulgate."

A few more examples. Simiaon Polatski enlisted the Trinitarian proof text found at 1 Jn. 5.7 ("For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one") in support of Nikon's "restored" triple alleluia.[106] At the other end of the Muscovite confessional spectrum, the Solovki monks complained of the *omission* of the same passage in some of the new Nikonian texts.[107] Neither side betrayed an awareness that the passage—the so-called *comma johanneum*—had become a *cause célèbre* thanks to Erasmus' Greek-inspired criticism of the Vulgate. Nor do they seem to have been aware that it was, at least at first, Erasmus' *Greek* philology that had argued *against* the passage's authenticity.[108]

Protestants were the people of the book (*sola scriptura*); Catholics adhered to Scripture *and* to unwritten traditions.[109] On what was Orthodox spirituality based? On the one hand, Sil'vestr Medvedev argued that one should not "respect one's own traditions more than the traditions of Jesus Christ."[110] He based his account "on Holy Scripture alone" and not on "deceitful novelties invented by men"[111] (cf. the "Catholic superstitions," so defined by the

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[106] Polatski, *Zhezl pravleniia*, 45^{r}.

[107] Subbotin, *Materialy* 4:264.

[108] Erasmus later reinstated the passage when a non-discredited Greek witness was found. On the *Comma Johanneum* and sixteenth-century biblical scholarship, see H. J. De Jonge, "Erasmus and the *Comma Johanneum*," *Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses* 56 (1980): 381–89; A. Bludau, "Der Beginn der Controverse über die Ächtheit des *Comma Johanneum* (I Joh. 5, 7, 8.) im 16. Jahrhundert," *Der Katholik*, 3rd ser. 26 (1902): 25–51; Jerry H. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1983) 152–53. On the Polish discussions, see Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology*, 99, 145–47, 230.

[109] On the history of the discussion over Scripture and traditions, see R. Preus, *The Inspiration of Scripture* (Edinburgh, 1955), 1–12, 103–130; Roland H. Bainton, "The Bible in the Reformation," in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 3: *The West from the Reformation to the Present Day*, ed. S. L. Greenslade (Cambridge, 1978), 1–6; Sykes 1978:175–78; Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, vol. 4: *Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300–1700)* (Chicago, 1984), 128, 174, 181–83, 207–211, 262–77; J. Beumer, "Heilige Schrift und kirchliche Lehrautorität," *Scholastik* 25 (1950): 54–57; F. J. Crehan, "The Bible in the Roman Catholic Church from Trent to the Present Day," in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 3: *The West from the Reformation to the Present Day*, ed. S. L. Greenslade (Cambridge, 1978), 199–202; Heiko Oberman, *The Harvest of Medieval Theology: Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval Nominalism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 365–92.

[110] Prozorovskii, "Sil'vestr Medvedev," 471.

[111] Ibid. 480.

Protestant camp, of course), and he warned against "introducing human traditions" into God's law.[112] Nikon claimed that he did not judge "by anything other than the Gospel."[113] Avvakum fulminated against Nikon's "newly introduced traditions," his alterations "according to his own opinions"; and he claimed to rule Christian life "according to Holy Scripture alone."[114] All of this was taken from the Protestant handbook on the rhetoric of sacred philology.

But, on the other hand, many of these same figures—sometimes in the same breath—also made room in good Tridentine style for the so-called traditions, written and unwritten.[115] Citing Epifanii Slavynets'kyi, Evfimii warned against "adding one's own words," but he also warned against "transgressing the tradition of the God-bearing Fathers."[116] The Leichudes paired "corruption of Scripture" with "confusion of tradition."[117] Nikon, who had offered an Orthodox version of *sola scriptura*, went on to declare that he judged "according to the rules of the Holy Apostles and the Holy Fathers."[118] Polatski based his argument on "unwritten traditions."[119] Lazar pressed into Old Believer service the Protestant proof text at Jn. 5:39 ("search the Scriptures"), as well as the Catholic one at 1 Jn. 4:1 ("believe not every spirit").[120] The Solovki monks—echoing the Fourth Session of the Council of Trent—urged the faithful "to hold firmly to tradition, written and unwritten."[121]

Just beneath the surface of this confessional-cultural polemic were the seeds of relativism. Old Believers pointed out that all heretics—Romans, Armenians, Germans, Uniates—called their apostasy "a most clear correction."[122] Lazar and the Solovki monks, employing a sort of feigned

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112 Ibid., 484.

113 Subbotin, *Materialy* 1:145.

114 Ibid. 8:150, 143–44, 265.

115 The decree of the fourth session of the Council of Trent (8 April 1546) states: "The holy, ecumenical, and general Council of Trent, also clearly perceiving that these truths and rules are contained in *the written books and in the unwritten traditions*, ... receives and venerates with an equal feeling of piety and reverence... all the books of both the Old and the New Testaments... as well as the traditions themselves" (emphasis added). *Concilium Tridentinum*, 91.

116 Prozorovskii, "Sil'vestr Medvedev," 441.

117 Ibid., 559.

118 Subbotin, *Materialy* 1:46.

119 Polatski, *Zhezl pravleniia*, 45 r.

120 Subbotin, *Materialy* 3:207. Wujek's interpretative annotation (in Wujek, *Nowy Testament*) to these verses reflect this tradition. The note on Jn. 5:39 limits the "searching of the Scriptures" to the learned; the note to 1 Jn. 4:1 points out how many heretics claimed in those days to speak for the Holy Spirit.

121 Subbotin, *Materialy*, 4:270.

122 Ibid. 6:177.

lapsus linguae, said of their opponents: "They corrected, that is to say, corrupted ...."[123] Even here, in both of these instances, the Old Believers were again echoing polemical strategies employed by the Polish Jesuit Jakub Wujek—to choose one authoritative example—in answering Protestant claims.[124]

Like their Western counterparts, Muscovite polemicists employed the rhetoric of philology in a struggle for dominance in a context where the confessional was not clearly separated from the cultural and the political. Greeks attempted to make full knowledge of Greek the minimum requirement for entry into the discussions. According to the Leichudes, whoever did not know Greek did not know Latin or Slavonic either. They commanded: "whoever is ignorant of the Greek dialect, let him be silent."[125] Muscovites from both ends of the spectrum attempted the patriotic card in undermining this argument: Medvedev waxed indignant—"they taunt us with 'stupid Rus'.'"[126] Avvakum waxed proud—"I am a Russian and not a Greek."[127] Medvedev counter-charged that the Leichudes knew no Slavonic.[128] In this vein, what was originally Catholic, anti-Greek propaganda could now be made "Orthodox." Medvedev was certainly not the first to announce that "the Cretans are always liars" (not to mention "evil beasts and slow bellies"—the classic anti-Greek proof text at Titus 1:12, which cited the Cretan poet Epimenides);[129] nor were the Solovki monks the first to come to the conclusion that the Greeks had been corrupted by living under Turkish domination.[130]

We should note here that Medvedev was essentially correct: these Greeks were more than part Latin. Although born Greek, the "Greekness" they made into the first item on their dossiers was in many cases the result of their studies in the academies of the Latin West. The tools of their trade had been provided by Erasmus and his students, as well as by the Greek and polyglot editions of sacred texts published in the Latin West of late humanism.

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[123] Ibid 3:210, 4:264.

[124] Wujek, *Nowy Testament*, A1^{v} cited St. Augustine: "It seems to all heretics who receive Holy Scripture that they follow the Scriptures, when it is rather their own errors that they follow." See also Wujek, *Nowy Testament*, 4, cited in Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology*, 144.

[125] Prozorovskii, "Sil'vestr Medvedev," 557. For similar opinions from Paisios Ligarides, see Subbotin, *Materialy* 9:236ff.

[126] Prozorovskii, "Sil'vestr Medvedev," 490.

[127] Subbotin, *Materialy* 8:44.

[128] Medvedev, "Izvestie istinnoe," 33.

[129] Ibid., 3–4.

[130] Subbotin, *Materialy* 4:257.

A sort of graded scale from greater to lesser similarity in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century "national" discussions over sacred philology can be drawn from West to East. A first real boundary occurs between Poland and Ukraine Rus′, but a much more definite line can be drawn between Muscovy and the "West" (here including both Poland and Ukraine Rus′). Four main points of comparison come to mind. First, Western debates were conducted largely in print and often in the vernacular; Muscovite debates left their traces almost exclusively in manuscript form and in a more learned language. Thus, Western debates had resonances beyond the narrowest elite (although there is no reason for us to exaggerate in this direction), whereas the Muscovite discussions remained an affair of an extremely circumscribed group (and we should not exclude the leaders of the Old Believers from a sort of elite status). Second, although we can identify similar concepts and a core of terminology equivalent to that of the Western debates over sacred philology,[131] Muscovite terminology and usage were less well fixed. This terminological fluidity may reflect a less complete assimilation of concepts. Third, the earlier Western debates seem to have been at least partially about questions of textual criticism. In Muscovy, this seems to have been much less the case. Although much work in the correcting and editing of texts was going on behind the scenes in the second half of the seventeenth century, most of the overt discussions of sacred philology seem to have been ancillary to the establishment of authority on a variety of spiritual and political questions.[132] Fourth, and most crucial—the West had long ago brought the Greeks "under control." Both sides—Catholic and Protestant—had assimilated what they could use of Greek learning. What they could not use they had either co-opted or removed from the discussion. This is to say, Latins now spoke for the Greeks. The Slavic East had not yet brought the Greeks under control. It was easier for a Muscovite to deny Greek authority than to attempt to exploit it.[133]

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[131] For that terminology, see Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology*, 249–56 and passim, and the literature cited there; see also Frick, "The Uses of Authority."

[132] Strakhov's recent article ("Attitudes to Greek Language"), which offers much interesting material and many valuable insights, tacitly links these two types of investigations. My main point here is that the link is subject to question.

[133] The documents collected in *Opisanie dokumentov i del khraniashchikhsia v arkhive Sviateishogo Pravitel'stvuiushchogo Sinoda* (St. Petersburg, 1878), vol. 3: *1723 g.* reveal many fits and false starts along the road to producing an officially approved Church Slavonic Bible in Russia. The editorial work seems to have been dependent upon Western polyglot Bibles and Polish translations (presumably the richly annotated Wujek Bible of 1599). As late as 9 January 1747, archimandrite Ilarion Grigorievich asked to be relieved of his duties as corrector since "those whose work is the reading of the Bible ought to know the Greek language perfectly and I (as is well known to Your Holiness) have not studied the Greek language." *Opisanie*, 78. The editor commented that Grigorievich must have been consulting a Polish Bible in his "correcting"

What could the terms "Latinizer" or "Hellenophile" have meant in this context? To what extent were Latin and Greek Orthodox cultures well-defined entities to which the participants in the Muscovite debates could give their allegiance and according to which they could shape and represent themselves? Certainly the various confessionally informed versions of Latin culture were, by the end of the sixteenth century, characterized by the high degree of their codification. When a Muscovite cultural figure of the mid-seventeenth century spoke in positive or negative terms of Latin culture, he *could* have had a reasonably clear picture of what he was invoking, and we could have some hope of reconstructing this culture. This does not mean, however, that the given Muscovite always *did* have such a clear picture of the Latin West or that he made use of it in his public pronouncements. Murky conceptions about the "Latins" or "Germans" (often undifferentiated between Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, Anabaptists, and Antitrinitarians) served in the public debate as a sort of body. But this same individual Muscovite could have had *no* such precisely defined idea of what constituted Greek Orthodox culture. Positive statements made by adherents of Eastern spirituality about Greek faith and culture in the seventeenth century were frequently ad hoc responses to a variety of external and internal challenges. There was no one who spoke with authority for Greek faith and culture. Those who made the attempt had agreed, by and large, to play the game by the Western rules. They had agreed to provide "Orthodox" answers to questions that Greek Orthodoxy had either never asked itself or had not asked itself with the same sense of urgency.

"Heresy [it has been said] ... is an opinion held by a minority of men which the majority declares unacceptable and is powerful enough to punish."[134] The history of orthodoxy and heresy is always written secure in the knowledge that hindsight is able to provide concerning who would eventually be able to impose which views as "mainstream." The second half of the seventeenth century was a period of great fluidity before such clarity was achieved. Many of the terms we now consider well defined were, in this period, the object of debate and open to redefinition. There was a great discrepancy between, on the one hand, programs that manipulated terms such as "Greek spirituality" in order to lend authority to their arguments and, on the other hand, the practical state of affairs in which no one—not even the dominant parties that would eventually control "Orthodoxy"—quite knew the precise meaning of the terms. In short, the voyage to Byzantium was a matter of imagination and will. It required the strategic negotiation of Latin waters and, frequently, the

work.

[134] David Christie-Murray, *A History of Heresy* (Oxford, 1989).

willingness to recreate the tradition-hallowed spiritual manna of the East from the strange and the not-so-strange ingredients encountered in the ports of the West.

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History and Hagiography: Recent Studies on the Text and Textual Tradition of the *Vita Constantini*

HARVEY GOLDBLATT

I

Long after A. V. Gorskij first acquainted the scholarly community with a detailed analysis and summary of the *Vita Constantini* (hereafter *VC*) in 1843,[1] and P. J. Šafařík published the *editio princeps* eight years later,[2] specialists continued to cast doubt on the "trustworthiness" of the work as a historical source.[3] For most scholars, however, it was Francis Dvornik—in his celebrated book on the *vitae* of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius published in 1933[4]—who, as Ihor Ševčenko has put it, "once and forever" established the reliability of the work as a principal source for the mission by fitting it into the framework of European history in the ninth century.[5]

The "reliability" of *VC* was seemingly confirmed two decades later with the publication in 1955 of a study by Fathers Paul Mayvaert and Paul Devos,[6]

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[1] A. V. Gorskij, "O sv. Kirille i Mefodii," *Moskvitjanin* 1843 (pt. 3, no. 5): 405–434. On references to the contents of *VC* (without identifying the work) prior to Gorskij, see I. Ševčenko, "On the Social Background of Cyril and Methodius," in his *Byzantium and the Slavs,* Renovatio, no. 1 (Cambridge, Mass. and Naples, 1991), 478–79.

[2] P. J. Šafařík, Památky dřevního písemnictví Jihoslovanův (Prague, 1851), 1–32.

[3] See in particular V. I. Lamanskij, "Slavjanskoe žitie sv. Kirilla kak religiozno-èpičeskoe proizvedenie i kak istoričeskij istočnik. Kritičeskie zametki," *Žurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveščenija* 346 (1903): 345–85; 347 (1903): 136–61, 350–88. According to Ihor Ševčenko ("The Greek Source of the Inscription on Solomon's Chalice in the *Vita Constantini*, in *Byzantium and the Slavs*, 289), "when Lamanskij impugned the *vita's* credibility and claimed that it was riddled with interpolations, he did this to eliminate from it evidence unfavorable to his theory that Constantine's Khazar mission was in reality a mission to the 'Russians'."

[4] F. Dvornik, *Les Légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance* (Prague, 1933). For a view that opposes Dvornik's conclusions regarding the "genuineness" of *VC,* see A. Brückner, "Thesen zur Cyrillo-Methodianischen Frage," *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 28 (1906): 161–83; idem, "Cyrill und Method," *Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte* 9 (1935): 184–99.

[5] I. Ševčenko, "Three Paradoxes of the Cyrillo-Methodian Mission," *Slavic Review* 23 (1964): 220. Cf. R. Jakobson, "Minor Native Sources for the Early History of the Slavic Church," in *Harvard Slavic Studies* 2 (1954): 39.

[6] P. Meyvaert and P. Devos, "Trois énigmes cyrillo-méthodiennes de la 'Légende Italique' résolues grâce à un document inédit," *Analecta Bollandiana* 73 (1955): 375–471, esp. 433–54. For many scholars, the dating of *VC* is based on the relationship between the *vita* and the so-called *Legenda italica,* a work attributed to Gauderich, Bishop of Velletri, and dedicated to Pope John VIII, who died on 15 December 882. According to Fathers Meyvaert and Devos,

in which many foremost scholars found proof that a Slavic *vita* of Constantine "had been in existence by 882 (that is, before Methodius' death)."[7] By 1970, in a volume that summarized and updated his seminal contributions to Cyrillo-Methodian studies, Dvornik could declare that the "authenticity [of *VC*] has been definitely established" and that the "genuineness [of *VC*], disputed since the time of [its] discovery, is now accepted by all specialists."[8]

It goes without saying that emphasis on the "reliability" of *VC* as a historical source does not mean we should ignore the implications of dealing with a hagiographic composition for which the principle of conventionality and the extensive use of what classical rhetoric called the *ornatus* (κόσμος) are pervasive characteristics.[9] In fact, one might even assert that it is precisely the high degree of formalization and "embellishment" (or "cosmetics") inherent in the texture of *VC* which makes it possible for us to treat the work as a product of verbal art. Relying on a long line of authoritative specialists, including Miloš Weingart, Tadeusz Lehr Spławiński, and Vladimir Vavřínek, recent scholarship has concluded that *VC* must be examined not only as a source of factual information but also as a hagiographic construct governed by a set of literary models and patterns.[10] Implicit here is the notion that medieval Slavic

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evidence for the year 882 as the *terminus ante quem* is provided by a fourteenth-century manuscript that contains the history of St. Clement compiled by Leo Marcicanus, Bishop of Ostia (d. 1115), the third part of which is identical with Gauderich's *Legenda italica.* In the above-mentioned manuscript, Mayvaert and Devos discovered a hitherto-unknown prologue to the third part of Bishop Leo's history, which indicated that the author had partially drawn his information from a work written "in Slavic letters" ("sicut partim ex Sclavorum litteris..." [p. 433]). In their opinion, this must be a reference to the source used by Gauderich, which is none other than the Slavic *vita* of Constantine-Cyril. Hence, if one assumes that the *Sclavorum litterae* correspond to the text of *VC* which has come down to us, *VC* could not have been written later than 882, the year in which Pope John VIII died. Cf. the conclusions drawn by B. N. Florja (*Skazanija o načale slavjanskoj pis'mennosti* [Moscow, 1981], 10), who posits an even earlier *terminus ante quem* (i.e., 880).

[7] Ševčenko, "Three Paradoxes," 220.

[8] F. Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions Among the Slavs. SS. Constantine-Cyril and Methodius* (New Brunswick, 1970), 53, 338.

[9] See H. Goldblatt and R. Picchio, "The Formalist Approach and the Study of Medieval Orthodox Slavic Literature," in *Russian Formalism. A Retrospective Glance: A Festschrift in Honor of Victor Erlich,* Yale Russian and East European Studies, no. 5, ed. R. Jackson and S. Rudy (New Haven, 1985), 272–88.

[10] See most recently A. Danti, "L'itinerario spirituale di un santo: dalla saggezza alla Sapienza. Note sul cap. III della *Vita Constantini,*" in *Konstantin-Kiril Filosof. Materiali ot naučnite konferencii po slučaj 1150 godišnitata ot roždenieto mu* (Sofia, 1981), 37–58; M. D. Bulanin, "Neskol'ko parallelej k glavam III–IV Žitija Konstantina-Kirila," *Kirilo-Metodievski studii* 3 (1986): 91–107; K. Stančev, "Ideologičeskie modeli i xudožestvennye realizacii v Prostrannyx žitijax Kirilla i Mefodija," in *Symposium Methodianum. Beiträge*

works such as *VC* can be examined in various ways and from perspectives that, even if different, need not be mutually exclusive. Whereas the historian might be interested primarily in the contents of *VC,* the literary specialist would focus, above all, on what D. S. Lixačev has called the "artistic peculiarities" of the work[11] and their relation to the set of norms and rules that governed the "literary system" of medieval Slavic literature.[12]

Yet what is essential to remember for historians and literary scholars alike is that any serious investigation of medieval Slavic works such as *VC* must be grounded in the application of a precise philological method that aims to determine the "textual identity" of the work, that is, to identify exactly *what* we are reading.[13] Unfortunately, many studies continue to focus scant attention on the very notion of "text" and demonstrate little concern for the "material artifacts" of medieval Slavic literature, which is a "manuscript culture per se."[14] In particular, they frequently minimize or even ignore the crucial importance of textual criticism for literary analysis.

It should be obvious, therefore, that a scholarly examination of *VC* can proceed only after carefully considering the peculiar conditions that conditioned the process of textual transmission among the Orthodox Slavs, where a scribe often performed the role not merely of a "faithful" and "passive" copyist but of a "reviser-coauthor" and "active participant" in the creation of a literary tradition.[15] No authorial tradition (*traditio auctoris*) of *VC* exists which would permit us to conclude that the approximately sixty extant witnesses of the *vita* known to date,[16] the oldest of which goes back to

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der Internationalen Tagung in Regensburg (17. bis 24 April 1985) zum Gedenken an den 1100 Todestag des hl. Method, Selecta Slavica, vol. 13, ed. K. Trost et al. (Neukried, 1988), 541–47.

[11] D. S. Lixačev, *Poètika drevnerusskoj literatury* (Leningrad, 1967), 5.

[12] On the notion of "literary system" and its application to Orthodox Slavic literature, see R. Picchio, "Slavia ortodossa e Slavia romana," in his *Letteratura della Slavia ortodossa (IX–XVIII sec.)* (Bari, 1991), 8–14.

[13] R. Picchio, "Alle prese con la *Vita Constantini,*" *AION Slavistica* 1 (1993): 31–32.

[14] S. Nichols, "The New Philology. Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture," *Speculum* 65: 1–10.

[15] See most recently Picchio, "Slavia ortodossa e Slavia romana," 45–54; H. Goldblatt, "Authorship and Textual Identity in the *Tale of the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb,*" AION *Slavistica* 1 (1993): 103–105.

[16] In his "inventory of complete testimonies of *VC,*" Mario Capaldo ("Sulla *Vita Constantini*. Questioni minori di metodo, di esegesi, di critical testuale," *Europa Orientalis* 11 [1992]: 341–48) has listed fifty-seven manuscripts whose existence has been confirmed, six testimonies for which we have information but whose existence has not been confirmed, and seven eighteenth-century apographs of known manuscripts. Cf. a recent study by Giorgio Ziffer ("La tradizione russa sud-occidentale della *Vita Constantini,*" in *Studi slavistici offerti a Alessandro Ivanov nel suo 70. anniversario,* ed. M. L. Ferrazzi [Udine, 1992], 372), where

no earlier than the middle of the fifteenth century, were not affected by the scriptorial activities of an "open tradition" that maximized the possibility for an alleged "original text" to be reshaped at different times in accordance with new needs. It must be stressed that what interests us, in this regard, is not the *work,* that is, a determinate composition dedicated to Constantine which might have been subject to many types of formal or conceptual revision, but rather the *texts,* that is, those sets of words and phrases that, if altered beyond certain limits, cease to be what they once were. To put it somewhat differently, "the literary tradition of Orthodox Slavdom is not made up of 'changing' *texts,* but of *works* (i.e., of literary compositions) which may have preserved their thematic and structural individuality *in spite of* more or less substantial *textual alterations.*"[17]

While no one would deny the value of Dvornik's contribution to Cyrillo-Methodian studies by fitting *VC* into the framework of ninth-century medieval Christendom, one might wonder whether emphasis on the *vita* as a "historical source of first-class importance" has always had a positive impact on inquiries into the textual history of the *vita.* At issue here is not so much that our testimonies are young as the fact that the extant textual documentation does not allow us to determine to what extent the scriptorial activities of an "open tradition" may have preserved or deviated from an alleged earlier phase. Indeed, it may well be inappropriate to refer to an "original text" on which the entire textual documentation of *VC* is based. One can hardly ask when *VC* was written if one cannot presume that all components of the work have been "copied" at all stages in the transmission with the aim of preserving them intact. As Riccardo Picchio has noted, "formally, it seems that the common textual material handed down by testimonies of a different nature should be considered part of a *textus traditus.* However, the mere presence of this 'preserved textual material' would not allow us to accept unconditionally as a *textus traditus* the contextual unit which contains this very material."[18]

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it has been suggested that fifty-eight manuscripts preserve the text of *VC.* In his "inventory" Capaldo further has noted that nineteen testimonies of *VC* have been published in full, seventeen witnesses are known through the incomplete (and at times contradictory) variant informaton presented in the critical apparatus to the editions published by Lavrov, Grivec-Tomšič, and Angelov-Kodov, and the remaining twenty-one manuscripts are known only by their shelf number (pp. 341–42).

[17] R. Picchio, "Models and Patterns in the Literary Tradition of Medieval Orthodox Slavdom," in *American Contributions to the Seventh International Congress of Slavists, Warsaw, August 21–27, 1973,* vol. 2: *Literature and Folklore,* ed. V. Terras (The Hague and Paris, 1973), 451.

[18] R. Picchio, "Chapter XIII of *Vita Constantini:* Its Text and Contextual Function,"

I certainly do not seek to discount the possibility that parts of *VC* go back to the so-called "period of Old Church Slavic."[19] However, as I indicated in an earlier study, "one should not deduce as a logical result that all the textual material of *VC* is of the same age or that an "original *vita*," allegedly compiled in Slavic before 882, was transmitted faithfully in the late codices known to us."[20] Thus, while it may not be inappropriate to assume that the textual history of *VC* begins in the ninth century, how can we be certain that external evidence—such as the prologue to the third part of the history of St. Clement compiled by Leo Marcicanus, Bishop of Ostia, which allegedly points to an early dating for *VC*,[21] and the "discourse" (*slovo*) by a "certain monk" at the beginning of the *Izbornik of 1076*, in which it is suggested to the readers of the miscellany that they "should listen [not only] to the *Lives* of St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom but also the [*Life*] of St. Cyril the Philosopher"[22]—refers to the *text* of *VC* that has come down to us. Indeed, given the possibility of an open textual tradition, it is essential to seek out evidence that might suggest the extant textual documentation is the product of reelaboration in different periods and diverse situations. If such evidence can

Slavica Hierosolymitana 7 (1985): 152.

[19] The notion that the "original text" of *VC* was written in "Old Church Slavic" (i.e., in the earliest period of Slavic literacy) still occupies a prominent place in Cyrillo-Methodian scholarship. On an early dating for *VC*—as well as the legitimacy of "linguistic reconstructions" in accordance with an alleged "Old Church Slavic norm"—see most recently M. Capaldo, "Rispetto del testo tràdito o avventura congetturale? Su di una recente interpretazione di *VC* 13," *Europa Orientalis* 9 (1990): 541–644, esp. 577–82, 625–29. (English translation: "Respect of the Textus Traditus or Venture into Conjecture," *Polata Knigopisnaja* 25–26 [1994]: 1–128.) Cf. G. Ziffer, "Ricerche sul testo e la tradizione della *Vita Constantini* (Dottorato di ricerca in Slavistica - 3° ciclo, 1992), 177–87.

[20] H. Goldblatt, "On 'rusьkymi pismeny' in the *Vita Constantini* and Rus'ian Religious Patriotism," in *Studia Slavica Mediaevalia et Humanistica Riccardo Picchio dicata*, ed. M. Colucci, G. Dell'Agata, and H. Goldblatt (Rome, 1986), 315.

[21] For most scholars, a reference in the prologue to the use of a work written "in Slavic letters" ("ex Sclavorum litteris") demonstrates that the so-called *Legenda italica*, a work written no later than 882, must have used the Slavic *vita* of Constantine-Cyril as a source (see note 6, above). Yet even if one were to reach the conclusion that the above-mentioned *work* written in "Slavic letters" should be identified with *VC*, one would still have to explain the significant *textual* discrepancies between the extant testimonies of *VC* and the *Legenda italica* (see Florja, *Skazanija o načale slavjankoj pis'mennosti*, 10–11). In other words, on the basis of external data, one might trace the possible origins of the history of the *work* known as *VC* back to the ninth century but not the history of the *text*.

[22] "...poslušai ty Žitьja Svjataago Vasilia i Svjataago Ioanna Zlatoustago, i Svjataago Kirilla filosofa, i iněx mnog Svjaatyx, kako ti isъprъva povědajut o nix rekoutše: izmlada preležaaxu Svjatyx knig, tože i na dobraja děla podvignušasja" (*Izbornik 1076 goda*, ed. V. S. Golyšenko et al. [Moscow, 1965], 151–58). Cf. R. Picchio, "The Impact of Ecclesiastic Culture on Old Russian Literary Techniques," in *Medieval Russian Culture*, California Slavic Studies, no. 12, ed. H. Birnbaum and M. Flier (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1984), 260.

be found, there will be no justification for assuming that an analysis of an individual textual portion may be generalized to include the entire text. Nor will the conclusions drawn about a particular text be necessarily valid for the entire corpus of texts associated with *VC*. Such evidence might cast doubt on the "integrity" of the text and lead us to conclude that *VC*, as it has come down to us, is the result of a compilatory scheme that might be considerably younger than the ninth century. In this regard, the "interpolationist" thesis could hardly be accepted if the textual documentation of *VC* were obscure and it would prove difficult to determine the precise circumstances in which the textual material of *VC* was transmitted prior to the fifteenth century.[23] This would be especially true if it could be shown that other textual traditions are reflected in the extant documentation of *VC*.

A majority of scholars, including those who accept the "interpolationist" thesis, continues to speak of an early dating of *VC* and thereby proceeds from the assumption that a "complete text" first spread in the Balkan Slavic area and later migrated to East-Slavic territory. However, even if liturgical compositions offer indirect proof of the early circulation of some textual material from *VC* in the South-Slavic lands, for certain portions of *VC* there may be insufficient evidence to place any part of their textual history outside the East-Slavic area.[24]

Taking as a point of departure Natalino Radovich's meticulous study of the Glagolitic pericopes from *VC*,[25] Picchio asserted a decade ago that "the formal bipartition of the manuscript documentation of *VC* into two branches, East-Slavic and South-Slavic, does not imply by necessity any parallel development of these two traditions nor does it prove anything as to their origins."[26] He even hypothesized that "the 'South-Slavic' tradition of *VC* may be a filiation of the East-Slavic one."[27] More recently, Giorgio Ziffer has concluded, on the basis of his careful examination of approximately sixty textual witnesses of *VC*, that it is wrong to posit the existence of a South-Slavic redaction in contradistinction to an East-Slavic branch.[28] In reality, the South-Slavic group derives from an East-Slavic branch of the tradition of *VC*. In an earlier period, according to Ziffer, after its migration to East-Slavic territory, the text of *VC* must have disappeared among the Balkan Slavs.

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[23] See note 3, above.

[24] See in this regard Picchio, "Chapter XIII of *Vita Constantini*," 142.

[25] N. Radovich, *Le pericopi glagolitiche della Vita Constantini e la tradizione manoscritta cirillica* (Naples, 1968).

[26] Picchio, "Chapter XIII of *Vita Constantini*," 142.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ziffer, "La tradizione russa sud-occidentale," 371.

Consequently, in his view, all extant South-Slavic codices go back not to an ancient stage in the tradition of the work, but to a later period closely connected with the East-Slavic area.[29]

II

Recent studies on the "textual integrity" of *VC* and the possibility of redactional intervention have focused on two pivotal chapters of the work: namely, a passage from *VC* VIII, which informs us that Constantine found in Kherson "a Gospel and Psalter written in Rusian letters,"[30] and an excerpt from *VC* XIII, which relates how Constantine deciphered three lines (or "verses"[31]) engraved on a mysterious chalice that pertained to Solomon's prophecy about the coming of Christ.[32] Scholars have debated whether the readings contained in the two chapters, which are found in all extant copies of *VC,* are to be regarded as "errors" that go back to its archetype and whether that archetype is of East-Slavic provenance. They have also sought to determine whether—and if so, to what extent—the textual history of *VC* VIII

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[29] Ziffer, "Ricerche sul testo e la tradizione," 181–83. Relying on the interpretative scheme advanced by N. K. Nikol'skij (*Povest' vremennyx let kak pamjatnik dlja istorii načal'nogo perioda russkoj pis'mennosti i kul'tury. K voprosu o drevnejšem letopisanii* [Leningrad, 1930]; idem, "K voprosu o sledax moravo-češkogo vlijanija na literaturnyx pamjatnikax domongol'skoj èpoxi," *Vestnik Akademii nauk SSSR* 3, nos. 8–9 [1933]: 5–18), Ziffer also has sought to underscore the importance of the West Slavic (i.e., Czech) tradition for the origins of East Slavic literary civilization.

[30] "Obrěte že tou euaggelïe i psáltirь rousьkymi písmeny pisano, . . ." (P. A. Lavrov, *Materialy po istorii vozniknovenija drevnejšej slavjanskoj pis'mennosti,* Slavistic Printings and Reprintings, no. 67 [The Hague and Paris, 1966], 12).

[31] On the notion that the three prophetic lines in *VC* XIII are a Slavic translation from Greek that, when "reconstructed," turns out to be poetry, see above all R. Jakobson, "Stixotvornye citaty v velikomoravskoj agiografii," *Slavistična Revija* 10 (1957): 111–18, esp. 112–15; idem, "Poxvala Konstantina Filosofa Grigoriju Bogoslovu," in *Roman Jakobson. Selected Writings,* vol. 6, *Early Slavic Paths and Crossroads,* ed. S. Rudy (Berlin, New York & Amsterdam, 1985), 207–239, esp. 231–39. For quite different views on the alleged "poetic character" of the three lines, see Ševčenko, "The Greek Source of the Inscription," esp. 294–98; idem, "Addendum to chapter XXI," in *Byzantium and the Slavs,* 729–32; R. Picchio, "Strutture isocoliche e poesia slava medievale: a proposito dei capitoli III e XIII della *Vita Constantini* 17–19 (1970–1972): 419–45, esp. 437–43.

[32] "Estь že vъ svętěi Sofïi potirь otъ drágago kamenïa, Solómonę děla, na nemže soutь žídovъska i sámarenska, gráni napísani, íxъže niktòže ne možaše ni počesti, ni skázati. Vъzem že ju filosofъ, počétъ i skaza. Estь že síce prъ'vaa gránь: čęša moa, čęša moa, proricai, dondeže dzvězda. Vь pivo boúdi, Gospodi, prъvenьcou, bdęščou nóščïju. Po sem že drougaa gránь: na vъkousenïe Gospodne sъtvorena dreva inogo. Pïi i oupïisę veselïemъ, i vъzъpïi alliloua. I pó sem tretïjà granь: se knęzь, i ouzritь vésь sъnemъ slávou ego, i Davydъ car' posrědě ixъ" (Lavrov, *Materialy po istorii*, 26).

and XIII has been connected with other textual traditions that circulated in the East-Slavic area.

Especially intense discussions have focused on the textual history, significance, and function of the story about "Solomon's chalice" contained in *VC* XIII.[33] The chalice story in *VC* XIII, which V. I. Lamanskij had regarded as a later addition probably inserted by a South-Slavic adapter of the work[34] but which has usually been considered an integral part of *VC,*[35] is also found in numerous apocryphal texts (dating from the thirteenth century and almost all of which are of East-Slavic origin) that provide an exegesis to the three verses on the chalice.[36] For many scholars, the notion that the prophetic inscription on Solomon's chalice in *VC* (as well as the "pseudoepigraphic" version) was a translation from the Greek, made either by Constantine himself or in the South-Slavic area, was confirmed by Ševčenko's discovery of an eleventh-century Byzantine manuscript (*Scurialensis* ψ.III.7, fol. 317^{r}) wherein one finds a Greek text of the first two verses of the inscription.[37]

Yet it is the third verse of the inscription, which is missing from the above-mentioned Greek codex, that seems to have provoked the most heated scholarly controversy. In Picchio's view, the wording of verse 3 attested by

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[33] The stages in the ongoing controversy surrounding chapter XIII of *VC* can be outlined as follows: (1) In seeking to elucidate a view he had first advanced in 1960 and on the basis of Ševčenko's find (see note 37, below), Riccardo Picchio published two critical studies that offered a new reading and interpretation for *VC* XIII ("Strutture isocoliche e poesia slava medievale"; "Chapter XIII of the *Vita Constantini*"). Cf. R. Picchio, "Compilazione e trama narrativa nelle 'Vite' di Costantino e Metodio," *Ricerche Slavistiche* 8 (1960): 80. (2) Mario Capaldo reacted very negatively to Picchio's conclusions in a lengthy study that sought to focus on certain basic philological problems ("Rispetto del testo tràdito"). Cf. M. Capaldo, "Sulla datazione di un'iscrizione pseudosalomonica ad opera di Costantino il Filosofo," in *Studi in onore di Sante Graciotti,* ed. G. Brogi Bercoff et al. (Rome, 1990), 944–60; idem, "Sulla *Vita Constantini.* Questioni minori di metodo, di esegesi, di critica testuale," *Europa Orientalis* 11 (1992): 295–356. (3) In response to Capaldo's alternative positions, Picchio sought to elucidate the views put forward in his earlier studies ("Alle prese con la *Vita Constantini*").

[34] V. I. Lamanskij, "Slavjanskoe žitie sv. Kirilla kak religiozno-èpičeskoe proizvedenie i kak istoričeskij istočnik. Kritičeskie zametki," *Žurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveščenija* 353 (1904): 152–59.

[35] For a discussion of the "integralist position," see Ševčenko, "The Greek Source of the Inscription," esp. 288–92.

[36] On the two basic Church Slavic versions of the chalice story found outside of *VC* and their manuscript traditions, see Capaldo, "Rispetto del testo tràdito," 545–56. According to Capaldo, only one (fourteenth-century) South Slavic testimony (RNB F.I.376) of the chalice story has come down to us (ibid., 547).

[37] For a comparison of the Greek and Slavic texts, see Ševčenko, "The Greek Source of the Inscription," esp. 294–95.

all extant witnesses of both *VC*[38] and the "apocryphal" tradition[39] betrays a misreading that appears to have resulted from a merging (or confusion) of biblical citations. In other words, if one were to change the word order of verse 3 on the basis of its biblical equivalents,[40] the verse would reveal "clear references" to Isaiah 35.2 and Ezekiel 34.24, which, from an "orthodox" perspective, convey a precise doctrinal message that affirms Jesus as the true Shepherd and Messiah in the ascendant reign of Christian salvation. In the case of *VC*, according to Picchio, the correct reading of verse 3 is the "keystone" for an understanding of the symbolic scene described in chapter XIII—namely, the chapter that serves to introduce the culminating section of the hagiographic composition (i.e., Constantine's apostolic mission to the Slavs)[41]—for the verse defines the chapter's "spiritual meaning" by means of a biblical thematic clue composed of the two citations.[42]

[38] See note 32, above.

[39] See, for example, the thirteenth-century East-Slavic codex (RNB Q.I.18): "se knjazь i ouzritь i vьsь sborъ i Davydъ cesarь posredě ixъ" (cited after Picchio, "Chapter XIII of *Vita Constantini,*" 144).

[40] I.e., if one alters the position of the initial words in verse 3 (*i se knjazь*), one obtains a reading (i ouzritъ [zritь] vesъ sъnemъ [sъborъ] slavou ego, *i se knjazь* i Davidъ carь [cesarь] posredě ixъ) that corresponds to segments of Isaiah 35.2 (καὶ ὁ λαός ὄψεται τὴν δόξαν κυρίου ["and my people shall see the glory of the Lord"]) and Ezekiel 34.24 (καὶ ἐγω κύριος εἴσομαι αὐτοῖς εἰς θεὸν, καὶ Δαυιδ ἐν μὲσῳ ἄρχῶν ["and I, the Lord, will be to them a God, and David a prince in the midst of them"]), respectively. On the relationship of the Slavic terms to their Greek biblical counterparts, see Picchio, "Chapter XIII of *Vita Constantini*," 145–46. Cf. Capaldo, "Rispetto del testo tràdito," 594–99.

[41] In Picchio's view, "this short chapter represents a sort of 'pause' in the narrative texture of the *vita*. Its function appears to be that of marking the switch from the 'Life of Constantine the Philosopher,' who had defended the Christian doctrine against the Saracens and the Jews, to the 'Life of Constantine the Apostle to the Slavs.' The two citations from Isaiah and Ezekiel are the keystone of this hagiographic construction. The 'bad shepherds' of the Old Testament tradition are rejected. The 'Philosopher' will no longer argue with them. He will speak, instead, to the Gentiles in the rising reign of Christian salvation because *they will see the glory of the Lord and David shall be the prince among them*" (Picchio, "Chapter XIII of *Vita Constantini,*" 150–51).

[42] While Ševčenko applauded Picchio "for drawing our attention to the analogies between parts of the inscription and the two Old Testament passages (Isaiah 35.2 and Ezekiel 34.24)," he preferred to see them merely as part of the chalice story rather than as "keystones of [the work's] hagiographic construction" connected with the "spiritual salvation of the Slavs" ("Addenda," in ***Byzantium and the Slavs,*** 731). In Ševčenko's opinion, "there is no need to correct the 'errors' in these quotations (these 'errors'... were already present in the postulated Greek original), or to wonder why the 'theologically founded interpretation' in [*VC* XIII] left no trace in the East Slavic tradition" (ibid.). According to Ševčenko, therefore, this interpretation never existed.

The fact that the entire textual documentation of *VC* betrays an "erroneous" reading of this "semantic signal" is of paramount importance for Picchio.[43] In his opinion, it not only obliges us to wonder whether the "misquotation" in *VC* XIII is connected with a phase in the history of the work when the value of the "thematic clue" was no longer understood by copyists as essential. It also compels us to ask whether the "damage" found in *VC* XIII might have been connected with other textual traditions, namely, with the apocryphal texts that betray the same "misreading" of verse 3 of the chalice found in *VC*. Although the presence of the same "mistake" in both *VC* XIII and the pseudoepigraphic version of the chalice story may point to a common textual antecedent (i.e., the source of an "original" mechanical error made by a copyist), Picchio emphasizes that the particular *function* of the "semantic signal" in *VC* XIII is entirely different from that found in the apocryphal texts. Whereas the contextual role of the chalice story in *VC* XIII can be understood only if Isaiah 35.2 and Ezekiel 34.24 are cited *correctly,* the meaning of the chalice inscription in the apocryphal tradition depends largely on a *misreading* of the two biblical citations.[44] Furthermore, in Picchio's view, the relationship established between *VC* XIII and the complex of East-Slavic apocryphal texts that go back to the thirteenth century does not permit us to conclude that the archetype of *VC* can be dated to the thirteenth century.[45] What is crucial here, according to Picchio, is not only the impossibility of dating the archetype to which all extant testimonies of *VC* go back but also the difficulty of determining the origins of a *traditio textus* and

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[43] It is important to stress here that Picchio's hypothesis does not aim to introduce a "correction" for a proposed critical edition but rather seeks to offer an explanation for "damage" in the archetype. In other words, given that the antecedents of the archetype are uncertain, a critical edition of *VC* that scrupulously follows the *textus traditus* may exclude a conjectural reading that goes beyond the archetype. See Picchio, "Alle prese con la *Vita Constantini*," 36–37 n. 23.

[44] Indeed, in Picchio's opinion, an examination of the commentary on verse 3 found in the apocryphal text proves "beyond any possible doubt" that its "author" did not even suspect that he was explaining the Holy Writ: "*Knjazь zritь* Pilat, a zbor židove. Uzrěša *slavou* ego, vъskrěsenie ego viděvše užasošasja. *Davydь že car posredi ixъ*, Xristosъ že otъ plemeni Davyda plotju raspjatie pria porsredi vas židove" (I. E. Evseev, "Slovesa svjatyx prorok, protivoiudejskij pamjatnik po ruskopisi XV v.," *Drevnosti. Trudy Slavjanskoj Kommissii Imperatorskogo Moskovskogo Arxeologičeskogo Obščestva* 4 [1907]: 173). In this commentary, "the usual mistake in the citation from Isaiah and Ezekiel had already become the source of an apocryphal type of exegesis. The misplaced *knjazь* was identified with Pilate... and, of course, the symbol of David-Christ was used to blame the Jews" (Picchio, "Chapter XIII of *Vita Constantini,*"146–47). On the identification of *knjazь* and Pontius Pilate in the apocryphal tradition, see Capaldo, "Rispetto del testo tràdito," 611–12; Picchio, "Alle prese con la *Vita Constantini*," 48–49 n. 58.

[45] Ibid., 49.

the precise circumstances in which the textual material of *VC* was transmitted in the period preceding the archetype. Thus, in his opinion, it is true that *VC* is a hagiographic *work* which is probably connected with the principal phases of Cyrillo-Methodian history (from the ninth century onwards) and whose textual tradition seems reducible to an archetype (despite perceptible intervention at the level of language). Yet it is no less true that the antecedents of the *text* of *VC* (documented by late codices) remain obscure.[46]

In contradistinction to Picchio, Mario Capaldo has insisted that the reading found in the extant textual documentation of *VC* XIII is in no need of emendation, inasmuch as it is "genuine" and certainly very old.[47] Relying on an interpretative tradition that appears to owe a great deal to Dvornik, Capaldo not only aims to defend the historicity of the chalice story in *VC* XIII[48] but also seeks to confirm the dating of an "undamaged" archetype to the latter part of the ninth century (Moravia) or, at the very latest, to the early tenth century (Bulgaria).[49] In his opinion, moreover, the notion that the chalice story in *VC* XIII might have been contaminated by East-Slavic apocrypha has "grave implications" for the history of the tradition of *VC*, for it legitimizes doubts that verse 3 of the inscription is an isolated case.[50]

In seeking to demonstrate the "textual integrity" of *VC* and rejecting the notion of a late compilatory scheme for the work, Capaldo offers a "reconstruction" of the history of the chalice story with the aim of restoring the text transmitted to us by *VC* XIII in an "original form" that is independent of both the Slavic apocryphal tradition and other (i.e., Greek and Slavic) textual sources.[51] Proceeding from the premise that the Slavic text of *VC* XIII that has come down to us could have been written as early as the ninth

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[46] Ibid., 50.

[47] Capaldo, "Rispetto del testo tràdito," esp. 577–79.

[48] Ibid., 549–50. In a short chapter of his doctoral thesis devoted to the motif of "hagiographic discourse," Ziffer astutely pointed to the correspondence between Dvornik's vision of *VC* as "genuine" and Capaldo's approach to *VC* (Ziffer, "Ricerche sul testo e la tradizione," 188–92, esp. 188–89).

[49] Capaldo, "Rispetto del testo tràdito," esp. 577–78. Ziffer posits a somewhat later dating for the archetype of *VC* (eleventh century) and, in contrast with Capaldo, places it within the East-Slavic area sometime in the eleventh century (Ziffer, "Ricerche sul testo e la tradizione," 180–81). Cf. V. M. Živov ("*Slavia Christiana* v istoriko-kul'turnyj kontekst i *Skazanie o russkoj gramote*," in *La cultura spirituale russa*, ed. L. Magarotto and D. Rizzi [Trent, 1992], 107), who (on the basis of earlier scholarship) asserts that *VC* could not have spread in Rus' until after 1116, that is, that the work was unknown to the compilers of the *Primary Chronicle* (i.e., to the "editors" of the "Sylvester redaction" of 1116) at the beginning of the twelfth century.

[50] Capaldo, "Rispetto del testo tràdito," 576.

[51] Ibid., 604–615. Cf. Picchio, "Alle prese con la *Vita Constantini*," 51–52.

century, Capaldo provides a diagram that illustrates the "Hebrew, Greek, and Slavic tradition" of the chalice story.[52] By establishing an extremely complex set of hypothetical (or partially hypothetical) textual relationships—from a Hebrew source (**IscrCal-Ebr*), which gave birth to a Greek text (**IscrCal-Gr*) and its antecedents, to diverse Slavic versions—Capaldo endeavors to demonstrate that (1) the extensive apocryphal text of the chalice story does not rely on the text found in *VC* XIII, (2) the commentary in the apocryphal version does not present anything at odds with orthodox Christianity, and (3) the *terminus post quem* for the dating of the two Slavic apocryphal texts may well be the ninth century and their commentary the product of Constantine's missionary activity.[53] More specifically, Capaldo seeks to show that the entire history of the chalice story in Slavic can be traced back to the activity of Methodius (**StorCal-Meth*), who allegedly translated a non-extant Greek work written by Constantine himself (**StorCal-Const*).

Given the "respect" he professes for the principles of textual criticism established by Paul Maas and his opposition to "conjectural adventure,"[54] it is surprising that Capaldo would express views about the "textual integrity" of *VC* that are based on the hypothetical reconstruction of undocumented stages in the history of the work. One might also question, in this regard, his insistence on restoring the text of *VC* by adapting it to the linguistic norms of Old Church Slavic.[55] Here, too, Capaldo's *restitutio textus* appears to rely on the mere assumption of an early dating rather than on extant textual documentation.[56]

III

While many scholars continue to maintain that the reading found in verse 3 of the inscription on the chalice—as attested in all extant codices of *VC*—is not to be considered proof of a corrupted archetype,[57] few contemporary Slavicists would deny that the reference to Constantine's discovery in Kherson of a "Gospel and Psalter written in Rusian letters" (*euaggelïe i psáltirъ rousъkymi písmeny pisano*) contained in *VC* VIII casts doubt on the notion of faithful textual transmission.[58] Indeed, on the basis of studies by André Vaillant and

[52] Capaldo, "Rispetto del testo tràdito," 618.
[53] Ibid., 609.
[54] Ibid., 541, 630–32. Cf. Picchio, "Alle prese con la *Vita Constantini*," 54.
[55] Capaldo, "Rispetto del testo tràdito," 578.
[56] Ibid., 578–79.
[57] See most recently Ziffer, "Ricerche sul testo e la tradizione," 177.
[58] One should remember that doubts expressed about the "genuineness" of the phrase *rousъkymi písmeny* should be considered within the context of recent discussions on the

Roman Jakobson that appeared more than fifty years ago,[59] it is now generally accepted by most specialists that the phrase *rousьkymi písmeny*, which is included in all extant codices of both the South-Slavic and East-Slavic "branches" of *VC*,[60] "originally" read "in Syriac letters."[61] In other words, according to most scholars, the qualifier "Rusian" found in the texts of *VC* VIII derives from a misreading or scribal error, where a "copyist" confused the two roots *sour-* and *rous-*. Hence, as Ziffer has concluded, if one acknowledges the "secondary character" of the reading *rousьkymi písmeny* and one focuses not on what "must have been the non-extant genuine reading" but

possible presence of other scribal or redactional intervention in *VC* VIII as well as of general debates on whether the five "Khazar chapters" of *VC* are a late interpolation. See O. Pritsak, "Turkological Remarks on Constantine's Khazarian Mission in the *Vita Constantini*," in *Christianity Among the Slavs: The Heritage of Saints Cyril and Methodius, Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, no. 231, ed. E. Farrugia et al. (Rome, 1988), 295–98; G. Ziffer, "Konstantin und die Chazaren," *Die Welt der Slaven* 13 (1989): 354–61; idem, "La tradizione russa sud-occidentale," esp. 394–95. Cf. Capaldo, "Sulla *Vita Constantini*," esp. 337–40.

[59] A. Vaillant, "Les 'lettres russes' et la *Vie de Constantin*," *Revue des Études Slaves* 15 (1935): 73–77; R. Jakobson, "Saint Constantin et la langue syriaque," *Université de Bruxelles, Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 7 (1939–1944): 181–86.

[60] On the "branches" (or "redactions") of *VC*, see note 28, above. In my earlier study on the short passage of *VC* VIII devoted to Constantine's discovery of a "Gospel and Psalter written in Rusian letters" I concluded that my (admittedly partial) list of *variae lectiones* appeared to demonstrate evidence of routine scribal activity rather than redactional intervention and thus seemed to reveal a compact textual tradition, that is, insufficient traces of scriptorial activity to justify the grouping of textual witnesses into two redactions (H. Goldblatt, On '*rusьkymi pismeny*' in the *Vita Constantini* and Rus'ian Religious Patriotism," in *Studia Slavica Mediaevalia et Humanistica Riccardo Picchio dicata*, ed. M. Colucci, G. Dell'Agata, and H. Goldblatt [Rome, 1986], 318). I also pointed out, however, that one should identify the particular codices in which the variant forms *rousьskym(i) - rouš'kym(i) - rosъky* are located. Indeed, whereas all East-Slavic codices known to me at that time appeared to contain the single reading *rousьkym(i)*, the eight codices of the South-Slavic tradition seemed to betray all three variant readings. This evidence confirmed my impression that the manuscripts of the East-Slavic *recensio*, which goes back to the fifteenth century, represented a compact *East-Slavic* tradition (ibid., 318–19). Cf. Picchio, "Chapter XIII of *Vita Constantini*," 142. For recent discussions on possible scribal or redactional intervention in this textual portion of *VC* VIII, see Ziffer, "La tradizione russa sud-occidentale *della Vita Constantini*," 394–95; Capaldo, "Sulla *Vita Constantini*," 337–40.

[61] For the main interpretative traditions—including the Syriac hypothesis—on the reading *rousьkymi písmeny*, see Florja, *Skazanija o načale slavjanskoj pis'mennosti*, 115–17; Goldblatt, "On '*rusьkymi pismeny*' in the *Vita Constantini*," 313–14. See most recently, in addition to the studies by Giorgio Ziffer and V. M. Živov, O. N. Trubačev, "Neskol'ko lingvističeskix gloss k moravsko-pannonskim žitijam," in *Drevnerusskij literaturnyj jazyk v ego otnošenii k staroslavjanskomu*, ed. L. P. Žukovskaja (Moscow, 1987), 30–36; G. A. Xaburgaev, *Pervye stoletija slavjanskoj pis'mennoj kul'tury. Istoki drevnerusskoj knižnosti* (Moscow, 1994), 117–27.

on the variant actually attested by the tradition, one is obliged to conclude that a "corruption" must have been produced in the archetype.[62]

Ziffer is certainly correct to assert that a critical inquiry into the textual tradition of *VC* must rely on the phrase *rousьkymi písmeny,* that is, on the reading found in all extant codices of the work. On the other hand, one might wonder whether his acceptance of the Vaillant and Jakobson thesis that the "original" reading was probably *sourьskymi písmeny* continues to place undue emphasis on undocumented stages in the textual history of *VC.*[63] As I have indicated elsewhere, "if our aim is to provide a 'genuine reading' *based on the textual documentation that has been handed down to us,* only special circumstances would permit us to accept the notion of a 'misreading' at this point in the text."[64] Thus, the emendation *sourьskymi písmeny* would be acceptable here only if one could demonstrate that the reading *rousьkymi písmeny* is "secondary" (i.e., "corrupted") and does not derive from the adaptation of preexistent material that may have incorporated other textual traditions. In my opinion, however, it seems advisable to consider the phrase *rousьkymi písmeny* not an early "miscopying" or "error" made by a South-Slavic scribe "to whom both peoples [i.e., the "Rousi" and the "Souri"] were equally remote"[65] but a genuine reading which is unquestionably of East-

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[62] See Ziffer, "Ricerche sul testo e la tradizione," 179.

[63] In order to defend the Syriac hypothesis, some scholars have referred to the hagiographic account included in the *Prolog* (which in their opinion was compiled on the basis of *VC*), where it is stated that Constantine studied four languages, namely, Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Hebrew ("... i četyrmi jazyki filosofii naoučivsja: i jelinьsky, i rimьsky, surьsky, židovьsky" [Lavrov, *Materialy po istorii,* 101]). On the other hand, the *Dormition* (*Uspenie*) *of St. Cyril,* which closely parallels *VC* VIII in its treatment of Constantine's mastery of Hebrew and Samaritan, totally omits the entire "Rusian episode." In other words, the *Dormition* shifts from the study of Samaritan to the discovery of St. Clement's relics with no mention whatsoever of a Gospel and Psalter "in Rusian letters" ("... i čьsti načet knígy ty`e [samarěnskye]. *i kr[ъ]sti tógo i s[y]na ego. i slýšavь toù,* jako i s[vja]ty Kliméntь i ešče vъ móri léžitь" [Lavrov, *Materialy,* 155]. On the mastery of a language triad as a hagiographic commonplace, see H. Goldblatt, "On the Place of the Cyrillo-Methodian Tradition in Epiphanius's *Life of Saint Stephen of Perm,*" in *Christianity and the Eastern Slavs,* vol. 1, *Slavic Cultures in the Middle Ages,* California Slavic Studies, no. 16, ed. B. Gasparov and O. Raevsky-Hughes (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford, 1993), 158–60.

[64] Goldblatt, "On 'rusьkymi pismeny' in the *Vita Constantini,*" 318. In other words, the reading *sourьskymi písmeny* belongs not to the operation of textual *restitutio* but rather to the realm of *divinatio,* that is, to the selection of a reading different from those documented by the extant codices.

[65] H. Lunt, "Again the 'rusьkymi pismeny,'" *Cercări de lingvistică* 3 (1958), Supliment (= Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Emil Petrovici par ses amis étrangers à l'occasion de son soixantième anniversaire), 326. Cf. A. S. L'vov ("K istokam staroslavjanskoj pis'mennosti," *Slavia* 44 [1975]: 274–85), who suggested that the "Russian episode" is an early (i.e., South-Slavic) interpolation.

Slavic origin[66] and which appears to have conveyed a precise message for an East-Slavic readership and have performed an important contextual function in the extant codices of *VC*.[67]

In my earlier study on the textual history of *VC*,[68] I sought to demonstrate that Constantine's discovery of a "Gospel and Psalter written in Rusian letters" was linked to a "political and religious patriotism" which may well have had its origins in the textual tradition of the so-called *Tale on Rusian Writing* (hereafter *Tale*), a work preserved in at least sixteen codices—all of East-Slavic origin[69]—which, as in the case of *VC*, date from no earlier from the middle of the fifteenth century.[70] There is no doubt that *VC* VIII and the *Tale* offer a similar vision that corresponds to what is found in other fifteenth-century writings which stress either the antiquity of "Rusian letters" or the idea of the "Rusian language" as the basis of a supranational Orthodox Slavic standard.[71] Nontheless, despite the presence of common textual material and other evident connections,[72] *VC* and the *Tale* betray radically different

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[66] Ziffer ("Ricerche sul testo e la tradizione," 178) has noted that, as early as 1843, Gorskij ("O sv. Kirille i Mefodii," 9) suspected East Slavic origins without knowing that the reading was to be found in the entire manuscript tradition.

[67] Goldblatt, "On 'rusъkymi pismeny' in the *Vita Constantini,*" 318.

[68] Ibid., esp. 320–28.

[69] See Živov, "*Slavia christiana,*" esp. 93–95.

[70] In my earlier study, relying on the information provided by František Mareš ("Skazanie o slavjanskoj pis'mennosti," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* 19 [1963]: 169–76), I referred to six codices. On the manuscript tradition, see now Živov ("*Slavia Christiana,*" 75–78), who has listed fifteen copies and provided valuable codicological information. An additional copy has been discovered by Ziffer ("Ricerche sul testo e la tradizione," 185).

[71] See above all Constantine Kostenečki's *Explanatory Treatise on the Letters* (*Skazanie izъjavljenno o pismenex*), where it is stated that the Slavic language has the "most refined and beautiful Rusian tongue" as its basis (I. V. Jagič, *Codex Slovenicus rerum grammaticarum* [Berlin, 1896], 108). Recently B. A. Uspenskij (*Istorija russkogo literaturnogo jazyka [XI–XVII vv.]* [Munich, 1987], 185–86) has expressed the view that Kostenečki's "Rusocentric" conception of the Slavic language relies on the "authoritative" reading found in *VC* VIII. In other words, according to Uspenskij, Balkan Slavic writers such as Kostenečki, who wrote his treatise in the 1420s in Belgrade, would have had access to South Slavic copies of the work. Yet it is more than likely that Kostenečki did not know *VC*. Indeed, although *VC* XIV and many other Cyrillo-Methodian writings assign to Constantine-Cyril a singular role in the divinely-inspired action of inventing Slavic letters, Kostenečki attributes the origins of the Slavic language to the activity of certain "wondrous men" (without mentioning Constantine-Cyril). It is only in preparing the first Slavic edition of the divine Writings that, according to Kostenečki, "Cyril the Philosopher" played a preeminent role (and where no reference is made to Methodius). See Goldblatt, *Orthography and Orthodoxy,* 118–20. Kostenečki's apparent unfamiliarity with *VC* in early fifteenth-century Serbia would certainly strengthen the recent argument made by Ziffer that the South Slavic group of manuscripts derives from an East Slavic branch of the tradition. See note 28, above.

[72] In a number of codices, including the oldest East Slavic copy, the *Tale* has been placed

interpretative schemes. Whereas the text of *VC* VIII unquestionably seeks to celebrate Constantine's achievements and link his missionary activity with Rus', the *Tale*—notwithstanding the fact that several codices bear the title *On the Death of Saint Cyril, the Teacher of the Slavs*—aims to minimize Constantine's accomplishments, advancing as its principal thesis the idea that Rus' had not required the activity of a "foreign apostle," for the "true faith" had been revealed to Rus' by "none but God the almighty" through the inspired actions of the Grand Prince Vladimir.[73]

In my attempt to establish a link between the reading *rousьkymi písmeny* contained in *VC* VIII and the "Rusian patriotism" found in the late codices of the *Tale,* I was compelled to stress that "one cannot, for lack of information, advance a conjecture on either the circumstances of textual transmission for the [*Tale*] prior to the fifteenth century or the precise relations between its textual history and that of *VC*."[74] On the other hand, I suggested that the *Tale* may provide the correct interpretative context in which to place the "Rusian episode" of *VC* VIII precisely because "it conveys a message conforming perfectly to the ideological atmosphere of the fifteenth-century 'Rusian' lands."[75] In other words, "the notion that Constantine the Philosopher had discovered 'Rusian letters' in Kherson, or that he had studied with a 'Rusian' to whom God had revealed 'Rusian writing,' would be fully accepted in the East-Slavic lands being united under Moscow, the 'new Constantinople,' in the fifteenth century. It would become an essential component of a new ideological vision grounded in the belief that Moscow was now the center of the true Orthodox faith."[76]

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immediately after the text of *VC* (Živov, "*Slavia christiana,*" 76–77 n. 4).

[73] Likewise, although—as scholars have noted—the *Tale* may have borrowed textual material from the entry in the *Primary Chronicle* (*s.a.* 6406 [898 A.D.] which treats the Moravian mission of Constantine and Methodius (known as the *Skazanie o preloženii knig*), it is important to stress that the two accounts betray distinct ideological orientations (Živov, "*Slavia christiana*," 96–97). Whereas the *Tale* focuses on the motif of autonomous entry into the family of Christian peoples through the actions of St. Vladimir *alone,* the chronicle entry not only asserts that the beginnings of Christianity (and literacy) in Rus' are grounded in the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition but insists on the *apostolic* origins of evangelization among the Slavs (Goldblatt, "On 'rusьkymi pismeny' in the *Vita Constantini,*" 326–28).

[74] Goldblatt, "On 'rusьkymi pismeny' in the *Vita Constantini,*" 325.

[75] Ibid. The implications of this statement do not seem to have been fully understood by some scholars: see, for example, Živov, "*Slavia christiana,*" 104–106; Capaldo, "Rispetto del testo tràdito," 576–77 n. 95. The fact that I link both the reading found in *VC* VIII and the *Tale* with the ideological atmosphere of the fifteenth century does not mean that I am prepared to offer a precise date of composition for either work.

[76] Goldblatt, "On 'rusьkymi pismeny' in the *Vita Constantini*,"325.

Scholars long have attempted to determine the "authenticity" of the *Tale,* that is, to resolve the question of whether the work is an early West-Slavic document or a later East-Slavic writing.[77] Particular attention has been focused on the reliability of the account given in the *Tale* about the activity of St. Vojtěch-Adalbert (d. 997), the second bishop of Prague, missionary to the Polish lands, and martyr for the faith among the Prussians. Few Slavicists would now accept the trustworthiness of the description, unique to the *Tale,* of St. Vojtěch as the enemy of the "true faith" and "Rusian writing."

In a meticulous study that aimed to elucidate the "correct" historical and cultural context of the *Tale,* V. M. Živov sought to demonstrate that the work was an East-Slavic monument which was compiled in the twelfth century, that is, when the "battle" for the division of a unified Christian Slavic community into two opposing communities was still "topical."[78] According to Živov, it is within the framework of the confict between *Slavia orthodoxa* and *Slavia romana* that followed the schism between Eastern and Western Christians in 1054[79]—and not against the background of the events of the fifteenth century (i.e., when one can observe the growth of "national and religious self-awareness" and the widespread diffusion of the *Tale* in the Russian lands)—that one can best understand the motivation on the part of an ascendant Orthodox Rus′ community to besmirch the name of St. Vojtěch, one of the most celebrated Western Slavic saints, whose deeds were in fact connected not with the destruction of the "Rusian" (i.e., Slavic) religious and cultural heritage but with the ideas of a Christian Slavic unity (*Slavia christiana*).[80] Thus, on the basis of its "biased" account of St. Vojtěch's activity, Živov views the *Tale* as a twelfth-century monument that provides evidence of the intensity of the struggle to destroy the "ideology" of *Slavia christiana*, that is, to eliminate a separate religious and cultural community that had coexisted with the Latin and Greek traditions until the end of the eleventh century.[81]

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[77] For a good summary of the discussions, see O. Kralik, "Povest′ o vremennyx let i legenda Kristiana o svjatyx Vjačeslave i Ljudmile," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* 19 (1963): 185–91; Živov, "*Slavia christiana*."

[78] Živov, "*Slavia christiana*," 108.

[79] On the concepts of *Slavia orthodoxa* and *Slavia romana*, see most recently Picchio, "Slavia ortodossa e Slavia romana."

[80] In seeking to underscore St. Vojtěch's ecumenical vision, tolerance, and devotion to *Slavia christiana,* Živov ("*Slavia christiana*," 81–91) focuses not on the years spent in Germany but on his stay in Italy, in particular, his connection with the Monastery of S. Alessio.

[81] Živov ("*Slavia christiana*," 101–102) provides evidence in his study to suggest that hostility to *Slavia christiana* was a characterizing feature of not only *Slavia orthodoxa* but

Živov's commentary on the historical and cultural context of the *Tale* relies in considerable measure on his analysis of the manuscript tradition and an attempt to "examine the history of the text of the *Tale* and reconstruct the archetype."[82] In the appendix to the study he in fact offers not only the "reconstructed text" of the *Tale* and "basic variants" but also a "textological stemma."[83] According to Živov, the extant copies of the *Tale* can be divided into four "redactions," which are distinguished on the basis of the following features: (1) the presence (or absence) of the heading that refers to the death of St. Cyril; (2) the "unity of the *Tale*" with the "fragment about St. Vladimir" (or its absence); and (3) the complete (or abbreviated) text of a prayer addressed to the saintly "tsars" Constantine and Vladimir.[84] This mode of classification leads Živov to conclude that it is the "basic text" of the *Tale* found in redactions C and D (i.e., the text which ends with the death of St. Vojtěch and is without the "fragment about St. Vladimir") which can be dated to the twelfth century, for "it is precisely to this text that one can ascribe a definite emphasis on Rusian Christianity."[85] The "united text" found in redactions A and B (i.e., the text which adds the "fragment about St. Vladimir" to the "basic text"), on the other hand, was compiled much later, but before the fifteenth century, that is, before the period of the so-called "Second South-Slavic Influence."[86]

Slavia romana as well. See, for example, the admonition (attributed to Pope John XIII) against the "rite or sect of the people of Bulgaria or Rus', or the Slavic language" interpolated by Cosmas of Prague into his *Chronica Bohemorum*: "Veruntamen non secundum ritus aut sectam Bulgariae gentis vel Ruziae, aut sclavonicae gentis, sed magis sequens instituta et decreta apostolica unum pociorem tocius ecclesiae ad placitum eligas in hoc opus clericum, Latinis adprime literis eruditum, qui verbi vomere novalia cordis gentilium scindere et triticum bonae operationis sere atque maniulos frugum vestrae fidei Christo reportare sufficiat" (B. Bretholz, *Die Chronik der Böhmen des Cosmas von Prag,* Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum. Nova series, no. 2 [Berlin, 1923], 44).

[82] Živov, "*Slavia christiana*," 72.

[83] Ibid., 121–25. It is important to stress that Živov's "reconstructed text" ends with the death of St. Vojtěch and omits entirely the "fragment about St. Vladimir." As to the "textological stemma," which presents five branches that correspond to four "redactions" of the *Tale* and the so-called *Life of St. Vladimir* (i.e., a work which, according to Živov, is textually dependent on the *Tale*), it might seem to some scholars that its purpose is to group witnesses in order to reach conclusions about a *stemma codicum.* However, inasmuch as Živov's "stemma" attempts to group manuscripts into "redactions"—and is therefore, it would seem, not based on a *collatio*—it is difficult to regard Živov's representation of the relationships of the extant testimonies as a *stemma codicum.*

[84] See Živov, "*Slavia christiana,*" 74–75.

[85] Ibid., 106 n. 19.

[86] Živov reaches this conclusion on the basis of two criteria: linguistic forms preserved in testimonies of different "redactions" which antedate the norms of the "Second South Slavic Influence" (e.g., *preže, Volodimerъ*); and textual material from the "united text" which served

The conclusion that the *Tale* is an East-Slavic monument compiled in the twelfth century also permits Živov to offer insightful remarks on the complex textual relationship between *VC* and the *Tale.* Proceeding from the premise that *VC* did not reach Rus′ until after 1116 (i.e., the work was unknown to "editors" of the "Sylvester redaction" of the *Primary Chronicle*), he asserts that it is possible to assume either that the *Tale* is an amplification of and commentary on *VC* VIII or that the "Rusian episode" appeared in *VC* on the basis of the *Tale.*[87] At issue here, according to Živov, is not so much the validity of a given hypothesis as the remarkable complexity connected with the "history of the text" of *VC* and, concomitantly, the very legitimacy of the "interpolationist thesis." In any event, as he notes, "the history of the text [of *VC*] turns out to be intertwined—apparently in a rather earlier period—with the history of other monuments that belonged to the East-Slavic literary tradition."[88]

While there is no doubt that Živov has produced a valuable and erudite study that is of great importance for an understanding of the *Tale,* one might wonder whether his tentative conclusions about the origins and textual history of the *Tale* always rest on a solid philological foundation. It is regrettable, therefore, that a "full textological analysis" of the *Tale* is not included with his analysis but is to be provided in a separate publication.[89] In the first place, Živov's division of the extant witnesses into four "redactions" is questionable, inasmuch as his classificatory principle seems to rely on the presence or exclusion of material in the course of textual transmission rather than on the intentional reworking of a text with the aim of violating its essential thematic and structural individuality.[90] Equally important, Živov's distinction between testimonies that are assigned to redactions C and D, which provide the "basic text" of the *Tale*, and testimonies that belong to redactions A and B, in which the "fragment about St. Vladimir" is added to form a "united text," offers a single organizing principle that appears to ignore the composite nature and mosaic-like character

as a source for the so-called *Life of St. Vladimir* (see note 91, below).

87 See Živov, "*Slavia christiana,*" 96–97, 106–107.

88 Ibid., 108.

89 Ibid., 72.

90 On the concept of "redaction," see Lixačev, *Tekstologija na materiale russkoj literatury X–XVII vv.,* 132–39). Cf. A. Danti, "Di un particolare aspetto della tradizione manoscritta antico-russa: testi a duplice redazione e problemi della loro edizione," *Ricerche Slavistiche* 20 (1973): 1–28, esp. 2–3; M. Colucci, "Contributi ad un'edizione critica del *Choženie za tri morja,*" in *Studia slavica mediaevalia et humanistica Riccardo Picchio dicata,* ed. M. Colucci, G. Dell'Agata, and H. Goldblatt (Rome, 1986) 1:147–62; Goldblatt, *Orthography and Orthodoxy*, 91–97.

of the *Tale* and seems to devote insufficient attention to the possibility that many different traditions might be reflected in the extant textual documention. Živov has rightly stressed the special relevance for the *Tale* of St. Vojtěch's role as the implacable foe of the "Rusian" religious and literary tradition. Yet even if one could date the account of St. Vojtěch's activity to the twelfth century, one would have to recognize that this passage might be the result of compilatory activity, that is, it might have its origins in a textual tradition which was totally distinct from the texts offering descriptions of the accomplishments attributed to either St. Cyril or St. Vladimir. Thus, because it is not possible to advance hypotheses about the textual history of the *Tale* for the period preceding our extant textual documentation, there is no justification for assuming that conclusions about the textual portion dedicated to St. Vojtěch can be generalized and applied to the entire text.

Similar considerations apply to the "fragment about St. Vladimir," which Živov has dated to the fourteenth century on the basis of certain linguistic forms that do not reflect the impact of the "Second South-Slavic Influence" and textual material which is common to the so-called *Life of St. Vladimir.*[91] In his study Živov sought not only to stress that the "basic text" of the *Tale* fits into the historical and cultural context of the early twelfth century but that the "unified text" must have been compiled at least a century before the growth of a new national and religious self-awareness and the widespead diffusion of the *Tale* in the second half of the fifteenth century. Here, too, however, one might wonder whether it is possible to provide a precise date of composition on the basis of the available evidence.

Of critical importance for Živov, in this regard, is the need to see in the "united text" of the *Tale* not a unified composition but two textual entities which contradict each other at a number of levels.[92] While it is true that—like many other Orthodox Slavic works—the "united text" of the *Tale* may represent the compilation of preexistent textual units put together to produce a new "context" that betrays an absence of stylistic uniformity, one should not deduce as a logical result that the two main parts of the work should be

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[91] I.e., the *Žitie blaženago Vladimira*, the third and final textual part of a hagiogaphic work compiled to venerate both Grand Prince Vladimir and his grandmother Princess Olga (*Pamjatь i poxvala knjazju Ruskomu Volodimiru...*). The oldest extant textual witness of the work goes back to the late fifteenth century. Although an earlier copy (dated 1414) was published at the end of the nineteenth century and is known to modern scholarship, the manuscript itself perished in the Moscow fire of 1812. For past and present views on the work, see above all the discussion and bibliography in P. Hollingsworth (ed.), *The Hagiography of Kievan Rus'* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), lxxxi–xcv.

[92] Ibid., 106 n. 19.

viewed as distinct segments, one added to another, which lack a thematic unity. One should recall that it is the "fragment about St. Vladimir"—and not the earlier segment devoted to the activities of St. Cyril—which elaborates on the "patriotic" opening of the *Tale,* wherein St. Vladimir receives full apostolic dignity against the background of the autonomous entry of Rus′ into the Christian family of peoples.[93] Nor should one forget that not only the "basic text" of the *Tale* but also the "fragment about St. Vladimir" employs textual material that is found in *VC* VIII.[94]

Thus, notwithstanding certain inconsistencies in the *Tale,* it is correct to speak of an organizing principle that unifies the work. By placing the achievements of Constantine-Cyril into a "Rusian" historiographic context and invalidating his apostolic and teaching activites among the Western Slavs through the actions of the "Latin bishop Vojtěch," the *Tale* could highlight the image of St. Vladimir as the supreme ruler inspired by God to christianize the lands of Rus′. Although it may well be inappropriate for us to postulate a "basic text" of the *Tale* on which the extant textual documentation would depend and it may not be possible to establish a precise date of composition for the work, there is no question that the widespread diffusion of the *Tale*, beginning in the the second half of the fifteenth century, was closely connected with ascendant religious and political patriotism in the Russian lands.[95] In their efforts to stress the autonomy of Rus′ and the unique role of

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[93] "Se že budi vědomo jazyky i vsemi lju[d]mi jako rous[s]kyi jazykь ni o[t]kudu že pria věry sea s[vja]tyja, i gramota rou[s]kaa nikym že javljeno, no tokmo saměmъ B[o]gomъ sъsedrъžitelemъ otc[e]mъ i s[y]nomъ i s[vja]tymъ d[ou]xomъ Vladimiru douxъ s[vja]tyj vъdoxnoulъ věru priati, a krščenyi o[t] grekъ i pročii narjadъ crkovnyi" (cited from the oldest East Slavic copy [MDA, no. 19], "redaction D" according to Živov's classificatory scheme, in Lavrov, *Materialy po istorii*, 36–37).

[94] See Goldblatt, "On 'rusьkymi pismeny' in the *Vita Constantini,*" 324. In the *Tale* it is St.Vladimir—and not St. Cyril—who finds both a "Gospel and Psalter" and "the relics of [St.] Clement" and who introduces them into Rus′. On St. Vladimir's "ideological annexation" of Constantine's accomplishments, see also R. Picchio, "From Boris to Volodimer: Some Remarks on the Emergence of Proto-Orthodox Slavdom," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12–13 (1988/1989): 200–213.

[95] "Alle prese con la *Vita Constantini,*" 51 n. 64. In an earlier study, I pointed to the close ideological parallels between the *Tale* and Metropolitan Hilarion's *Sermon on Law and Grace,* a work whose textual documentation also dates from the fifteenth century (with the exception of a fragment from the second half of the thirteenth century). It is thus noteworthy "that the main themes conveyed in the [*Tale*]—above all, the superiority of the Christian age of Grace over that of the Jewish Law, the conversion of Rus′ as the confirmation of God's promise, and the exaltation of Grand Prince Vladimir as the Lord's chosen instrument—are strikingly similar to the motifs which pervade Metropolitan Hilarion's composition. One should not forget that in Hilarion's work, a 'Sermon on Law and Grace' is followed by a 'Eulogy of Vladimir,' which aims to underscore precisely the idea that Rus′ was converted directly by God through the inspired deeds of St. Vladimir" (Goldblatt, "On the Place of the

its sovereign, fifteenth-century Muscovite writers not only employed traditional images belonging to the ideological patrimony of Orthodox Slavdom but also annexed the achievements of Constantine-Cyril and bestowed them upon their own Apostle.

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Cyrillo-Methodian Tradition," 156).

Who Put the Snake on the Icon and the Tollbooths on the Snake?—A Problem of Last Judgment Iconography*

DAVID M. GOLDFRANK

This essay probes a striking change in late medieval Ukrainian and Russian Last Judgment iconography—namely, the insertion of a huge snake with twenty or more rings representing the aerial tollbooths (*mytarstva*) through which the soul must pass after death. Collectively the tollbooths constitute or symbolize the immediate, personal, "minor" judgment of the soul, as opposed to the final, general, "terrible" judgment of mankind after the Second Coming of Christ.

The direct source for the notion of the tollbooths as expressed in the iconography is the *Life* of the Greek mystic Basil the Younger (d. 944) by his disciple Gregory, which circulated in two Russian versions by the early sixteenth century.[1] A brief extract presents the drama of the immediate judgment. Basil appears just as two angels and a host of demons are taking the soul of the slave girl Theodora from her body:[2]

> ... casting from his bosom a scarlet purse filled with pieces of pure gold, he gave them to the two angels and said to them: "Take them and redeem her when she is questioned in the aerial tollbooths ('οπότε 'εν τοῖς τελωνίοις τοῦ 'αέρος διέρχεσθε). I happen to be exceedingly wealthy with the grace of Christ upon my soul, having become very worthy with my pains and sweat." ... The dark and murky demons observed this and indeed were filled with hatred.

In this vision with pagan roots there was a total of twenty-one such stations that the soul had to pass, each earmarked for a different sin: (1) slander, (2) abuse, (3) envy, (4) falsehood, (5) anger and fury, (6) pride, (7)

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[1] Sergei Vilinskij, *Žitie sv. Vasilija Novogo v russkoj literature* (2 parts, *Zapiski Imperatorskogo Novorossijskogo universiteta. Istoriko-filologičeskoj fakul'tet* 7,6 [Odessa 1913, 1911]), I:129, 134–36, 188–89.

[2] Cited in A. N. Veselovskij, "Razyskanija vo oblast′ russkogo duxovnogo stixa," *Sbornik Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti* (hereafter *SORJaS*) 46.6 (1889), suppl. 18.

profanity, (8) usury and deceit, (9) indifference and vanity, (10) avarice, (11) drunkenness, (12) unforgivingness, (13) sorcery, (14) gluttony, (15) idolatry and heresy, (16) sodomy and pederasty, (17) adultery, (18) homicide, (19) theft, (20) fornication, (21) stinginess and hard-heartedness.[3] Theological problems notwithstanding, the tollbooths worked their way into liturgies and popular religious poetry and sparked the interest of several pre-Revolutionary Russian scholars.[4]

We need not dwell upon the variety of learned and popular notions, hopes, and fears concerning the afterlife held by Ukrainians and Russians around 1500. The widespread financing of prayers for the first forty days following death testifies to belief in an immediate judgment that can be influenced.[5] Here we shall limit ourselves to descriptions of the iconographic innovations and an exploration of the evidence concerning their time, place, and circumstances. Perhaps due to what survives, Russian origins, roughly during the period of religious strife during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, appear most likely. The conclusions perforce are tentative.

I

The standard Christian Last Judgment iconography developed by the time of the conversion of Rus', with basic components taken from Scripture and Aprocrypha. Towards the top in the center, as in the cathedral in Torcello, is Christ as Judge in a vertically elongated, pointed mandorla. To his sides are the interceding Theotokos and John the Baptist—what is now called the

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[3] Ibid., 21–41. Gregory was not completely original. A spurious homily attributed to Cyril of Alexandria (d. 411) claimed there were sets of such tollbooths for the sins of each the five senses: *Homily* 14, PG 77:1071–99; for Cyril and pseudo-Cyril, see Johannes Quasten, *Patrology*, 3 vols. (Westminster MD, 1950–60), 3:132.

[4] M. Jugie, "La doctrine des fins dernières dans l'Eglise gréco-russe," *Echos d'Orient* 17 (1914/15): 17–22, and G. Every, "Toll Gates on the Air Way," *Eastern Churches Review* 8 (1976): 139–51; V. Saxarov, *Esxatologičeskija sočinenija i skazanija v drevne-russkoj pis'mennosti i vlijanie ix na narodnye stixi* (Tula, 1879); A. N. Veselovskij, *SORJaS* 46.6 (1889), XII; Vilinskij, 1:321–43. Saxarov likened this vision "from the poetic side" to Dante: 284, cited and disputed by Veselovskij, *SORJaS* 53 (1891): 211–13, and by Viljinskij, 1:275. George Fedotov felt that, strongly stated, the very notion of immediate judgment negates the final one: *The Russian Religious Mind*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass./Belmont, Mass., 1946–1966/1975), 1:174. Sergej Bulgakov, however, internalized the tollbooths and once, near death, halucinated about them: *Avtobiograficeskie zametki* (Paris, 1947), 136–37.

[5] Ludwig Steindorff, *Memoria in Altrussland. Untersuchungen zu den formen christlicher Totensorge*. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der östlichen Europa 38 (Stuttgart, 1994), 85–118: Herberstein felt that Russians did not believe in a purgatory, while his contemporary, Johannes Fabri, thought that they did.

deesis,[6] and twelve apostles (Mt 19.28, Lk 22.30) with angels behind them (Rv 5.11).[7] Beneath Christ and flanked or held by angels is the *etimasia* or prepared throne (Ps 9.7), an early Christian representation of the Last Judgment,[8] with an appropriate Gospel text (Mt 25.34) and some of the instruments of the passion—at least the crucifix, if not also the spear and vinegar sponge (Mt 26.48, Mk 15.36, Jn 19.29,34,37). Below the *etimasia* are Adam and Eve pleading for their progeny, humanity, as in a representation of the Descent into Hell or Resurrection (*Anastasis*).[9] Near the *etimasia* is an angel rolling up heaven as if it were a scroll (Is 34.4, Rv 6.14), and other angels summoning the dead to rise (1 Cr 15.52). Below the apostles on Christ's right—the viewer's left—are the righteous awaiting favorable judgment (Mt 25.31–46). Beneath them is an apocryphally based depiction of paradise, with some of these same righteous in line waiting to enter past St. Peter, and also the bosom of Abraham holding the souls of the saved (Lk 16.22), the good thief (Lk 23.43), and the Theotokos.[10] Also below the apostles are representations of the general resurrection, that is, the sea, death, and hell delivering up the dead (Rv 20.13), and well as the fiery lake (Rv 19.20, 20.14), towards which angels are forcing Jews and other sinners, and then the torture chambers of hell (Rv 21.8). Included among the condemned is the rich man of the Lazarus parable, with its unbridgeable gulf between those who heed Moses and the prophets and those who do not (Lk 16.19–31). Elsewhere on the lower registers is an angel holding a balance to weigh good deeds and sins (Jb 31.6), and also a few demons, who together could symbolize the immediate judgment, as surely does the Lazarus parable that refers to the bosom of Abraham. An optional element at top, found at this

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[6] See Louis Bréhier, *L'art chrétien* (Paris, 1928), 147–49; Christopher Walter, "Two Notes on the Deesis," *Revue des études byzantines* 26 (1968): 311–24. The generic term *deesis* for the iconographic triad of the Theotokos, the Savior, and the Baptist/Forerunner was introduced only in 1893.

[7] Sometimes there is one angel behind each apostle, perhaps together comprising the twenty-four elders of Rv 4:10.

[8] 'Ετοιμασία τοῦ θρόνου: see Ashton L. Townsley, "Eucharstic Doctrine and the Liturgy in Late Byzantine Painting," *Oriens christianus* 58 (1974): 140–42.

[9] Ps 81/82.8; *The Gospel of Nicodemus, Acts of Pilate and Christ's Descent into Hell, New Testament Apocrypha* (Rev. ed., ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher, trans. R. McL. Wilson, Westminster, Md., 1991) 1:521–26. Eve is not in *Nicodemus*. She has a secondary place behind Adam in what specialists call the second type of *Anastasis* (Descent into Hell), rather than a symmetrically equal place, as in the third type. The second type develped in the ninth century, the third type in the tenth: Anna Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image* (Princeton, 1986), 153–64.

[10] *Apokalypse des Paulus* in *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung* (ed., Wilhelm Schneemelcher, 5th ed., Tübingen, 1989), 669; N. V. Pokrovskij, "Strašnyj sud v pamjatnikax vizantijskogo i russkogo iskusstva," *Trudy VI Arxeologičeskogo s"ezda v" Odesse (1884 g.)* 3 (1887): 348.

time in the West, is the *Anastasis*.[11] For our purposes, the most important standard feature is the river of fire (Dn 7.10) leading from Christ as Judge down to the "lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet are" (Rv 20.10)—that prophet being Satan (perhaps hypostacized as the Antichrist), holding Judas in his lap [Plate 5].

Remains of four church mosaics and frescos from the eleventh and twelfth centuries prove that southern and northern Rus' Last Judgments originally followed the Byzantine models that held for icons, flat western walls, and their extensions onto vaults and choirs in Venetia, Thessalonike, Mt. Sinai, and Transcaucasia.[12] These features are reproduced in the miniatures of the so-called "Kyiv Psalter" of 1397, for which a northern, possibly Moscow origin has been suggested.[13] In contrast, as shown by the Mšana icon, a series of East Slavic representations, normally attributed to the fifteenth and/or sixteenth century, elaborate certain apocryphal motifs and have in the center a snake with rings representing the tollbooths, sometimes with a sin ascribed to each one. The serpent zigzags up from the beast in the fiery lake through the center of the picture to the right foot of the kneeling, resurrected Adam, who, as in later *Anastasis* iconography, is invariably opposite Eve, not in front of her.[14]

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[11] Irina Andreescu, "Torcello I," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972): pl. 1, 15.

[12] St. Cyril's Monastery in Kyiv, and the churches of St. George in Ladoga, Spaso-Neredičskaja in Great Novgorod, and St. Dmitrij in (northern) Vladimir: N. V. Pokrovskij, *Očerki pamjatnikov xristianskogo iskusstva i ikonografii* (3rd ed., St. Petersburg, 1910), 252–53, 269–70; Igor Grabar, *Die Freskomalerei der Dmitrij Kathedrale in Wladimir* (Berlin, 1925), 31–33, 48–49; V. N. Lazarev in Igor Grabar, ed., *Istorija russkogo iskusskva* (hereafter *IRI*), 13 vols in 16, (M, 1953–69), 1:215–17, 450–56; 2:96–99, 106–108, 353–54; Irina Andreescu, loc. cit; Annas Tsitouridou, *He Panagia ton Chalkeon* (Thessalonike, 1975), pl. IV; N. Thierry, "Le Jugement dernier d'Axtala. Rapport préliminaire," *Bedi Kartlisa/Revue de kartléologie* 50 (1982): 146–87; Renato Polacco, *La Cattedrale di Torcello* (Venice/Treviso, 1984), 66–67; Miltiadis K. Garidis, *Études sur le Jugement dernier post-Byzantin du XVe à la fin du XIXe siècle. Iconographie—esthetique* (Thessalonike, 1985), 26–27, pl. 2–6; Ju. S. Aseev *et al.*, *Mystectvo Kyivs'koi Rusi* (Kyiv, 1989), pl. 99, 133. Armenian Last Judgment iconography in the tenth and thirteenth centuries was similar: Sirerpie de Nersessian, *L'art arménien* (Paris, 1977), 92–96, pl. 92.

[13] G. I. Vzdornov, *Issledovanie o Kievskoj Psaltyri* (Moscow, 1978), 9–33, 107, 108, 113, 123, 125, 138; also *Istorija iskusstva narodov SSSR* 9 vols. (Moscow, 1971–1984), 3:129, pl. 119 (included here as Ukrainian). The Psalter has three illustrations of the fiery river, one as part of a miniature Last Judgment, and three truncated depictions of the *anastasis*, the one fully described being clearly of the second type.

[14] Kartsonis considers the eleventh-century miniature from Iveron Monastery at Mt. Athos to be the earliest surviving example of this third type of *Anastasis*: 150. Extant Orthodox Last Judgment iconography from the eleventh and twelfth century (the Panagia Church in Thessalonike, the Mt. Sinai icons, and the Spaso-Neredickaja Church near Novgorod) has the second type, as does the *Anastasis* in Kyiv's St. Sofija: N. V. Pokrovskij, "Evangelie v pamjatnikax ikonografii priimuščestvenno vizantijskix i russkix," *Trudy VIII*

The newer Last Judgment has other common features. The uppermost tier has Heavenly Jerusalem on the viewer's left (Rv 21.2), two angels rolling up the heavens above Christ enthroned, and Golgotha with the instruments of passion and another representation of the final victory of the angels over demonic forces on the viewer's right (Rv 12.7–9, 20.14). Christ's mandorla is circular, and his right hand is pointing somewhat up and left hand somewhat down, rather than evenly outward. Adam and Eve, now on the apostles' level, join the Theotokos and John the Baptist in pleading for humanity. In the middle levels, the people on the Christ's right (the viewer's left), waiting to be saved, are now clearly placed on one or two tiers. Opposite them on Christ's left on one or two tiers are the sinful of various contemporary nations (Greeks, Turks, Tatars, Poles, Germans, etc., also Rus') awaiting damnation. They are led by Jews, who are being berated by Moses for crucifying the Lord or otherwise rejecting him.[15] Extending beneath the *etimasia* is the hand of God—sometimes with faces on the palm—a manifest wisdom and judgment emblem (Wis 3.1)—which now holds the balance to weigh sins and virtues. Four beasts representing the apocalyptic kingdoms (Dn 7.1–8) are present, shown either together or separately in circles. Similarly enclosed in the lower levels are paradise with the Theotokos flanked by Archangels Michael and Gabriel on the viewer's left and the general resurrection on the viewer's right. In the center Archangel Michael holds a spear or trident [Plates 6–8].

We can identify two East Slavic types of this Last Judgment icon: Mšana (West Ukrainian) and Novgorodian. The Mšana type, with twenty-one or twenty-two tollbooths, raises the *etimasia* to the upper reaches of the apostles' tier and elevates the enthroned Christ and *deesis* to the highest level. The three patriarchs (bosom of Abraham) are inside the encircled paradise beneath

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Arxeologičeskogo s"ezda v" Moskve [1890], 1 (St. Petersburg, 1892): 406.

[15] "See, o cursed Jews, the one whom you have crucified," reads one clear text: Hryhorij Lohvyn, Lada Milyaeva, Vera Sventsitska, *Ukraïns'kyj seredn'ovičnyj žyvopys'/Ukrainian Medieval Painting* (Kyiv, 1976), pl. 48. In this one, Aaron, in contrast, welcomes the saved: "See, o blessed ones, the king ... in whom you have believed." According to the iconographic handbook of Dionyseus of Fourna (ca. 1670–1745), Moses should say to the Jews who (as in the traditional Last Judgments) are being pushed into the fiery lake: "The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken" (Dt 18.15–16; Ac 3.22): Paul Hetherington, trans. and ed., *The 'Painter's Manual' of Dionyseus of Fourna* (London, 1974), 49. The East Slavic type of singling out of Jews seems first to appear in Last Judgment iconography along with the snake and tollbooths. This may also be linked with the Life of Basil the Younger, which states that after the Incarnation even ethically righteous Jews were eternally damned and uses the imagery of Last Judgment iconography to argue against Judaism: *Kniga žitii svjatyx. Čet'i-minei Sv. Dmitrija Rostovskogo*, 12/24 vols., (Moscow, 1837, orig. 1689), March 15–31:115–155v.; Veselovskij, *SORJaS* 53 (1891), Suppl., 9–10; A. Kazhdan, "Basil the Younger," *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols. (1991), 1:270–71.

the Theotokos and the archangels. Next to it usually is an explicit depiction of death holding a scythe near the rich man from the Lazarus parable.[16] A narrow red stream representing the fiery river curls down from the mandorla past the apostles, through the tier of the damned, along the perimeter of the general resurrection, and opens into the fiery lake. Archangel Michael's trident or spear is piercing Satan [Plate 6].[17]

The Novgorodian type, with exactly twenty stations, differs from the Mšana one in several ways. The "false prophet" is a dark, winged Satan. The patriarchs are to the left of paradise. There is only one tier each for the saved and damned under the apostles. The upper center or center right has a sophic (Divine Wisdom) and pronoetic (providential) emblem comprised of concentric rings with God the Father in the center as the apocalyptic, judicially delegating Ancient of Days (Dn 7.9–10).[18] The rolling up of heaven is moved over to the upper right. Underneath it is another depiction of Christ, either ascended as judge or as part of a sophic Trinity emblem. Michael's trident is driving sinners into hell or piercing a demon. In the geometrically more elaborate and refined specimen from Novgorod's Kirillov Monastery, the river emerges as if from nowhere along the perimeter of the general resurrection and appears to descend from the outer side of the tier of the damned.[19] [Plate 7] In the even more cluttered Boris-and-Gleb Church exemplar, the fiery river descends and expands directly from the Christ of the sophic Trinity along the right side of the icon to the fiery lake; on the left

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[16] An exception is an icon dated to the sixteenth century from the Cosmas and Damian Church of Lukiv-Venecija: Sviatoslav Hordynsky, *The Ukrainian Icon of the XIIth-XVIIth Centuries*, trans. Walter Dushnyck (Philadelphia, 1973), pl. 141.

[17] Lohvyn et al., pl. 48, 83; Janina Kłosińska, *Ikony* (Cracow, 1973), pl. 25, *Icônes de Pologne* (Warsaw/Paris, 1987), pl. 39. No justification is given for the dating.

[18] According to pseudo-Dionysius, the circular bowl containing Wisdom's wine (Pr 9.2,5) "has to be a symbol of Providence (πρόνοια), which has neither a beginning nor an end, which is open to all and encompasses all... yet remains in itself and continues to be its unaltered self": G. M. Proxorov, ed., "Poslanie Titu-ierarxu Dionisija Areopagita v slavjanskom perevode i ikonografija 'Premudrost' sozda sebe dom'," *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* (hereafter *TODRL*) 38 (1985): 7–15, 32–35; *Pseudo-Dionysius. The Complete Works*, trans. Colm Luibheid, New York/Mahwah, N.J., 1987), 285–86. Divine Wisdom, enclosed within a mandorla comprised of concentric circles, is thus also providential—which makes theological sense. Compare the mandorlas and other features of the Novgorod-Kirillov Last Judgment and "Wisdom Hath Builded Herself a House" icons: Vladimir Gormin, Liudmila Yarosh (Jarosh), et al., *Novgorod. Art Treasures and Architectural Monuments, 11th–18th Centuries* (Leningrad, 1984), pl. 175, 196. The emblem in this Last Judgment icon also has a representation of the twelve months, that is, "astrological heaven."

[19] Gormin, Yarosh, et al., pl. 175; Vera Laurina, Vasilii Pushkarev, et al., *Novgorod Icons, 12th–17th Century* (Leningrad, 1980), 293.

side angels indicate the direct "path of the saintly to Heavenly Jerusalem" [Plate 8].[20]

II

When and where was the snake with ringed tollbooths first placed on the icon? There has been no systematic study of this question, no concerted attempt to date the most important surviving icons, which came to light after N. N. Pokrovskij wrote his pioneering work on Russian Last Judgment iconography, and no serious analysis of the iconographic conflation of the two judgments and the placing of the snake's tale inside the hellish beast. Pokrovskij figured that the snake had developed by the seventeenth century as a convenient pathway for the tollbooths when they were added to the icon.[21] But even this many not be the case. There is another type of West Ukrainian Last Judgment with a prominent fiery river and with a varying number of toolbooths and demons, represented by icons from Ruska Bystra, Bahnovaty, and Hankowice and dated sixteenth-early seventeenth century. They have the typically Ruthenian scroll of heaven in the center and earthly Paradise containing the bosom of Abraham, as well as the Theotokos, and at least two have the parable of Lazarus. In addition, there is a sophic medallion in the center of the scroll of heaven without Heavenly Jerusalem or a symbol of Christ's victory on the top. Most important, these tollbooths are a ladder of boxes along the salvation side of the icon, two of them with a demon inside and an angel outside of each, in one case with a long demon standing behind them [Plate 9].[22]

Janina Kłosińska sees both the ladder and the "serpent of sin" representing the "purification as the soul ascends to heaven," and believes that the former is Byzantine, the snake Russian, and the Ukrainian variants a mixture of these

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[20] Gormin, Yarosh, et al., pl. 197: it has a more elaborate Heavenly Jerusalem, twelve separate sealed books, two of the tollbooths inside the fiery lake, and a path for the saints.

[21] Pokrovskij, "Strašnyj sud," 369: "... in the XVII c., the fiery river in its true sense disappeared from the picture of the Last Judgment and its contents were placed together in Hell. In the place of the river... there appears a serpentine ribbon, stylized in the form of a real snake. There is some reason to think that at first the snake-like zigzag... signified simply the pathway of the aerial tollbooths; at least that pathway is completely marked in several manuscripts illustrating the tollbooths of [*Basil the Younger*'s] Theodora."

[22] Hordynsky, Lohvyn et al., Kłosińska, *Icônes*: the damaged Ruska Bystra icon (Hordynsky, pl. 140) seems to lack death with the scythe; the Bahnuvaty icon (Hordynsky, pl. 142, Lohvyn, pl. 83, detail), like some later Russian Last Judgments, has several extra tollbooths and a Mšana type river; the fourteen on the Hankowice icon (Kłosińska, pl. 40) have only angels.

two and of Western motifs.[23] In fact, each pair from among these three East Slavic types contains common features not found in the third, so no simple developmental scheme presents itself as a working hypothesis. It rather makes sense to probe in turn the possibility that either the Mšana or the Novgorodian type is the original one with the serpent.

We can make an argument for the primacy of the Mšana variant. The uppermost register of both the Mšana and Novgorodian icons corresponds to the *anastasis* tier on the flat west wall in the Assumption Cathedral in Torcello, but not seen in medieval Orthodox iconography. The inspiration for this addition, and also for the depiction of death carrying a scythe, found only in the Ukrainian Last Judgments, could have been European.

Accordingly the Ruska Bystra type, in which the tollbooths were not yet integrated with the Last Judgment, would have been an intermediary stage. Such a development is consistent with the *Life* of the twelfth- or early thirteenth-century Avraamij of Smolensk, who is said to have painted icons of both the Last Judgment and the toolbooths.[24] The number twenty-one conforms to the Greek *Life of Basil the Younger*. There are also twenty-one stations in what Sergej Vilinskij identified as the second redaction of this *Life*, for which there are Rus′ translations as early as the fourteenth-fifteenth century, as well as a Serbian version.[25] The obvious inspiration for these toolbooths is the spiritual ladder of John Climachus. This motif too had its own development from the simple to the more cluttered. Two late fifteenth-century churches in neighboring northern Moldavia have such a ladder, with angels and demons struggling for souls along the rungs that represent each of Climachus's thirty virtues to be mastered. On one of the frescos the virtues are identified; the other church has the judicial Christ sitting within a wisdom medallion similar to the Ruska Bystra type of icon.[26] Adding a wisdom motif

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[23] Kłosińska, *Icônes*, opp. pl. 41. This brief theological interpretation does not probe the conflation of judgments or the resting place of souls after they pass tollbooths. It should be noted that Dionyseus of Fourna, op. cit., did not mention the tollbooths in his manual, which is thought to hearken back mostly to late Byzantine standards.

[24] S. P. Rozanov, ed., *Žitija prepodobnogo Avraamija Smolenskogo i služby emu* (St. Petersburg, 1912, reprint, Munich, 1970), 8; trans., Paul Hollingsworth, *The Hagiography of Kievan Rus'* (Cambridge Mass., 1992), 143.

[25] Vilinskij, 77–103, 188–89; St. Novaković, ed., "Život sv. Vasilija Novog," *Spomenik* (Belgrad) 24 (1895): 64–113.

[26] John R. Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder* (Princeton, NJ, 1954), pl. 67, 238; Vasile Drăgut, Petre Lupan, *Moldavian Murals from the 15th to the 16th Century* (Bucharest, 1982), pl. 201, 203 (Rişca), 228 (Suceviţa): all the Moldavian churches have fiery rivers on their Last Judgments. The Ruska Bystra ladder could also be related in some way to the "ladder of purgatory," a bridge over an abyss found in medieval Western iconography: see *The New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, et al., 1967), 11:1035.

to the Last Judgment most likely occurred in the Balkans (or Byzantium) before Rus'.[27]

III

The evidence from Russia is richer. A trail of pigment and paper from the fourteenth century onward links Tver and Vladimir, Moscow and Novgorod, Beloozero and Volokolamsk, the Rus' literary convoy of the tollbooths, the master iconographers Andrej Rublev and Dionisij, and the monastic luminaries Nil Sorskij and Iosif Volockij. It enables us to suggest a separate origin or development of the iconographic Last Judgment snake and toolbooths in Russia.

Tver, according to the local chronicle, obtained in 1399 a "holy, miraculous" Last Judgment icon from Constantinople.[28] Its specifics are a mystery, but the renovations by Andrej Rublev and his workshop on the Vladimir Uspenskij Cathedral Last Judgment frescos in 1408 contain several characteristics of the later icons:[29] two angels scrolling up the heavens above Christ, who is in a circular mandorla with the right hand raised and the left hand lowered;[30] Adam and Eve opposite each other and pleading for humanity; the hand of God; and the four apocalyptic beasts or kingdoms. The fiery river is not at all visible [Plate 10].[31]

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[27] The uppermost (narrowed, Gothic) tier of the fourteenth-century Last Judgment fresco at Dečani in Serbia has Christ with a simple, eight-pointed wisdom nimbus: R. Petković, *La peinture serbe du moyen âge*, 2 vols. (Belgrade, 1930–1934), 1: pl. 91a.

[28] *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej* (St. Petersburg-Petrograd-Leningrad-Moscow, 1841–), 15:168–69; cf. V. N. Pokrovskij, "Strašnyj sud," 273–44.

[29] V. N. Lazarev, *Andrej Rublev i ego škola* (Moscow, 1966), 24–28, 116–25, tabl. VII, 39–104; M. V. Alpatov, *Andrej Rublev* (Moscow, 1972), 47–70; also B. A. Plugin, *Mirovozrenie Andreja Rubleva (Nekotorye problemy), Drevnerusskaja živopis' kak istoričeskij istočnik* (Moscow, 1974), 112–14.

[30] Lazarev, *Andrej Rublev i ego škola*, pl. 45. In the extant East Christian and byzantinesque European twelfth-century Last Judgments, Christ's enclosure is vertically eye-shaped or elliptical; both hands point symmetrically outward. These features were reproduced in the miniature accompanying Ps 121/122.4–5 in the 1397 Psalter: *Istorija iskusstva narodov SSSR* 3:129, pl. 119. On the other hand, the ringed mandorla and some changes in arm or hand position are found in later thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Last Judgment frescos in Tuscany, Serbia, Constantinople, and elsewhere: Antonio Paolucci, *Il Battisterio di San Giovanni a Firenze* (Panini, 1994), 402–403; Svetozar Radojčić, *Mileševa* (Belgrade, 1963), 84–85; Branislav Todić, *Gračanica. Slikarstvo* (Belgrade, 1988), pl. 95; Paul A. Underwood, ed. *The Kariye Djami*, 4 vols. (New York, 1966–1975), 3:373.

[31] M. V. Alpatov, ed., *Andrej Rublev i ego epoxa* (Moscow, 1971), pl. 36, 38, 409. The descriptions of the restored frescos do not mention the fiery river or its absence. Dare we assume that it was present on the twelfth-century original and that Rublev omitted it?

An anonymous Last Judgment icon, located in the Moscow Uspenskij Sobor,[32] appears to represent an intermediary between Rublev and the Mšana type. V. N. Lazarev considered this work to have been painted in the tradition of Rublev and dated it second quarter of the fifteenth century.[33] More recently G. V. Popov argued for the end of the century.[34] It lacks Heavenly Jerusalem and the victory over death in the upper corners, but otherwise organizes the higher registers similarly to the Mšana icon[35] and the lower part in its own unique fashion. Most importantly, the Uspenskij icon contains a combination of the snake and river, though without the ringed tollbooths. What at first glance appears to be a Mšana-type, narrow red river, is at the very top, inside the mandorla, a snake.[36] This could well be the earliest extant serpent in Last Judgment iconography [Plate 11].

Dionisij's Ferapontov Monastery Last Judgment frescos, usually dated 1502–1503,[37] seem to represent another type of intermediary or variant. Its vertical organization of space is somewhat closer to the Novgorod-Kirillov icon than to the Mšana type, but on the uppermost level, here on the ceiling of the vault adjoining the west wall, are the parables of the Ten Virgins (Mt 25.1–13) and Prodigal Son (Lk 15.11–32), which inform the Last Judgment. The fiery river emerges as it does in the Novgorod icon, from behind the circular perimeter of the general resurrection.[38] Crucial for our purposes is that the frescos contain an unmistakable set of rings on a semi-transparent, sky-blue pathway that proceeds upward from just inside of the fiery lake. There are no demons within or near these rings and no trace of where the pathway leads at the top (since Christ has been eliminted by a window cut), but it does not end at the feet of Adam as a snake. These might be the earliest iconographic tollbooths to survive [Plate 12].

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[32] Uspenskij Sobor Museum, Inv. No. 3225: E. S. Smirnova, *Moskovskaja ikona xiv–xvii vekov* (Leningrad, 1988), pl. 113–15.

[33] *IRI* 3:484.

[34] Popov pointed to an Italian round hat with a turned up brim on a sinner not seen in Italian painting until the mid-fifteenth century: *Živopis' i miniatjura Moskvy serediny XV–načala XVI veka* (Moscow, 1975), 57, 128–29 n. 85.

[35] One difference, though, is that Adam and Eve are on the level of those awaiting judgment, as in the thirteenth-century Axtala fresco: Thierry, 150–51.

[36] E. S. Smirnova, *Moskovskaja ikona xiv–xvii vekov* (Leningrad, 1988), pl. 113–14.

[37] I. N. Xlopin makes an interesting (and ignored) argument for 1495–1497 (and concerning Vasilij III as the designated heir at that time): "K Utočeniju daty rospisi sobora Roždestva Bogorodicy v Ferapontovom monastyre," *Pamjatniki kul'tury. Novye otkrytija 1975*: 204–207; cf. E. S. Smirnova, G. V. Popov, N. A. Gagman, V. K. Laurina, and E. K. Guseva in *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo* 15 (1989): 16–45, 74–122.

[38] Irina Danilova, *Freski Ferapontogo monastyrja/The Frescoes of St. Pherapont Monastery* (Moscow, 1971), left side, pl. 81–82, right side, pl. 24, 65.

IV

What does the written evidence tell us? Not much at first. It is an open question when the notion of the tollhouses first came to Rus′. According to S. G. Vilinskij, the textual proximity of the *Primary Chronicle*'s 941 entry concerning a Rus′ attack on Constantinople indicates that the first Rus′ version of the *Life of Basil the Younger* existed at the latest by the early twelfth century.[39] This argument assumes that the chronicler's direct or indirect source was not a Greek text. There is, in fact, no reliable manuscript or literary proof that the tollbooths were known in Rus′ in the pre-Mongol period. The best evidence comes from the *Life* of Avraamij of Smolensk, but we lack any trace of his purported *separate* icons of the Last Judgment and the tollbooths. The earliest extant copies of the first Rus′ *Basil the Younger* and of Avraamij's *Life* are sixteenth-century.[40]

Rus′ *literati* by this time had adapted Basil the Younger's vision and integrated it with other, fully eschatological works into the *Sermon on the … Celestial Powers*.[41] This piece follows a righteous soul up through the tollbooths to God's throne, then on to a forty-day tour of paradise and hell given by the Archangel Michael, and finally to a wait in paradise for the Last Judgment. In the popular compendium known as *Izmaragd*, the sermon was credited to "Our Holy Father Kirill" or "Kirill the Philosopher." As a result, some scholars have attributed it to the shadowy bishop Kirill of Turov (d. ca. 1182).[42] Most specialists, however, viewed its doctrines and style as foreign to Kirill and leaned, rather, toward the even more obscure Avraamij. Recent scholarship has questioned this attribution as well.[43] Whatever the case, both

[39] Vilinskij, 129, 317–18; V. N. Istrin, "Novye issledovanija vo oblasti slavjano-russkoj literatury," *Žurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveščenija*, Sept. 1914: 203–207, agreed in substance with Vilinskij as to the provenance of the Rus′ texts, but quibbled over terminology. Thematic affinities between the *Life* and Ilarion's *Sermon on Law and Grace* prompted Vilinskij to suggest an eleventh-century translation.

[40] Rozanov, ed., *Žitija prepodobnogo Avraamija*, i–xiv, 8; trans., Paul Hollingsworth, *The Hagiography of Kievan Rus'* (Cambridge Mass., 1992), 143. Cf. Pokrovskij's skepticism, 298, where he calls Avraamij "*Suzdalskij*."

[41] G. Fedotov gives a précis of *Celestial Powers* in *Russian Religious Mind* I: 169–75; cf. Gerhard Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus'* (Munich, 1988), 102–103. The briefest version of the published texts is found in K. F. Kalajdovič, *Pamjatniki rossijskoj slovesnosti XII veka* (Moscow, 1821), 92–101; a fuller but not necessarily later version was published by S. V. Ševyrev in *Izveztija po Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk po Otdeleniju russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti*, 1860, 3:182–92.

[42] Kalajdovič, accepted by Metropolitan Evgenii and other nineteenth-century publishers of Kirill's "complete works": See Simon Franklin, *Sermons and Rhetoric of Kievan Rus'* (Cambridge Mass., 1991), xlv–xciv. These attributions may be due to the thematically related *Homily 14* of Pseudo-Cyrill of Alexandria: see above, note 3.

[43] Supporters of Avraamij's authorship included S. P. Ševyrev, F. Buslaev, V. Saxarov, A.

the first Rus′ *Basil the Younger* and the *Celestial Powers* cycle reduced the enumeration of the tollbooths from twenty-one to twenty. This figure, reproduced in both Novgorod icons, became the literary standard in Russia.[44]

The earliest manuscript of *Celestial Powers* has been dated to the early to mid-fourteenth century,[45] placing it at least before the Second Byzantine-South Slavic influence in Rus′ picked up steam. V. A. Jakovlev identified an extended redaction of *Celestial Powers*, found in the fourteenth- or fifteenth-century second redaction of *Izmaragd*.[46] There is also an adaptation of *Celestial Powers*—the *Sermon on Mixailovskij Sobor*, discovered in a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century manuscript.[47]

The relations among all of these works and their dates remain to be elucidated.[48] Nevertheless, the internal and external evidence is suggestive. The second Rus′ *Basil the Younger* and the shorter published redaction of *Celestial Powers* envision the end of the seventh millenium (7000/1491–1492) in the future.[49] The extended *Celestial Powers* and *Mixailovskij Sobor*

N. Veselovskij, and S. Vilinskij: Vilinskij, 309–311; D. S. Lixačev, ed., *Slovar' knižnikov i knižnosti drevnej Rusi* (hereafter *SKKDR*, Leningrad, 1987–), 1:223–25. For a different reading of the sources and scholarship, see Ludwig Steindorff, 88–89.

[44] The norm of twenty tollbooths survived the advent of the second Rus′ *Basil the Younger* with the original twenty-one: pseudo-Parfenii Jurodivyj ([?] Ivan IV), "Kanon angelu groznomu voevode," (ed. D. S. Lixačev), *TODRL* 22 (1964): 24, and the choice that the Ukrainian Dmitrij (Dmytro) Tuptalo of Rostov or his official editors made for Russia's authoritative menologium *Life of Basil the Younger*: *Kniga žitii svjatyx*, March 15–31:104–115. Though influenced by Counter-Reformation and Baroque Catholic hagiography, Dmitrij did not purge the tollbooths as did one of the sources of his *Basil the Younger*, the seventeenth-century Catholic version of Johannes Bollandus (Jan van Bolland): Vilinskij, 264–74; cf. *Acta Sanctorum* (Paris, 1863–1925), under 26 March.

[45] As *Slovo* 12 of the first redaction *Izmaragd*, *Celestial Powers* is part of the fragmentary *Troica-Serg*. 204 (presumably now in the former Lenin Library [GBL/BIL]), which Sreznevskij figured was pre-1350, and O. V. Tvorogov mid-fourteenth century: V. A. Jakovlev, *K literaturnoj istorii drevnerusskix sbornikov. Opyt issledovanija "Izmaragda"* (Odessa, 1893), 8, 13; *SKKDR* 2, pt. 1, 397–401; Vilinskij refers to *Rum. Muz*. 186 (also *GBL/BIL*) as the fragmentary fourteenth-century copy: Vilinskij, 312.

[46] Jakovlev, 187: the text he cited, published in *Pravoslavnyj sobesednik*, 1859, 1:256, is an extended redaction of only a small portion of the sermon and lacks the tollbooths.

[47] Aleksandr Rozov ed., "Kirilla Filosofa. Slovo na Sobor Arxistratiga Mixaila," *Čtenie v Imperatorskom Obščestve istorii i drevnostej rossijskix*, 1847, 8:IV.

[48] Neither *Izmaragd*, which contains the sermon, nor early Rus′ eschatology has been thoroughly examined for a long time: *SKKDR* II.1:401. Plugin, 30–41, contains a bare bones sketch of the eschatology that uncritically utilizes the *Nikon Chronicle* as a reliable source for the fifteenth century.

[49] Cf. *...poneže vsja vet'xaja mimoidoša i se vsja nova byša: n˜bo novo, zemlja nova, čl˜k' nov'; presta sedmierica i se pride osmerica*—the fourteenth-/fifteenth-century Moscow *Glavnyj Arxiv* codex (now in RGADA) noted by: Vilinskij, 218; *Skončavšusja roku žitija, ostavšimžesja g" létom" sedmyja tysjašči, budet' v" ta g léta carstvo Antixristovo. Po skončanii že ta g lét' ... . Posem" budet' zemlja nova i ravna, jakože bé iskoni ....* Kalajdovič, 100–101.

hedge concerning the timing. The former does not even mention "7000,"[50] while the latter implies the validity of the eschatology after this date,[51] as if the authors did not wish to be undercut by terrestrial time. References in *Mixailovskij Sobor* to "those who disdain the traditions of the holy Fathers and even create a schism in the divine church," and to hope for "repose from the heterodox Muslim lands," suggest 1439 as a *terminus a quo* for the composition.[52] Elsewhere *Mixailovskij Sobor* is close to Iosif Volockij's invective missive of 1493–1494 to Bishop Nifont of Suzdal against Metropolitan Zosima.[53] The rebuilding of either Čudov Monastery in 1500–1504 or Arxangel'skij Cathedral in 1505–1509 would have provided a perfect pretext for the delivery of a *Slovo na Sobor Arxistratiga Mixaila*. Thus ca. 1439–1509 is a reasonable hypothetical period for the further development of *Celestial Powers*[54] and, consequently, of revived interest in the tollbooths

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[50] Ševyrev, 191.

[51] *Glagolet" že jako po sedmix" tysjaščax" lét" prixod" Xrstv" budet'. Kogda že prišestvie ego budet', nikto ze vést': se bo Gsd' i Apostlom" utaiv" obace ubo znamenija nékaja javi predvariti. Predi že Xva prišestvija priidet' suprotivnik" Xrtu, merzost' zapusténija, syn" bezzakonnyi, predteča diavolov", i vsjakomu nečestiju vina, eže est' Antixrist", i roditsja, jako že glet Božestvennyi Ippolit", Papa Rimskii, i Prepodobnyi Efrem" Sirin", iz ženy skverny dévicy, ot" Evrei sušči, koléna Danova, iže bjaše otrok" Jakovu; budet' že carstva ego tri léta* ...: Rozov, 19.

[52] Ibid., 16–18: *i zemli našei ot" inovérnyx" besermén skix" stran" oblegčitsja,* ... . Rozov's linking this hope to the Mongol period only does not convince.

[53] Compare above, n. 51, *Mixailovskij Sobor* and *Iosif to Nifont*: ... *nyne sidit skvernyi zlobesnyi volk, obolkijsja v pastyrskuju odežu, iže činom svjatitel', a proizvoleniem ljuda predatel' i pričastnik besom, iže oskverni svjatitel'skij velikij prestol, ovex ubo židovtsvu učja, inex že sodomskymi skvernami skvernja: zmij pagubnyi, mr"zosti zastupenie/zastupenija na mestom svjatom, otstupnik Xristov ... Antixristov predtečja* ... : Ja. S. Lur'e (J. Lurja), A. A. Zimin, *Poslanija Iosifa Volockogo* (hereafter *PIV*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1959), 121–27, 160–61. The earliest texts of Iosif's missive are from the mid-sixteenth century, but it served as a source for *Skazanie o novojavivšisja eresi*, which survives in a manuscript written by 1514: N. A. Kazakova and Ja. S. Lur'e, *Antifeodal'nye eretičeskie dviženija na Rusi XIV–načala XVI veka* (hereafter *AfED*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1955), 443, 461.

[54] *Mixailovskij Sobor* also contains several signs of being closer to the first Rus' *Basil the Younger* than does *Celestial Powers*, indicating the coexistence of variant recensions of the latter. We see this first in the rendition of sins: for the fifteenth toll-house, where first *Celestial Powers* has *vsjaka eres'* ..., *Mixailovskij Sobor*'s *kumirosluženie i vsjaka eres'* ... is closer to the original Greek and Rus' "idolatry and all other heresy"; the sixteenth tollbooths of first Rus' *Basil the Younger* had both homosexuality and adultery: homosexuality was lost in the first *Celestial Powers*, but restored in *Mixailovskij Sobor*. This is also evident in the listing of the tollbooths. *Celestial Powers* altered the first Rus' *Basil the Younger's* (1) *oklevetanie*, (2) *poruganie*, (3) *zavist'*, (4) *obolganie*, (5) *jarost' i gnev"* to (1) *obolganie*, (2) *oklevetanie*, (3) *zavist'*, (4) *gnev"*, (5) *jarost' s" gnevom"*; *Mixailovskij Sobor* partially restored the original: (1) *poruganie*, (2) *oklevetanie*, (3) *zavist'*, (4) *lza*; (5) *jarost' s" gnevom"*. In both works the remaining fifteen tollbooths follow in the original order.

and the greater emphasis upon the minor judgment. We are now in a position to link specific works to the iconography.

V

The textual genesis of the snake on the Moscow Upsenskij icon may be identifiable from the apocalyptic sources of both *Mixailovskij Sobor* and Iosif's missive: the related writings attributed to Hippolytus of Rome and Methodius of Patara: [55]

For as Christ springs from the tribe of Judah, so Antichrist is to spring from the tribe of Dan.... from the words of Jacob: "Let Dan be a serpent, lying upon the ground, biting the horse's heel" (Gn 3.1). What, then, is meant by the serpent, but Antichrist, that deceiver mentioned in Genesis .... And the words, "her child was caught up to God and to His throne" (Rv 12.5), signify that he who is always born of her is a heavenly king, and not an earthly, as David also declared of old when he said: "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool" (Ps 90.1).

This snake thus should be Satan hypostacised as the defeated Antichrist, here both as Christ's "footstool" and "cast out into the earth" (Rv 12.7–9). Confirmation of such an identity is found in the aprocryphal *Life of Andrej Jurodivyj*:[56]

The Antichrist, already defeated and captured along with his demons and guarded by the blessed angels, will be placed before the judicial tribunal and made to answer for the souls he has destroyed.

Further attestation of this identification comes from the depictions of the Last Judgments, starting with Rublev's restoration: a snake's head is on the tail of the ten-horned, fourth beast/kingdom (Dn 7.1–8), which in *Revelation* becomes that of the Antichrist (Rv 17.1–14).[57] The cosmic, eschatological

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[55] Some of these were known in Rus' as early as the eleventh century: V. M. Istrin, *Otkrovenie Mefodija Patarskogo* (St. Petersburg, 1897), *Priloženie*, 113–14; *The Writings of Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus* II, trans. S. D. F. Salmond, Edinburgh, 1869), 10, 36 ("Treatise on Christ and Antichrist," 10, 61); *SKKDR* 1: 283–85, 425–26. Serpents used otherwise in the Byzantine world could have purely positive connotations, as for example, in protective amulets: see Natalia Teteriatnikov, "The Devotional Image in Pre-Mongol Rus," *Christianity and the Arts in Russia*, ed. William C. Brumfield and Milos M. Velimirovic (Cambridge et al., 1991), 37, pl. 21.

[56] Makarij, Metropolitan of Moscow, *Velikija Minei četii* (hereafter *VMČ*), 22 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1868–1917), 2 October: 220; the earliest copy is from ca. 1400: *SKKDR* 1:131–32.

[57] M. V. Alpatov, *Andrej Rublev*, pl. 34; cf. *The Refutation of all Heresies by Hippolytus*

warfare of the popular Slavic version of Ephrem of Syria, moreover, has the "serpent himself ... flying in the air."[58]

Placing the origin of the snake and the tollbooths in Russia in the latter fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries harmonizes with the intellectual and spiritual turmoil of the time: the turmoil over the year "7000" (September 1491–August 1492), the overall problem of religious dissidence,[59] and, perhaps, the ongoing challenge of Roman Catholicism. There was heightened interest in spritual perfection[60] *and* eschatology. But what to believe? Some Kirillov-Belozersk monks, or at least their miscellany, displayed outright skepticism toward the *Revelation* of Methodius of Patara and the *Life* of Basil the Younger.[61] At the same time, the power at the court of rationalizing dissidents (elite "Judaizers"), as well as the number of European scholars, technicians, and architects active in Moscow and Novgorod in the late fifteenth century, may have influenced the iconographic innovativeness with eschatological subjects.[62]

No thorough-going conflict between Iosifites and Trans-Volgans was at work here. Nil Sorskij, as we now know, was as interested as Iosif in preventing the passing of the year "7000" from discrediting Scripture and the Church,[63] and they shared some artistic tastes.[64] The active and rather

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with Fragments from his Commentaries on Various Books of Scripture trans. S. D. F. Salmond (Edinburgh, 1868), 471–77 ("*Scholia* on Daniel" 7). The notion of tails being "like unto serpents" with "heads" is found in Rv 9.19.

[58] A. S. Arxangel'skij, *Tvorenija otcov cerkvi v drevnerusskoj pis'mennosti* (4 vols., Kazan, 1889–1891), 3:1–118, esp. 65. Cf. Irina Ågren, *Parenesis Efrema Sirina. K istorii slavjanskogo perevoda. Studia slavica upsaliensa* 26 (1989), 14–18. In this regard it may also be significant that the renovations of Moscow's Arxangel'skij Sobor (built 1333, rebuilt 1505–1509, repainted 1660s), which include in the west wall Last Judgment a wingless Satan, a ringed snake, and an explicit narrow river, have at the top depictions of the temptations of Eve by the serpent and of Christ by Satan (this data graciously supplied by David Rich): cf. Ju. N. Dmitriev, "Stenopis' Arxangel'skogo sobora Moskovskogo kremlja," *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo. XVII Vek* (Moscow, 1964), 158.

[59] Cf. Popov, loc. cit.; Alpatov, *Pamjatnik drevnerusskoj živopisi konca XV veka. Ikona "Apokalipsis" Uspenskogo sobora* (Moscow, 1964), 3–34; Yves Christe, "Quelques remarques sur l'icone de l'Apocalypse du maître du Kremlin à Moscou," *Zograf* 6 (1975): 67.

[60] G. M. Proxorov, "Kelejnaja isixastskaja literatura (Ioann Lestvičnik, Avva Dorofij, Isaak Sirin, Semeon Novyj Bogoslov, Grigorij Sinait) v biblioteke Troice-Sergievoj lavry s XIV po XVII v.," *TODRL* 28 (1974): 316-24; Istrin, 240–41.

[61] M. D. Kagan, N. V. Ponyrko, M. V. Roždestvenskaja, "Opisanie sbornikov XV v. knigopisca Efrosina," *TODRL* 35 (1980): 21, 214.

[62] G. B. Popov, 57, paired the Moscow Uspenskij Last Judgment icon with the unique Apocalypse icon also found in Moscow's Uspenskij Cathedral, which Yves Christe claims betrays European influences: Christe, 59–67. The most detailed study of the latter is Alpatov.

[63] J. Luria, "Unresolved Issues in the History of the Ideological Movements of the Late Fifteenth Century," *Medieval Russian Culture*, ed. Henrik Birnbaum and Michael S. Flier, *California Slavic Studies* 12 (1984): 165–66: Nil copied almost half of the earliest extant

amorophous Trans-Volgans were not in principle hostile to eschatological speculation. One Kirillov monk copied "Blessed Hippolytus" in the same codex where he recorded doubts about Methodius of Patara and Basil the Younger.[65] This combination complements the Uspenskij icon with the defeated snake *sans* tollbooths [Plate 11].

Stronger arguments favor a connection between early *iosifljanstvo* and the Moscow Uspenskij iconographic serpent. In *Slovo* 4 of *Prosvetitel'* (no later than 1504), Iosif says that the heretics "enlisted with the devil and his angels and the new, deadly Judas."[66] In his letter to Nifont, Iosif calls Metropolitan Zosima (1490–1494, then presiding at Moscow Uspenskij) "a willful Judas the Traitor and partner of the demons, ... the deadly serpent and advocate of darkness, ... the forerunner of the Antichrist," who denies the general resurrection.[67] The missive begins as does Methodius's *Revelation*,[68] cites Hippolytus,[69] groups diverse sins together,[70] and exudes cosmic eschatology. Zosima, in line with the Apostle Paul's prediction, is "the son of perdition, ...revealed in his time (2 Ths 3.6)."[71] The true Orthodox, as in the apocalyptic

copy of *Prosvetitel'*, including of the *Slovesa* 8–10 concerning the passing of the "year 7000."

[64] *AfED*, 324–35; N. K. Golejzovskij, "'Poslanie ikonopiscu' Iosifa Volockogo i otgoloski isixazma v russkoj živopisi na rubeže XV–XVI vv.," *Vizantijskij vremennik* 26 (1965): 219–38; *The Monastic Rule of Iosif Volotsky*, ed. D. M. Goldfrank, *Cistercian Studies* 36 (1983): 141–42; Danilova, 3–4.

[65] Kagan et al., 99–100.

[66] *Prosvetitel', ili obličenie eresi židovstvujuščix* (4th ed., Kazan, 1903), 146.

[67] Iosif sees Zosima rejecting the positive message of the Last Judgment icon: "There is no Second Coming of Christ. There is no Heavenly Kingdom for the saints: when someone has died, he remains there." By 1508, if not 1502–1504, this becomes: "And what is this Heavenly Kingdom? And what is this Second Coming? And what is this resurrection of the dead? Nothing at all. When someone has died, he remains there": *PIV*, 161; *AfED*, 473; also, A. I. Pliguzov, "O xronologii poslanij Iosifa Volockogo," *Russkij feodal'nyj arxiv* 5 (1992): 1048–49, 1058.

[68] From either available redaction of both works: *Vedomo da budet"/budi ...*; Iosif: *vedomo tobe ....* This is also the style of the circular sent in Zosima's name against the "heretics" in 1490: *Da este vedusce vsi ...* : *AfED*, 384.

[69] Iosif copied Hippolytus's *Slovo ... o Antixriste* by hand: Ia. S. Lur'e, *Ideologičeskaja bor'ba v russkom publicistike konca XV–načala XVI veka* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1960), 167.

[70] "For in truth apostasy (*otstuplenie*) has arrived: men have deserted (*otstupiša ot*) truth and justice; they have deserted brotherly love and charity; they have deserted chastity and purity": *PIV*, 162.

[71] Ibid., 162—the whole sense of apostasy—"falling away," is followed by the "son of perdition ... that sitteth in the temple of God," and then the "Wicked one"—hence Iosif's formulation "son of perdition" and "forerunner of Antichrist" goes back to 2 Ths 2.1–11, which also informed Methodius of Patara. Since Zosima, as a sodomite, is the complete opposite of "immaculate," he implictly comprises both outer sides of an imagined *anti-deesis*—which is one more link to the Last Judgment icon. Iosif, or the original author of the *skazanie* that became *Slovo* 10 of *Prosvetitel'*, cited the same key passages of 2 Ths 2.3–8 to

tradition and the Last Judgment icons, must stand as martyrs with God (Christ) or perish as his enemies. On the other hand, in the defense of the eschatology of Ephrem of Syria usually attributed to Iosif, the fiery river plays a central role, so it is difficult imagining him wishing to do away with it altogether.[72] It is not unreasonable to propose that the snake/river appeared after Zosima was deposed, when Moscow's Uspenskij Cathedral was in the hands of Iosif's allies—between 1494 and 1511.[73]

VI

Another piece of writing usually attributed to Iosif may help solve the problem of the tollbooths. The testamentary introduction to his Extended Rule indicates genuine concern about the tollbooths within the monastery's walls:[74]

> Basil the Great [*sic*][75] speaks similarly: I think that neither the great illuminators and Spirit-bearing fathers nor the holy martyrs passed the demonic tollbooths (*besov'skaja mytarstva*) at the hour of death without an investigation (*istjazanija*). Therefore, brothers, if even such great men engaged in such great toils can expect to be called to account at the hour of death, how can we, the passionate and the wretched, escape these terrible inquests?

The introduction begins and ends with an invocation of the "terrible tribunal of Christ."[76] We therefore have one more text combining both judgments—in this case one which has tollbooths and a means to avoid their horrors, namely, the monastic rule.[77] Iosif's words here may be the clue to the

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prove that the eschatology of Ephrem of Syria is consistent with Scripture: *AfED*, 412.

[72] *AfED*, 409–414: this third *slovo* of the *Skazanie o končanii sed'moj tyjašči* (*Prosvetitel', Slovo 10*) has many references to elements of Last Judgment and Apocalypse iconography.

[73] E. S. Smirnova thinks it possible that this river was superimposed on the original icon: *Moskovskaja ikona*, 282.

[74] *VMČ* 1:500–501, 503; Goldfrank trans., 64, 67. Iosif died in 1515; as of 1960, the earliest known copies of this work dated from the 1540s: Lur'e, *Ideologičeskaja bor'ba*, 219. Pliguzov surmises that the Extended Rule "was compiled by Iosif's disciples from his writings" towards the end of his life or after his death: Pliguzov, 1058.

[75] Basil "the Great" of Caesarea (d. 379), the authoritative coenobiarch, whom Iosif cites often in his Extended Rule, did not admit to such a fate after death: P. A. Recheis, OSB, *Engel, Tod, und Seelenreise. Das Wirken der Geister beim Heimgang des Menschen in der Lehre der alexandrischen und kappadoschen Väter* (*Temi i Testi* 4, Rome, 1958), 177.

[76] *VMČ* 1:499, 503; trans., 63, 67.

[77] Ibid., 503: "The holy martyrs submitted their bodies to many lashes, bloodshed, and violent deaths. Similarly, our holy fathers shed blood by their asceticism, mortification, and bloody sweat, so that they would not be put on trial (*istjazani*) at the terrible hour of death. We need not shed our blood or bloody sweat, but merely must cut off a few trivial and

standard tollbooths and to the non-demonic ones in Ferapontov, which depict a more user-friendly immediate judgment. Surely the elders, who commissioned these frescos in the heartland of Russian neo-hesychasm, had their own sense of the place of demons in an iconographic program. The iconostasis icon of the Descent/Resurrection, which Dionisij's workshop painted for them ca. 1495–1503, depicted the victory of symbolic angels, each over a paired demon: resurrection—fall; life—death; love—hate; simplicity—bitterness; *sanctity—corruption; wisdom—despair; humility—arrogance; understanding—folly; purity—filth; joy—grief; *righteousness—crookedness.[78]

Dionisij also painted the Uspenskij Cathedral at Iosif's Monastery in 1485 or soon thereafter, during the heyday of the "Jewish-thinking Novgorod Heretics," as he called them.[79] Did the Iosifov Last Judgment have demonic tollbooths? The text of the Extended Rule indicates that Iosif, his council of elders, and their immediate successors favored such an image. But this does not prove origins, just utility. After the victory in 1504–1505 over the heretics, whom Iosif characterized as "the devil himself and his entire army,"[80] he should have welcomed a depiction of their being cast down into the hell by Michael's band of angels, as in both the Novgorod and Mšana icon types. If Iosif's writings can serve as a guide, a specifically Iosifite Last Judgment would also have had a fiery river engulfing the earth, and perhaps the direct pathway for saints to Heavenly Jerusalem, as in the Novgorod Boris-and-Gleb icon [Plate 8].[81]

At any rate, the Novgorod variants, with their Old Testament, apocalyptic "Ancient of Days" and joining of sophic and pronoetic motifs at the top, indicate the possibilities of such iconography to further the official Church's vision of the cosmos. In *Prosvetitel'*, Iosif (and Nil) defended Jesus as the true Messiah, whose (apocryphal) descent into Hell and tricking Satan released the

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unnecessary nothings and be concerned over these traditions in a meek and prudent manner."

[78] Smirnova, *Moskovskaja ikona*, 291, pl. 145 (the asterisk indicates my own surmise, where the letters are lost). V. K. Laurina links this icon to Nil Sorskij's writings: "Vnov' raskrytaja ikona 'Sošestvie vo ad' iz Ferapontova monastyrja i moskovskaja literatura konca XV veka," *TODRL* 22 (1966): 174–77. Nil, as leading contemporary theorist of the struggle against spritual vices, may have influenced this icon, but he should not have been totally opposed to demonic tollbooths. The oldest manuscript of the first Rus' *Basil the Younger* comes from his hermitage: Vilinskij, 129.

[79] *PIV*, 270.

[80] *AfED*, 474.

[81] Cf. another Russian Last Judgment icon of unknown origin, but dated second half of the sixteenth century in Garidis, pl. 37. The Arxangel'skij Cathedral frescos of ca. 1508, may also have had both toolbooths and river, if the later renovations can serve as evidence: see above, note 58.

righteous, and whose Second Coming will signal the Last Judgment.[82] The differences between Iosif and the Ferapontov elders may have been more nuanced than fundamental. Iosif also linked the redemptive value of virtues to Christ's victory over Satan,[83] and the Ferapontov frescos confidently affirm Orthodoxy against heresy.[84]

The specific attention to geometric form and symmetry and the apparent "astrological heaven" of the Novgorod-Kirillov Last Judgment icon could be the key to its dating. Iosif's writings are virtually devoid of any neo-Pythagoreanism. On the other hand, the slightly later polemics of Filofej of Pskov and Maksim Grek pit Divine Providence against the astrology and mathematical theology of the *djak* Misjur-Munexin and the German physician Nikolaj Bülev (Nemčin).[85] Therefore the 1520s–1530s is a reasonable guess for the time of composition of this icon.[86]

This dating allows for an earlier appearance of the snake cum "demonic tollbooths" when Iosif was hegumen of his own monastery, 1479–1515. We also have grounds to place at this time an original snake without tollbooths and tollbooths without a snake or demons—precisely during the turbulent period when Moscow annexed Novgorod and Pskov. Finally, we should note

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[82] *Prosvetitel'* (*Slovesa* 2—also copied by Nil, and 4), 96, 108, 116–19, 139–41, 150, 154–55: Luria (Lur'e), "Unresolved Issues," 165–66.

[83] Ibid. (*Slovo* 4), 157–69.

[84] Danilova, left side, 8–9, but with reservations; also T. N. Mixel'son, "Živopisnyj cikl Ferapontova monastyrja," *TODRL* 22 (1966), 152.

[85] In addition, Filofej's specific reliance upon Hippolytus's eschatology points to serpentine Last Judgment iconography, and, as in Iosif's missive to Nifont, Filofej lumps together sodomy, murder, and hardheartedness, suggesting the diverse selection of sins earmarked by the toolbooths: V. N. Malinin, *Starec Eliazarova Monastyrja Filofej i ego poslanija* (Kyiv, 1901), *Priloženie*, 33–56, 71–75; V. S. Ikonnikov, *Maksim Grek i ego vremja* (2nd ed., Kyiv, 1915, 243–44; N. V. Sinicyna, *Maksim Grek v Rossii* (Moscow, 1977), 86–87; Arno Langeler, *Maksim Grek, Byazntijn en Humanist in Rusland* (Amsterdam, 1986), 97–101. There seems to have been no overt, speculative, geometric consciousness in East Slavic theological discourse until the early sixteenth century, when Maksim Grek lowered his sights against Bülev and his apparent neo-Pythagorean explanation of the Trinity.

[86] A. Griščenko, N. Kondakov, N. E. Mneva, and M. V. Alpatov believed that it stems from the early or mid-fifteenth century: A. Griščenko, *Russkaja ikona kak iskusstvo živopisi. Voprosy živopisi* 3 (1917): 186; N. Kondakov, *Russkaja Ikona*, 4 vols. (Prague, 1928–1933), 4:233–34; N. E. Mneva in *Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi. Opyt istoriko-xudožestvennoj klassifikacii*, ed., P. I. Lebedev, 2 vols. (Moscow, 1963), 1:121; V. K. Laurina and G. D. Petrova, *Živopis' drevnego Novgoroda i ego zemel' dvenadcatogo-semnadcatogo stoletii* (Leningrad, 1974) No. 40; M. V. Alpatov, *Drevnusskaja živopis'/Early Russian Painting* (Moscow, 1978), 309, pl. 113; Gormin and Yarosh, pl. 175. Smirnova, though, has classed it with other "fifteenth-century" pieces that she thinks belong in the sixteenth: E. S. Smirnova, V. K. Laurina, E. A. Gordienko, *Živopis' velikogo Novgoroda* (Moscow, 1982), 178.

a practical reason for Iosif's wishing to emphasize the immediate judgment: he was at the forefront of the rationalizing of memorial services for the dead—a crucial element of the monastery's economy.[87] A cynic might even suggest that the iconographic tollbooths owe their inspiration to crass materialism and orchestrated fear.

The invention of the snake who rises up to the foot of Adam and is the pathway for the aerial tollbooths remains somewhat of a mystery. A symbol of a redemptive victory over original sin for any soul that successfully traverses them, and of a likely terminal fall for those who fail, the snake facilitated the visual joining of the immediate and final judgments. Circumstances and texts indicate plausible origins and addition to Last Judgment iconography of the iconographic serpent and tollbooths having occurred in Russia during the period when Nil Sorskij and Iosif Volockij were collaborating to combat skepticism and heresy, despite their quite distinct programs of monastic reform. However, as the Western Ukrainian variants show, it is not at all to be excluded that the iconographic notion of combining the minor and major judgments with a submissive serpent leading up from Hell to Adam originated in part or wholly elsewhere in Rus′ or in Byzantium or southeastern Europe. Ottoman conquests, European cultural developments, or the Council of Florence and the doctrine on Purgatory, which the Orthodox rejected when they repudiated the council,[88] could have been catalysts. Accordingly, the Moscow Uspenskij icon, the Ferapontov frescos, and the Novgorod type all would have been secondary developments. These, however, are problems beyond the purview of the present study.

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[87] Steindorf, 157–66, 194–96.

[88] On this debate, see Joseph Gill, S.J., *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, 1959), 120–25, 195–99, 271–72, 285.

The Sixteenth-Century Muscovite Church and Patriarch Jeremiah II's Journey to Muscovy, 1588–1589: Some Comments concerning the Historiography and Sources

BORYS GUDZIAK

Recent developments in the world of Eastern Christianity have brought to the fore two major ecclesiastical events the four-hundreth anniversary of which, in one case, recently has been, and in the other soon will be, commemorated. The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe has raised the issue of the Russian Church's role not only in Russian society but also in the greater Orthodox movement. Facing the challenges of a new playing field, the various autocephalous and would-be-autocephalous Orthodox Churches are jockeying for position on the axis between the Church of Constantinople and the Church of Moscow, the autocephaly of which was formally recognized by its elevation to the status of a patriarchate in 1589. The reemergence of the various Eastern Catholic Churches in Slovakia, Romania, and most prominently in Ukraine has opened anew scholarly and polemical discussion concerning the issue of "Uniatism" and the nature, genesis, and legacy of the Union of Brest (1595/1596). The journey of Patriarch Jeremiah of Constantinople to Muscovy in 1588–1589 was the occasion for the establishment of the Moscow Patriarchate and variously a catalyst for the process that led to the Union of Brest. Here I would like to present a series of considerations and fontological observations towards a fresh appraisal of the interconnectedness of these late sixteenth-century ecclesiastical processes.[1]

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[1] These prolegomena are in preparation for a series of forthcoming studies including a book-length examination of the genesis of the Union of Brest. I believe the Union of Brest and the creation of the Moscow Patriarchate are interconnected. As I intend to show in a separate article, however, it is the trip of Patriarch Jeremiah, not his creation of the Moscow Patriarchate, that was a central factor in pushing the hierarchy of the Kievan Metropolitanate toward union with Rome. I attempt to characterize, as far as it is possible, the experience of Patriarch Jeremiah and his entourage while in Muscovy in an article forthcoming in *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* [Sheptytsky Institute, University of Saint Paul, Ottawa]. There I focus on the predicament of the Ecumenical Patriarch in Muscovy. By paying close attention to the sources that document Jeremiah's stay in Muscovy from the beginning to the end, it is possible to view the creation of the patriarchate as part of an extended odyssey. An examination of the various aspects of Jeremiah's one-year sojourn in Muscovy reflected in the sources serves as a prelude to and elucidation of his activity in the Kievan metropolitan province in the autumn of 1589. In the present article, I concentrate on the sources for Patriarch Jeremiah's stay in Muscovy and the establishment of the Moscow Patriarchate.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

Relatively little attention has been devoted to the establishment of the Moscow Patriarchate in recent literature. Furthermore, much of the historiography of the event and the period is not entirely satisfying. In fact the last major study of Jeremiah's sojourn in Muscovy is that by Aleksei Ia. Shpakov, a comprehensive work that nevertheless is a mediocre example of late imperial Russian Church historiography.[2] In addressing issues of sixteenth-century Russian ecclesiastical development and the historical literature about it, one confronts numerous hackneyed formulations that are formidable obstacles in understanding the underlying texture and course of Russian Church history of the period.[3] Overarching ideological constructs have been viewed by historians as primary forces driving sixteenth-century

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[2] *Gosudarstvo i tserkov' v ikh vzaimnykh otnosheniiakh v Moskovskom gosudarstve,* vol. 2, *Tsarstvovanie Feodora Ivanovicha. Uchrezhdenie patriarshestva v Rossii. Prilozheniia,* parts I and II appended (Odessa, 1912). For other treatments of Jeremiah's sojourn in Muscovy and his elevation of the Metropolitanate of Moscow to the status of a patriarchate, see Eugene-Melchior de Voguë, "De Byzance à Moscou. Les voyages d'un patriarche," *Revue des deux mondes,* vol. 32, March 1 (1879): 5–35, Russian translation, "Ot Vizantii do Moskvy (Puteshestvie konstantinopol'skogo patriarkha Ieremii II-go v Moskvu v 1588 g.)," *Trudy Kievskoi Dukhovnoi akademii* (1880), no. 1, pp. 56–99; Pavel A. Nikolaevskii, "Uchrezhdenie patriarshestva v Rossii," *Khristianskoe chtenie,* 1879, pt. 2, 3–40; 369–406; 552–81; 1880, pt. 1, 128–58 (variant title used for last segment: "Snosheniia russkikh s Vostokom ob ierarkhicheskoi stepeni Moskovskogo patriarkha"); Makarii, *Istoriia Russkoi tserkvi* (St. Petersburg, 1882, reprint Düsseldorf, 1969) vol. 11, bk. 1, pp. 3–54; A. Ia. Shpakov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov',* the earlier Russian historiography is surveyed on pp. 257–58; Anton V. Kartashev, *Ocherki po istorii Russkoi tserkvi* 2:10–47; and more recently R. G. Skynnikov, *Boris Godunov* (Moscow, 1978); Steven Runciman, "Patriarch Jeremias II and the Patriarchate of Moscow," *Aksum-Thyateira: A Festschrift for Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira and Great Britain,* ed. George Dion. Dragas et al. (London: Thyateira House, 1985), 235–40 (many factual errors); Gerhard Podskalsky, "Die Einstellung des Ökumenischen Patriarchen (Jeremias II.) zur Erhebung des Moskauer Patriarchats (1589)," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 55 (1989): 421–37. The topic has been treated generally in numerous recent historical surveys or monographs on sixteenth-century Muscovite history. A number of relevant articles can be found in the volume produced as a result of one of the ongoing Italian-Russian seminars entitled "Da Roma alla Terza Roma" held in Rome, this one dedicated to the four-hundreth anniversary of the creation of the Moscow Patriarchate, see Iaroslav N. Shchapov, Pierangelo Catalano, et al., *IV Centenario dell'istitutzione del patriarcato in Russia* (Rome, 1990).

[3] There is no adequate study of Russian Church historiography. A. V. Kartashev provided a historiographic essay covering only the main surveys and not the monographic literature, *Ocherki po istorii Russkoi tserkvi* 1 (Paris, 1959): 12–39. Sergei G. Pushkarev completed the Church history section of George Vernadsky's posthumously published *Russian Historiography: A History* (Belmont, Mass., 1978), 374–448. Pushkarev's chapter, as well as the entire volume, is selective in its coverage, erratic, very poorly edited, and hopelessly out-of-date.

Muscovite ecclesiastical developments. Thus, despite meager evidence supporting such a view, the "Possessor/Non-possessor" struggle is seen to be implicit throughout the century's Church affairs. So too, the theory of "Moscow the Third Rome" has been used to explain various trajectories in early modern Russian Church history without any critical assessment of how the Muscovites understood the theory or determining the parameters of a "Third Rome consciousness."[4]

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[4] Much has been written on the question of "Moscow, the Third Rome." For bibliographical indications and further references, see Richard W. F. Pope, "A Possible South Slavic Source for the Doctrine: Moscow the Third Rome," *Slavia* 44 (1975): 246 n. 1 as well as the series of publications that have resulted from the above-mentioned conferences in Rome, "Da Roma alla Terza Roma." Given the scarcity of sixteenth-century references to the theory it is unclear that sixteenth-century Muscovites conceived of their state and Church in Third-Rome categories. In any case, they did not generally interpret the "Third Rome" according to the universalist imperial ideology of the first two Romes. Speaking about his intentions concerning the "East," Ivan IV told Antonio Possevino, the Jesuit emissary of Pope Gregory XIII, who in 1581–1582 travelled to Moscow to mediate in the peace talks between Muscovy and King Stefan Batory hoping that thereby Muscovy could be brought into an anti-Ottoman coalition and won over for Church union, "Здешнего государства всее вселенные не хотим" *Pamiatniki diplomaticheskikh snoshenii drevnei Rosii s derzhavami inostrannymi* (St. Petersburg, 1851–1871) part 1, vol. 10, p. 174. Throughout the sixteenth century the references to "Moscow, the Third Rome" are few and far between. Nina V. Sinitsyna points out that the use of the "Third Rome" formula in the documents destined for foreign consumption at the time of the establishment of the Patriarchate of Moscow was circumspect, "Uchrezhdenie patriarshestva i 'Tretii Rim'," *IV Centenario dell'istitutzione del patriarcato in Russia,* 59–80. See Daniel B. Rowland, "Moscow—the Third Rome or the New Israel?" *The Russian Review* 55, no. 4 (October, 1996), 591–612. Much has been made of the fact that Jeremiah signed the gramota announcing the creation of the Moscow Patriarchate which includes a "Third Rome" formulation, *Sobranie gosudarstvennykh gramot i dogovorov,* vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1818), no. 59, p. 97. Juraj Križanič attributes the formulation to the patriarch: "I do not know what the patriarch Jeremiah was thinking of when he called Moscow the Third Rome. It would follow from that that the empire of Moscow is one of the three heads of the eagle (of Ezra), doomed to damnation and perdition." For Križanič the three heads symbolized the Roman, Greek, and German Empires, the last of which came to an end with the demise of Charles V. Križanič, "Tolkovanie istoricheskikhprorochestv," *Chteniia (*Moscow*)*, 1881, 2, pp. 11, and his *Russkoe gosudarstvo v polovine XVII v.* 1:354–56. Cf. Hildegard Schaeder, *Moskau das dritte Rom* (Hamburg, 1929), 118. [republished as *Moskau das dritte Rom. Studien zur Geschichte der politischen Theorien in der slavischen Welt* (Darmstadt, 1957) originally published in *Osteuropäische Studien,* vol. 1, 1929.] The source for Filofei was the Apocalypse of Ezra, translated from the Vulgate into Slavonic as part of the preparation of the Gennadii Bible. According to Ezra Daniel had a vision of a twelve-winged, three-headed eagle. An angle explained that the eagle was the fourth animal of Daniel's vision (i.e. the Roman Empire) and that the heads symbolize three reigns (IV Ezra, xii, 23), interpreted as Rome, Constantinople, and Moscow. For a discussion of the genesis of the Third Rome formulation and its connection with the vision of Ezra, as well as the English translation of the quote from Križanič, see Dmitri Strémooukhoff, "Moscow the Third Rome: Sources of the Doctrine," *Speculum* (January, 1953): 84–101; reprinted in *The Structure of Russian History,* ed. Michael Cherniavsky, 108–125. O. Ohloblyn, *Moskovs'ka Teoriia III Rymu* (Munich, 1951)

In twentieth-century historiography, the life of the sixteenth-century Muscovite Church *per se* has not received much focused attention. Historians functioning within the conceptual confines of the Soviet scholarly establishment treated ecclesiastical processes in reductionist terms, and, therefore, could not treat religious history seriously. Western historians have concentrated their research on sixteenth-century Muscovite political history, its ideology, and criticism of the sources. The social history of the Muscovite religious life of that period has yet to be seriously broached. Here, the availability of evidence is an important factor. The historian of the East Slavic *Cinquecento* can envy the source base that has allowed his/her colleagues to reappraise early modern West European religious history. Consequently, the outlines and themes of Muscovite sixteenth-century religious history, as established by prerevolutionary historians, have not been comprehensively challenged.

The student of Ruthenian-Muscovite ecclesiastical interaction stands before particularly formidable historiographical constructs. The *kursy* of Russian Church history, written by members of the Russian school of ecclesiastical historians from Metropolitans Platon (Levshin) and Makarii (Bulgakov), both of Moscow, to the layman Anton V. Kartashev, who wrote in Paris as an émigré, are characterized by a more or less conscious subordination of East Slavic ecclesiastical developments—spanning a broad geographical, cultural, and chronological gradient—to specific historiographic themes, especially the rise of the Muscovite and modern Russian state. Within these parameters, Ruthenian developments were subsumed as "West Russian" episodes in the "all-Russian" experience. The latter served as the point of departure for the former. Ruthenian processes were more or less "Russian." The Russian school of ecclesiastical history-writing tended to view Ruthenian Church history as a series of rifts with, and necessary returns to, the Russian mainstream. As such, Ruthenian ecclesiastical life did not constitute a history with its own dynamic. The teleological monism, so vividly preached by Karamzin, greatly influenced Russian ecclesiastical historiography, even the scholarship of recent decades. Thus, Kartashev argues "that on the expansive plains of Eastern Europe, history created not a variegated juxtaposition of a multitude of

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Filofei's theory became the official doctrine of Moscow. Maslennikov, "Ideologicheskaia bor'ba v pskovskoi literature v [eriod obrazovaniia russkogo centralizovanogo gosudarstva," in *Trudy otdela drevne-russkoi literatury,* 8, following Likhachev *Natsional'noe samosoznanie v drevnei Rusi* (1945), 100–104 denies it.A critical reassessment of the sixteenth-century genesis and subsequent importance of the notion of "Moscow, the Third Rome," beyond the boundaries of this topic, is being prepared by Donald Ostrowski.

disparate races, languages, and states, but one imperial body, one nation, one culture, and one organically, not violently, prevailing Russian Orthodox Church. It is pointless to endeavor to cover the sunlight of the day with an obfuscating shroud."[5]

These deterministic presuppositions, frequently accompanied by a propensity for value judgment, are particularly entrenched in history-writing concerning the period "leading up to" the creation of the patriarchate. Traditional Russian historiography has argued that the creation of the Moscow Patriarchate was a necessary result of the "progress" of Muscovite Church history. Throughout the fourteenth century, the paternalistic attitude of the Patriarchate of Constantinople towards the East Slavs, extending to the political sphere, caused increasing tension between Moscow and Constantinople. The exercise of the Patriarch's prerogative to nominate metropolitans for the East Slavs led to Muscovite disenchantment with Greek ecclesiastical overlordship. According to the traditional thesis, in the fourteenth century, at a time when the Kievan see was an important bone of contention in the struggle for territory and political power between Muscovy and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Muscovites found the nomination of Kievan metropolitans increasingly objectionable.[6] The independence of the Moscow Metropolitanate in the fifteenth century and the creation of the patriarchate in the sixteenth grew "inevitably" out of this incongruity.

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[5] Kartashev expressed the principle of this historiographic vision in criticizing the change in title between the first, Italian-language edition and the subsequent, German-language edition of Albert M. Ammann's East Slavic Church history, *Storia della Chiesa russa e dei paesi limitrofi* (Turin, 1948); *Abriss der ostslawischen Kirchengeschichte* (Vienna, 1950): "что история на обширной равнине Восточной Европы соткала не пестрое подлеположение множества разрозненных рас, языков и государств, а единое имперское тело, единую нацию, единую культуру и единую органически, а не насильственно первенствующую Русскую православную церковь. Безполезно пытатся скрыть дневный свет солнца затемняющей занавесой." A. V. Kartashev, *Ocherki po istorii Russkoi tserkvi*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1960), 38–39. Such declarations concerning the peaceful and natural development of political, national, cultural, and ecclesiastical imperial hegemony, be it Russian or otherwise, cannot but alert even the uninitiated reader.

[6] A reinterpretation of the fourteenth century, with particular attention to Byzantine sources, has been offered by John Meyendorff in his *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia: A Study of Byzantino-Russian Relations in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1981); cf. the review by Sophia Senyk in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 47 (1981): 513–16. The period from the end of the fourteenth century until the establishment of the patriarchate has received little recent attention. For a recent discussion of some aspects, see Boris N. Floria, *Otnosheniia gosudarstva i tserkvi u vostochnykh i zapadnykh slavian: Epokha srednevekov'ia* (Moscow, 1992). Floria and E. M. Lomize are preparing a major study of the Florentine union which will devote considerable attention to its repercussions among the East Slavs.

These historiographical views have deep roots. Contemporary foreigners recording their impressions of sixteenth-century Muscovy took at face value the image of the political system projected by the court ceremonial. According to this image, the tsar presided over a fundamentally static pyramid of power as sole decision-maker and autocrat. This notion was propagated in Muscovite chronicles written mostly by churchmen who framed this ideology in theocratic terms. Most subsequent history-writing on Muscovy has taken the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources as good coin and has, therefore, been profoundly influenced by this theocratic vision.[7] Because of progressive Muscovite political consolidation, later Russian imperial administrative centralization and the looming image of Tsar Ivan IV, Russian historiography on the sixteenth century has generally focused attention on the person of the grand prince, viewed as a "literal autocrat" when, in fact, he and the whole political system were dependent on those "maintaining a social consensus supporting his power."[8] Correspondingly, ecclesiastical history must have been dominated by the question of how the Church and its institutions contributed to the growth of central state structures and an imperial ideology.

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[7] Numerous questions in study of the reign of Ivan IV and Muscovite history in general were raised by Edward L. Keenan's reexamination and questioning of much of the source base for the traditional view of sixteenth-century Muscovy, in *The Kurbskii-Groznyi Apocrypha: The Seventeenth-Century Genesis of the "Correspondence" Attributed to Prince A. M. Kurbskii and Tsar Ivan IV* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971). The bibliography of the ensuing polemic can be found in Charles J. Halperin, "A Heretical View of Sixteenth-Century Muscovy. Edward L. Keenan: *The Kurbskii-Groznyi Apocrypha*. Review Article," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, n. s. 22 (1974): 161–86; Niels Rosing and Brigit Rønne, *Apocryphal — Not Apocryphal?: A Critical Analysis of the Discussion Concerning the Correspondence Between Ivan IV Groznyj and Prince Andrej Kurbskij* (Copenhagen, 1980), 13–27; in Donald Ostrowski's review of *Perepiska Ivana Groznogo s Andreem Kurbskim*, Iakov S. Lur'e and Iurii D. Rybakov, eds. (Leningrad, 1979) in *Kritika* 17 (1981): 1–17; and Charles J. Halperin, "Keenan's Heresy Revisited," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, n. s. 22 (1980): 481–99.

[8] On the use of narrative sources for Muscovite history, the historiography about the Muscovite political system, and the "façade of autocracy," see Nancy Shields Kollmann, *Kinship and Politics: The Making of the Muscovite Political System, 1345–1547* (Stanford, 1987), 1–22, 146–151, here 2. Kollmann expresses the problem concisely: "[Muscovite] sources do not use terminology that would reveal the existence of corporate or institutional bodies, nor do they include constitutions or charters of corporate estates' rights. These deficiencies force the historian to devise his or her own conceptual framework of politics based on a considered understanding of the society as it presents itself. For most historians, this has meant taking the narrative sources at face value when assessing the autocratic power of the sovereign and analyzing political groups and struggles in terms of the social classes to which the members and participants belonged. But this means filling in the gaps with implicit comparison of Muscovite political relations to contemporaneous European politics, and such an approach has led to conflicting and unsatisfactory historiography. A more serviceable framework can be built by following the lead of the sources with their emphasis on family and on harmony at court, and by reading narrative sources with a sensitivity to their implicit meanings" (4).

This preoccupation has led to sweeping theories about ecclesiastical issues, a lack of attentiveness to the life of the Russian Church as a community of believers, and much premature assessment. More detailed research on the post-Florence period in East Slavic Church history is needed before the causal connections between the political and ecclesiastical processes can be enunciated so categorically. In fact, much about sixteenth-century Muscovite ecclesiastical developments remains unclear and even standard theses about this period have come to be viewed with a new skepticism.[9]

Prerevolutionary Russian Church historiography was dominated by representatives of the Church hierarchy or intelligentsia with a clerical outlook, conservative in their interpretation and evaluation of the historical development of Muscovite and imperial Russia. Their history-writing exhibited a tendency to view the Church's role in the growth of centralization and autocracy as a primary and positive historical contribution.[10] The creation of the Moscow Patriarchate has been at the center of the "Third Rome"

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[9] See for example Donald Ostrowski's "Church Polemics and Monastic Land Acquisition in Sixteenth-Century Muscovy," *Slavonic and East European Review* 64 (1986): 355–79, in which the author, on the basis of a careful consideration of the source base, rejects the notion that Josephites and Non-possessors comprised and acted as distinct Church parties. See also, *The Council of 1503: Source Studies and Questions of Ecclesiastical Landowning in Sixteenth-Century Muscovy. A Collection of Seminar Papers,* ed. Edward L. Keenan and Donald G. Ostrowski (Cambridge, Mass., 1977). Jack E. Kollmann pointed out that the "possessor"/"non-possessor" labels cannot be applied to the hierarchs at the *Stoglav* council and that the conflict over monastic landholding in sixteenth-century Muscovy, as traditionally framed, was not an identifiable issue at the *Stoglav.* Although previous scholarship has categorized *Stoglav* hierarchs according to the landholding conflict, there is no evidence about the views of the council fathers on Josephitism, monastic landholding, or "anything else," see "The Moscow *Stoglav* ('Hundred Chapters') Church Council of 1551" Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1978, 1:88–92, 200–207.

[10] An analogous but opposite current dominated secular and positivistic nineteenth- and early twentieth-century analysis of Russian intellectual history. This historiographical tradition dealt with earlier periods "in the perspective of the secular and socio-political concerns of its own day. Heresies and the spiritualists (non-possessors) of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were discussed from the point of view of their impact on the consolidation of Muscovite autocracy, the fate of old ruling elites, and the origins of serfdom." The Schism was treated likewise. In regard to the nineteenth century, attention was focussed on the precursors and development of modern revolutionary thought. All emphasis was on the "progressive" intelligentsia, the avant-garde of social and political change. Conservative thinkers and religious influence on social thought were neglected, as were most aspects of the life of the Church. In this way, by viewing the stuff of history through a positivistic framework *"sub specie revolutionis,"* this historiographical tradition failed to apprehend historical events or ideologies in "terms of their own presuppositions and the immanent logic of their inner structure and cultural context," see Marc Raeff, "Enticements and Rifts: Georges Florovsky as Historian of the Life of the Mind and the Life of the Church," *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* 6 (1990): 188–89.

understanding of sixteenth-century Muscovite ideology. The mention of Moscow as the "Third Rome" in the charter officially documenting the elevation of Iov to the patriarchate has been taken as proof that the Muscovites secured a patriarchate for their realm because they had been consciously advancing and acting according to a "Third Rome" ideology throughout most of the sixteenth century. Shpakov stresses that an analogous theory determined the development of the Muscovite ecclesiastical polity. Because of the "theocratic" character of the Muscovite state, it was inevitable for the civic authority to be adorned with an ecclesiastical emanation of the highest dignity, hence the creation of the patriarchate. Despite the fact that the theocratic character of the Muscovite state, viewed as a reflection of Byzantine models, acts as an operative concept throughout Shpakov's book, it is not analyzed. Various aspects of the Byzantine paradigm are discussed in detail and are presumed to have been appropriated in Muscovy.[11] More attention must be devoted to the way in which Byzantine models were received among the East Slavs. There are many direct religious, cultural, and ideological links between Byzantium or the Byzantine legacy and Muscovy. Yet it is an appreciation of the differences and the specific adaptation of the Byzantine legacy—producing distinctly Muscovite hieratic-religious institutions, culture, ideology, and style—that will cast new light on sixteenth-century Muscovite ecclesiastical history.

Shpakov's *Uchrezhdenie patriarshestva* summarizes and reiterates the traditional historiography of nineteenth-century Russian Church historians who viewed the establishment of the patriarchate as being a determined, in fact necessary, outcome of sixteenth-century Muscovite history. The author carefully published most of the known sources for the topic.[12] He provides hundreds of pages of more or less relevant background discussions culled mostly from secondary literature and arrives at the conclusions of his predecessors. In fact, Shpakov adds little but pathos to previous formulations. His own words sum up his teleological approach: "*The entire march of historical events with a natural inexorability drew Russia to the establishment of the patriarchate.*"[13] Contemporary reinterpretation of sixteenth-century Muscovy warrants a fresh look at the events of 1588–1589.[14]

[11] For specific references to the theocratic nature of the Muscovite polity, see *Gosudarstvo i tserkov'*, II, throughout but especially 19, 86, 385–87.

[12] For Shpakov's discussion of the sources, see *Gosudarstvo i tserkov'* 2:244–56.

[13] *"Весь ход исторических событий с естественной необходимостью влек Россию к учреждению патриаршества"* (Shpakov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov'* 2:260, emphasis in the original).

[14] A complete reassessment of the creation of the Moscow Patriarchate requires a careful

SOURCES ON JEREMIAH'S SOJOURN IN MUSCOVY

The most important collection of information on Jeremiah's Muscovite stay consists of the so-called *Grecheskie posol'skie knigi.* The *Grecheskie posol'skie knigi* are registers of documents, letters, reports, and directives received or issued by the sixteenth-century Muscovite *Posol'skii prikaz* concerning Muscovite-Greek relations. Most of the material recorded was occasioned by the travel of Greek ecclesiastics to Muscovy. At the end of the eighteenth century, in describing archival holdings, Nikolai N. Bantysh-Kamenskii numbered the three *posol'skie knigi* holding the *Grecheskie stateinye spiski* (reports of envoys to the Greek East) and *dela* (documents in general) covering the years 1516–1594.[15] These records are particularly important because they were meant for internal use only and, consequently, have remained generally unembellished, as is indicated by their bureaucratic terseness. Although generally matter-of-fact and rhetorically reserved, the *Grecheskie dela* contain copies of documents, not all uniform in style. Besides the internal memos of the *Posol'skii prikaz,* the *dela* include copies of letters exchanged between the court and Eastern Orthodox dignitaries. These letters stand out clearly from the rest of the text.[16] The *Posol'skie knigi* provide the greatest degree of detail in describing the arrival and departure of foreigners. Those pertaining to Greek affairs cast light upon the initial court reaction to

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examination of the Byzantine and post-Byzantine Greek Orthodox ecclesiology, ideology, canon law, and practice concerning patriarchates, as well as the Muscovite understanding of patriarchates in the sixteenth century. The events of 1589 require scrutiny in the context of the general Orthodox and specifically Muscovite canonical, liturgical, and sacramental traditions, taking into account contemporary scholarship on Byzantine, post-Byzantine, and Muscovite medieval and early modern history. Shpakov's monograph variously reflects this broad approach but provides virtually no challenges to previous conclusions.

[15] One of the approximately seventy descriptions of fonds that Bantysh-Kamenskii made for the Moscow archive of the *Kolegiia inostrannykh del,* the "Opisanie del aziatskikh dvorov" includes the affairs of Moldavians, those of the *kitaiskii dvor,* and also records about Greek clerics and laymen. This description is now in TsGADA fond 180, opis' 13, delo 152, N. A. Kozlova, "Trudy N. N. Bantysh-Kamenskogo po istorii Rossii," in *Rossiia na putiakh tsentralizatsii. Sbornik statei,* ed. Vladimir T. Pashuto (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka," 1982), 287–93.

[16] A detailed study of the text, language, and style of the *grecheskie dela* —a task beyond the scope of this article—would be an important contribution to the reevaluation of the source base for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Muscovite history. In my forthcoming article in *Logos,* particular attention is devoted to the internal court documentation preserved in the *dela,* reflecting the priorities, concerns, and policy of the Muscovite court with respect to Jeremiah and his suite.

oncoming parties of travelling Greeks and reflect the development of the court's policy towards ecclesiastical visitors. To date, not all of the *grecheskie knigi* have been critically published. The third *posol'skaia kniga* for Greek affairs covers the years 1588–1594 and is one of the most important sources of information about Patriarch Jeremiah's trip to East Slavic territories in 1588–1589. At the end of the eighteenth century, Nikolai F. Novikov first published excerpts from the *grecheskie dela* in the *Drevniaia Rossiiskaia vivliofika.*[17] He included material from the third *posol'skaia kniga.* Nikolai M. Karamzin printed some fragments in his *Istoriia gosudarstva Rossiiskogo,*[18] while Khrisanf M. Loparev published the lists of the alms distributed in 1593–1594 by Trifon Korobeinikov to hierarchs and monasteries in the Greek East.[19]

The most extensive use of the three manuscript volumes was made by Andrei N. Murav'ev. In the first volume of his *Snosheniia Rossii s Vostokom po delam tserkovnym,* published in St. Petersburg in 1858, Murav'ev reproduced many passages from all three *posol'skie knigi.* He presented a chronological discussion of the trips made by Greek ecclesiastics to Muscovy during the sixteenth and early seventeenth century up to and including the journey of Patriarch Theophanes of Jerusalem through East Slavic lands in 1619–1620. The study consists of a rather casual rendering of the documentary material. Some of it is quoted, some paraphrased.[20] Information from other sources, without clear indication of its provenance, is interpolated into the narrative based on the *grecheskie dela* and references to the manuscript are not always correct.[21]

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[17] Second ed., pt. 12 (Moscow, 1789; reprinted, The Hague, 1970), 334–449 reproduces most of the text from folios 119–460 of the third *posol'skaia kniga*, not just the material pertaining to Trifon Korobeinikov's gift-bearing trip to the Orthodox East in 1593–1594 (pages 432–60 of the *spisok*), as is stated in the introduction to the *Posol'skaia kniga po sviaziam Rossii s Gretsiei (pravoslavnymi ierarkhami i manastyriamy) 1588–1594,* ed. M. P. Lukichev and N. M. Rogozhin (Moscow, 1984) [henceforth, *Posol'skaia kniga.*], 7. Part 16 (Moscow, 1791; reprinted The Hague, 1970), 119–32 consists of short extracts from the second and third *knigi*.

[18] *Istoriia gosudarstva Rossiiskogo,* vol. 10 (St. Petersburg, 1892; reprinted, The Hague, 1969) *Primechaniia,* 32–39.

[19] "Otchet Trifona Korobeinikova v rozdannoi tsarskoi milostyni," *Pravoslavnyi palestinskii sbornik,* vol. 9, no. 27, pt. 3 (1888), 84–103.

[20] Pages 24–127 of *Snosheniia Rossii s Vostokom po delam tserkovnym* follow *Stateinyi spisok* No. 1, with materials dated from 1516 to 1583. According to Murav'ev's last citation, this first manuscript has 238 pages. *Stateinyi spisok* No. 2 is rendered on pp. 128–188, with documents dated from September 1583 to March 1588. From Shpakov's publication we know that this manuscript has 433 pages. Pages 189–278 of Murav'ev's study correspond to the third *stateinyi spisok*, see note 7.

[21] A. Ia. Shpakov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov'. Prilozheniia,* pt. 1, p. iv.

The sections of the *Posol'skie knigi* Nos. 2 and 3 pertaining to the establishment of the Patriarchate of Moscow were published by Shpakov in the first part of the volume of sources appended to his analysis of the event. This material consist of documents pertaining to the trips to Muscovy of Patriarch Joachim of Antioch and Patriarch of Constantinople Jeremiah in 1586 and 1588–1589.[22] As part of the same study, Shpakov also published an additional extract from *Posol'skaia kniga* No. 3, one of the letters that Tsar Fedor sent with Metropolitan Dionisii of Tŭrnovo to Constantinople to Patriarch Jeremiah in 1591.[23] Shpakov's editions of the documents preserve the orthography of the original without standardization, including the faithful rendering of superscript letters and abbreviations. Recently, the third *posol'skaia kniga* was edited and published in its entirety for the first time by M. P. Lukichev and Nikolai M. Rogozhin.[24] The editors use the postrevolutionary standard Russian alphabet. Variant spellings of the original are preserved. No textual differences between this edition and Shpakov's are noted.

Besides the *grecheskie dela,* there are a few additional Muscovite sources, albeit of a secondary significance for our purposes. The manuscript *sbornik* entitled the "Book of the *d'iak* Larion Ermolaev," formerly held in the Moscow Synodal Library and numbered 703 in Savva's catalogue, includes among other texts a copy of the ceremonial for Fedor Ivanovich's enthronement as tsar, the rite for the ordination of a bishop and a metropolitan, and accounts of the trips to Moscow made by Patriarchs Joachim of Antioch and Jeremiah of Constantinople, all published in Shpakov's appendix.[25] These descriptions of

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[22] Shpakov, *Prilozheniia,* part 1, pp. 1–73 from *Spisok* No. 2, pp. 77–161 from *Spisok* No. 3. I know Shpakov's study from a microfilm copy, from which it is not clear whether parts 1 and 2 of the *Prilozheniia* comprise one or two separate volumes.

[23] This appears as *Prilozhenie* I, appended directly to *Gosudarstvo i tserkov' v ikh vzaimnykh otnosheniiakh v Moskovskom gosudarstve,* vol. 2, *Tsarstvovanie Feodora Ivanovicha. Uchrezhdenie patriarshestva v Rossii* (not to be confused with the first part of the separate volume[s] of appendices cited in the previous note).

[24] For reference, see n. 17 above. The original manuscript of 460 pages is held in the *Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov,* fond 52, opis' I, delo 3, see Introduction, *Posol'skaia kniga,* 8.

[25] Shpakov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov',* II, *Prilozheniia,* pt. 2, pp. 95–192. The collection of the Synodal Library is now held in the State Historial Museum in Moscow. A close examination of this manuscript might offer more clues about its date of composition. It is possible that the *grecheskie dela* served as a source for this *sbornik.* In relating Jeremiah's vicissitudes in Constantinople both texts state that the sultan began to "stroiti mizgit," see *Posol'skaia kniga,* 21–22 and *Gosudarstvo i tserkov',* vol. 2, *Prilozheniia,* pt. 2, p. 137, 140. For another, more extensive exact parallels, see *Posol'skaia kniga,* 36—39 and *Gosudarstvo i tserkov',* vol. 2, *Prilozheniia,* pt. 2, pp. 140–44, 185–192 about Jeremiah's trip.

the patriarchal journeys serve to explain the creation of the Patriarchate of Moscow in a manner consistent with a contemporary (early seventeenth-century?) Muscovite consciousness that had already assimilated the patriarchal notion and began developing an ideology about the patriarchate and its genesis. Such a consciousness would not have been possible at the time of the genesis itself, when the uncertainty of whether the patriarchate would come into being or not prevailed. Internal information reveals that Joachim's discussions with Boris Godunov concerning a Muscovite patriarchate, as related in the account of Joachim's trip, could not have taken place as presented and must be a later re-creation. Thus, for example, according to the *sbornik*, Godunov told Joachim that Jeremiah should travel to Muscovy to settle the question of a patriarchate. In fact, throughout the account, Jeremiah is considered to be Patriarch of Constantinople. Yet Joachim was already in Lithuania in mid-May 1586.[26] When Joachim had left for Muscovy earlier that year, Jeremiah had not yet been reinstated as Patriarch of Constantinople and possibly was still in exile. Even two years later, when Jeremiah appeared in Muscovy, his hosts questioned him carefully to determine whether he was truly the Patriarch.[27] Therefore, in 1586, Godunov and Joachim could not have discussed Patriarch Jeremiah's future plans. Shpakov also published relevant extracts from another manuscript *sbornik*, the former No. 852 of the Kazan' Theological Academy library. Here are included descriptions of Jeremiah's arrival in Moscow, Iov's patriarchal nomination and consecration, and a copy of the official Muscovite decree about the newly created patriarchate.[28] The remaining known Muscovite primary literature includes a number of charters and seventeenth-century narrative accounts. While the former are important documentary witnesses, the latter are thoroughly imbued with an ideology of the later period and are not reliable as sources for understanding Jeremiah's sojourn in Moscow.[29]

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[26]On May 29 (19) the voevoda Prince Petr Khvorostinin and Ermola Korobov wrote from Chernihiv to the tsar, informing him that Patriarch Joachim was heading towards Muscovy. See the second *stateinyi spisok*, Shpakov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov'*, vol. 2, *Prilozheniia*, pt. 1, p. 3. The account in the *sbornik* continues and records the Muscovites' request that Joachim consult with the patriarchs, including Jeremiah

[27]*Posol'skaia kniga*, 16.

[28]*Gosudarstvo i tserkov'*, II, *Prilozheniia*, pt. 2, pp. 1–48. The manuscripts from the Kazan Theological Academy library are now in St. Petersburg, in the M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library, Solovetskii manuscript collection.

[29]The *gramotas* expressing the readiness of Jeremiah and the Moscow synod to proceed with the nomination of a patriarch and officially announcing the new patriarchate are published in the *Sobranie gosudarstvennykh gramot i dogovorov*, vol. 2, Nos. 58, 59 (St. Petersburg, 1818), 94–103; the latter appears in Shpakov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov'*, vol. 2,

Three Greek accounts of the creation of the Moscow Patriarchate offer indirect evidence for the understanding of Greek-Ruthenian contacts in the last part of the sixteenth century. Two were written by Arsenios, archbishop of Elassona (today a village in Thessaly, in the province of Janina). Arsenios first travelled to Moscow in 1586 to petition for alms. On his return journey he stopped in L'viv, where he taught at the L'viv confraternity school for two years from June 1586 to May 1588. From L'viv, Arsenios returned to Muscovy with Patriarch Jeremiah in 1588 where he remained with the title of archbishop of Tver' and later of Suzdal' until his death in 1626.[30] Arsenios wrote two memoirs describing events that he witnessed among the East Slavs. The first, entitled "The Toils and Travels of the Humble Archbishop Arsenios, with an Account of the Creation [Erection] of the Moscow Patriarchate" was composed between 1590 and 1593, that is at the time when the recognition of the new patriarchate by the synod of Eastern patriarchs was pending and its position in the hierarchy of Orthodox patriarchates was being determined.[31] It

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Prilozheniia, pt. 2, p. 39–48 (from the Kazan manuscript 852). Concerning the narrative accounts see Shpakov 2:256–57. The decrees of the Constantinopolitan councils of 1590 and 1593 ratifying the creation of the Moscow Patriarchate and assigning it fifth place in the hierarchy of Orthodox patriarchates were published respectively by Wilhelm Regel, *Analecta Byzantino-Russica* (St. Petersburg, 1891), 85–91, Tab. 3, 4; and Boris L. Fonkich, "Grecheskie gramoty sovetskikh khranilishch," part 2 (4. Akt Konstantinopol'skogo sobora 1593 g. ob osnovanii Moskovskogo patriarkhata) in *Cyrillomethodianum* 11 (1987): 16–25.

[30] Arsenios was called Archbishop of the Archangel because he was resident in the Cathedral of the Archangel in the Kremlin. For Arsenios's biography see Phōtios Ar. Dēmētrakopoulos, *Arsenios Elassonos (1550–1626). Bios kai ergo. Symbolē stē meletē tōn metabyzantinōn logiōn tēs Anatolēs* (Athens: Imago, 1984), 19–116; see also his "On Arsenios, Archbishop of Elasson," *Byzantinoslavica* 42 (1981):145–53. Dēmētrakopoulos summarizes the earlier scholarship on Arsenios, especially the work of Dmitrievskii, fills in some details from his early life in Greece, before Arsenios's departure for Slavic lands, and includes an appendix with documents. His main contribution is the discovery and publication of an additional autograph by Arsenios, the "*Akolouthia* [service] to St. Basil the Fool of Moscow," *Arsenios Elassonos (1550–1626),* 127–34; the text is found on pp. 181–93.

[31] *Kopoi kai diatribē tou tapeinou archiepiskopou Arseniou graphei kai tēn probibarin tou Patriarchou Moschovias.* For a outline of its contents and cursory comments on literary aspects, see Dēmētrakopoulos, *Arsenios Elassonos (1550–1626),* 135–46. For the dating of the verses see 137–38. Cf. Dmitrievskii, who argues that the freshness and detail of the account indicate that it was written soon after the events, in any case, no later than 1595, when the "main hero" of the memoir, Patriarch Jeremiah, died. Dmitrievskii does not elaborate his point. Presumably, the scholar was implying that since there are no references to Jeremiah's death or any events thereafter, and since Jeremiah's passing would have been somehow reflected in the text, the verses must have been completed while the patriarch was still alive, *Arkhiepiskop Elassonskii Arsenii i memuary ego iz russkoi istorii po rukopisi Trapezuntskogo Sumeliiskogo monastyria* (Kiev, 1899), 26–30. [Originally published as "Arkhiepiskop Elassonskii Arsenii (Suzdal'skii tozh) i ego vnov' otkrytye istoricheskie memuary," *Trudy Kievskoi Dukhovnoi*

was first published in 1749 from a manuscript copy held in Turin by Giuseppe Pasini, Antonio Rivautella, and Francesco Berta.[32] The Turin edition of the Greek text is accompanied by a Latin translation. However, Arsenios's text, originally versified, with lines of fifteen syllables, was rendered in a prosaic form. In 1809, 1820, and 1842 the Latin translation of the Turin edition was republished by, respectively, Johann Beckmann, Burchard von Wichmann, and Adalbert Starczewski [Starchevskii].[33] The Jesuit priest, Prince Augustin Galitzin, published a French translation in 1857.[34] Two years later the Greek text was published by Spyridōn Zampelios.[35] Zampelios corrected some of the erroneous readings of the Italian editors and presented the text in its original versified format, although, as Dmitrievskii pointed out, the Greek editor, like his predecessors, had trouble with some of the Slavicized terms that Arsenios employed.[36] The Greek text was reprinted by Kōnstantinos Sathas in 1870 and by Shpakov in 1912.[37] A Russian translation based on Wichmann's edition was published in 1879 by Nikolai N. Ogloblin.[38] Relying on both the Greek

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akademii (1898), no. 1, pp. 3–74; no. 3, pp. 345–71; no. 4, pp. 559–95; no. 5, pp. 88–129; (1899), no. 2, pp. 268–99; no. 4, pp. 618–38.]

[32] *Codices manuscripti Bibliothecae regii Taurinensis athenaei, per linguas digesti, & binas in partes distributi, in quarum prima hebraei, & graeci, in altera latini, italici, & gallici. Recensuerunt, & animadversionibus illustrarunt Josephus Pasininus... Antonius Rivautella, & Franciscus Berta... Insertis parvis quibusdam opusculis hactenus ineditis, adjectoque in fine scriptorum, & eorum operum indice, praeter characterum specimina, & varia codicum ornamenta partim aere, partim ligno incisa,* vol. 1 (Turin, 1749), 433–69 (Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Cataloghi Italia 10 [1–2] Folio). Listed as Codex 337. b. I. 5, the manuscript is described briefly: "Chartaceus, foliis constans 57, circa finem saeculi XVI," ibid. 433. For additional comments on the manuscript, now presumed to be lost, see Dēmētrakopoulos, *Arsenios Elassonos (1550–1626),* 21–23.

[33] Johann Beckmann, *Literatur der ältern Reisebeschreibungen,* vol. 1 (Göttingen, 1809), 404–20 (does not reproduce the entire text); Burchard von Wichmann, *Sammlung bisher noch ungedruckter kleiner Shriften zur ältern Geschichte und Kentniss des Russischen Reichs* (Berlin, 1820); Adalbertus [Wojciech] de Starczewski [Starchevskii], ed., *Historiae Ruthenicae Scriptores Exteri Saeculi XVI*, vol. 2 (Berlin and St. Petersburg, 1842), 367–84.

[34] Augustin Galitzin, *Document rélatif au Patriarcat Moscovite 1589* (Paris, 1857), 13–88.

[35] Spyridōn Zampelios, *Kathidrysis Patriarchou en Rōssia* (Athens, 1859).

[36] Dmitrievskii, *Arkhiepiskop Elassonskii,* 26–27 n. 3. According to Dēmētrakopoulos, the Turin manuscript has been lost, *Arsenios Elassonos (1550–1626),* 21–23.

[37] Kōnstantinos N. Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma peri tou Patriarchou Hieremiou B' (1572–1594)* (Athens, 1970; reprinted, Thessalonica: Ekd. Pan. S. Pourna, 1979), Appendix, 35–81 and Shpakov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov',* vol. 2, *Prilozheniia,* pt. 2, pp. 49–91.

[38] Nikolai N. Ogloblin, "Arsenii, arkhiepiskop Elassonskii, i ego 'Opisanie puteshestviia v Moskoviiu'," *Istoricheskaia biblioteka,* 1879, no. 8, pp. 1–44; no. 9, pp. 45–97. Ogloblin provides an extensive introduction, which consists of a biography of Arsenios and a bibliographic essay about "The Toils and Travels," 36–44. He was not,

and Latin versions, Bishop Pitirim retranslated Arsenios's versified memoirs into Russian.[39]

Arsenios's second memoir was discovered in a manuscript codex of the Soumela Monastery and carefully analyzed in a monographic study by Dmitrievskii.[40] The preeminent Russian liturgical scholar and editor of Greek manuscripts included extensive extracts from the manuscript in the study.[41] Unlike the "The Toils and Travels," these memoirs do not focus on the events surrounding the creation of the patriarchate in 1588–1589 but span over Arsenios's stay in Muscovy from 1588 up to 1613. They do, however, provide a few important details concerning Jeremiah's stay in Muscovy. Here Arsenios offers a fuller account of the Greeks' reception in Smolensk and Moscow but, more importantly, gives the names of those in the Greek party who, along with Metropolitan Hierotheos of Monemvasia, opposed the establishment of a Patriarchate of Moscow without the consent of the synod of Eastern patriarchs and bishops. Together the memoirs also give the researcher grounds for evaluating Arsenios's point of view in describing events in Muscovy. Although "The Toils and Travels" is devoted strictly to Jeremiah's stay in Muscovy and the creation of the Muscovite patriarchate while this topic is only a small part of the memoirs in the Soumela manuscript, the two accounts share a common partiality. A careful reading of the texts supports the observation made by Nikolaevskii and repeated by Shpakov that Arsenios, having become a client of Muscovy, had every reason to describe the establishment of the patriarchate in laudatory terms and, therefore, presented the tsar, the Muscovite Church, and his adopted homeland in the best possible light.[42]

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however, able to see any of the editions other than Wichmann's. The translation itself can be found on pages 45–74 and the annotations on pages 83–97.

[39] "Arsenii, arkhiepiskop Elassonskii, i ego poema ob uchrezhdenii Russkogo patriarshestva," trans. and intro. Bishop Pitirim, *Bogoslovskie trudy* 4 (1968): 251–79.

[40] Dmitrievskii, *Arkhiepiskop Elassonskii Arsenii i memuary ego iz russkoi istorii po rukopisi Trapezuntskogo Sumeliiskogo monastyria* (Kiev, 1899). The section of the Soumela text dealing specifically with the events of 1588–1589 appears on pp. 78–86. About the manuscript, see also the catalogue of Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Hellēnikoi kōdikēs en tē bibliothēke tēs Monēs Soumela," *Vizantiiskii vremennik* 19 (1921): 309–312. According to Dēmētrakopoulos, the manuscript of the memoir is no longer extant, *Arsenios Elassonos (1550–1626),* 27.

[41] For an appreciation of Dmitrievskii's contribution to liturgics and the publication of Greek manuscripts and sources see *Bogoslovskie trudy,* 4 (1964) including an outline of his scholarly career and a catalogue of dissertations he directed, B. I. Sove, "Russkii Goar i ego shkola," 39–84; and a bibliography compiled by O. L. Makhno, "Spisok trudov prof. A. A. Dmitrievskogo v poriadke ikh publikatsii," 95–107.

[42] Pavel Nikolaevskii, "Uchrezhdenie patriarshestva v Rossii," *Khristianskoe chtenie,*

Thus, for example, in "The Toils and Travels," Arsenios completely ignores the issue of Greek opposition to the creation of a patriarchate. According to the second memoir, despite "being deeply moved by the sweet words of Boris Godunov and Andrei Shchelkalov," Jeremiah initially refused the proposition to remain as Patriarch of Moscow and All Rus' because of opposition from members of his suite. However, "after not many days," when the tsar again sent them (presumably Godunov and Shchelkalov) to request that Jeremiah elevate Iov to patriarchal dignity, the patriarch "with glad welcome accepted the request" and decided to fulfill it. Shortly thereafter, Iov was elected, officially nominated, and consecrated. The Greek bishop then dwells on the sumptuous Muscovite hospitality and generosity. In this way, in both memoirs Arsenios glosses over sources of strain in the Greco-Russian relationship, creating an impression that the establishment of the Moscow patriarchate was serene, graceful, almost matter-of-fact.[43]

A decidedly more critical view of the Muscovites and a surprisingly stern assessment of Patriarch Jeremiah is provided by the *Biblion istorikon* attributed by its 1631 publisher to a still unidentified metropolitan of Monemvasia, Dōrotheos.[44] In the literature frequently referred to as *Pseudo-*

1879, 2:553–54 n. 1 and Shpakov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov' 2*:322–25.

[43] Dmitrievskii, *Archiepiskop Elassonskii*, 83–85.

[44] The authorship of the chronicle, has yet to be definitively established. Kōnstantinos Sathas, *Mesaiōnikē bibliothēkē*, vol. 3 (Venice, 1873), prologue, 15–19, attributes Pseudo-Dōrotheos to Hierotheos of Monemvasia, whose stay in Moldavia coincides with the completion of the manuscript published in 1631. The information about the creation of the Patriarchate of Moscow comes from an eyewitness, and Hierotheos, who is frequently mentioned in the last section of the chronicle, is the probable source. Finally, since there was no known Metropolitan Dōrotheos of Monemvasia at the end of the sixteenth century, Sathas considers the attribution to Dōrotheos a mistake of the publishers: Hierotheos was inadvertently changed to Dōrotheos. Sathas passes over in silence the fact that earlier (see *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, 3 n. 1) he had considered Dōrotheos the author and criticized Konstantios. The latter, Patriarch of Constantinople 1830–34, attributed the chronicle to Hierotheos in his description of the Byzantine and Christian architecture and urban topography of Constantinople, see *Kōnstantinias palaia kai neōtera ētoi perigraphē Kōnstantinoupoleōs* (Venice, 1920), 78; cf. Aleksei P. Lebedev, *Istoriia Greko-Vostochnoi tserkvi pod vlastiiu turok*, 2d ed. (St. Petersburg, 1903; 1904 appears on the cover)(=Sobranie tserkovno-istoricheskikh sochinenii, 7), 11–12. Theodor Preger, "Die Chronik vom Jahre 1570. ("Dōrotheos" von Monembasia und Manuel Malaxos.)," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 11 (1902): 4–15 surmises that an unknown Greek in Venice composed the narrative up to the year 1570. It was later supplemented by Hierotheos, who copied earlier material and compiled the final version. Archbishop Chrysostomos (Papadopoulos) considers Manouēl Malaxos the primary author-compiler of the chronicle up to 1570 and argues that although the last section of Pseudo-Dōrotheos is probably based on Hierotheos's account, the nature of the narrative suggests that it was not recorded by the eyewitness himself but was written down from a fresh oral tradition, "Peri tēs hellēnikēs chronographias tou XVI aiōnos,"

Dōrotheos or in Greek simply as the *Chronikon* ("Chronicle"), the *Biblion historikon* was "one of the most profitable enterprises" of the Greek publishers in Venice and one of the "most avidly read" publications of the *Tourkokratia.*[45] In her study of sixteenth-century Greek historical chronicles, Irina N. Lebedeva lists 21 editions of Pseudo-Dōrotheos between 1631 and 1818, and catalogues an additional 51 manuscripts, generally less complete than the printed versions.[46] Lebedeva puts forth a new hypothesis, based on a comparison of manuscripts and editions, for the redaction of Pseudo-Dōrotheos: the first version, completed in 1570 and now lost,[47] was in itself a complex

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Ekklēsiastikos pharos 9 (Alexandria, 1912): 410–54. According to Demostene Russo, "Cronograful lui Dorotei al Monembaziei," in *Studii istorice greco-romăne. Opere postume*, vol. 1 (Bucharest, 1939), 68–86, a fifteenth-century Dōrotheos of Monemvasia is probably responsible for an early version of the chronicle. The chronicle was supplemented in the sixteenth century by an anonymous author who produced the 1570 version then copied by Manouēl Malaxos. Hierotheos could very well have been in possession of such a copy. It is likely that he brought it to Moldavia where it was completed, based on his and Patriarch Jeremiah's accounts and other sources. Gyula Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2d ed., vol. 1 (Budapest, 1958), 412–14 follows Papadopoulos. According to Moravcsik both Malaxos and Hierotheos appended the Chronicle of 1570. See also D. V. Oikonomidou, "Chronographou tou Dōrotheou ta Laographika," *Laographia*, 18 (1959): 133–39. The above are surveyed by Tasos Ath. Gritsopoulos, "Hierotheos. Metropolitēs Monembasias," in *Thrēskeutikē kai ēthikē egkyklopaideia*, vol. 6 (Athens, 1965), col. 796–98. Irina N. Lebedeva, in the fullest examination of the question to date, makes important textological advances for the understanding of Pseudo-Dōrotheos in her monograph *Pozdnie grecheskie khroniki i ikh russkie i vostochnye perevody* (Leningrad, 1968) (=Palestinskii sbornik 18/81/). Lebedeva considers the question of authorship unresolvable given the present state of knowledge about the chronicle but finds much common ground with Russo's analysis, especially in his argument that the repeated mention of a Dōrotheos of Monemvasia in the *editio princeps* precludes Sathas's hypothesis of a typographical error and, therefore, probably refers to a historical Dōrotheos.

[45] Sathas, *Mesaiōnikē bibliothēkē* vol. 3 (Venice, 1873), prologue, 18.

[46] Lebedeva, *Pozdnie grecheskie khroniki,* 18–21; 31–61. To the three copies of the 1631 edition mentioned by Lebedeva (Paris, Göttingen, Moscow) should be added the volume in Harvard's Houghton Library, call number *MG 1223.4.

[47] This version included a copy of the so-called *Chronicle of 1570,* of which an unedited variant attributed to Damaskēnos the Studite, Metropolitan of Arta, was in the patriarchal library in Constantinople (MS. 569), Lebedev, *Istoriia,* 41–43 and Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence* (London, 1968), 210 n. 2. Marios Philippēdēs, a contemporary scholar working on sixteenth-century Greek historical chronicles, informs me that during a recent visit to the patriarchal archives he was not able to find the manuscript. According to Philippedes, the collection was renumbered in the 1930s and Damaskenos's manuscript did receive a new number, but has subsequently been misplaced. (Curiously, Runciman in the reference cited gives the same number as does Lebedev, even though his book was published in 1968.) Martin Crusius, a sixteenth-century Lutheran philhellene and professor at the University of Tübingen, published a version of this chronicle as the *Historia patriarchica,* which, along with the *Historia politica,* comprises the first two books of his *Turcogreciae libri*

compilation consisting of "late reworkings [possibly by a fifteenth-century Dōrotheos of Monemvasia] of Byzantine chronicles, translations from the works of Italian historians, and short chronicles describing the life of the Greek nation and the Greek Church under Turkish rule."[48] The final compilation, made at the court of Voivode Peter before his demise in 1591, includes information about Patriarch Jeremiah II's 1588–1589 stay in Muscovy. Although she does not dispute that Hierotheos of Monemvasia was the probable source for this information, Lebedeva does not view him as the final compiler or author of the last section devoted to the reign of Murad III and Patriarch Jeremiah II. Rather, according to Lebedeva, the information was preserved orally[49] in the circle of Voivode Peter and then recorded in the brief span before the end of Peter's reign in 1591. This is as far as the evidence takes her. It should be added, however, that Hierotheos is known to have engaged in book-copying while in Moldavia, at Voivode Peter's court, and while in Moscow.[50] The manuscript of the chronicle can be traced back to Peter's circle, more specifically to Zōtos Tsigaras. Apostolos Tsigaras, who underwrote the 1631 edition, inherited the manuscript from his brother Zōtos,

octo (Basel, 1584; reprinted, Modena, 1972), a post-Byzantine history covering the years 1453–1578. The Greek text was published with a Latin translation and Crusius's extensive notes. For *Historia politica* see 1–43 and *Historia patriarchica* see 105–184. The *Historia patriarchica* was reprinted without Crusius's notes in the *Corpus Scriptorum Byzantinorum*, vol. 17, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1849), 78–204; see also Runciman, *Great Church,* 256–57, n. 4 and his "The Greek Church under the Turks: Problems of Research," 229. For a new hypothesis about the relationship among these chronicles stressing Damaskēnos's primacy, see Marios Philippēdēs, "The Patriarchal Chronicles of the Sixteenth Century."

48 Lebedeva, *Pozdnie grecheskie khroniki,* 129.

49 Lebedeva, *Pozdnie grecheskie khroniki,* 67.

50 Papadopoulos-Kerameus describes a manuscript copied by Hierotheos *Hierosolymitikē bibliothēkē, ētoi katalogos tōn en tais bibliothēkais tou hagiōtatou apostolikou te kai katholikou orthodoxou patriarchikou thronou tōn Hierosolymōn kai pasēs Palaistinēs apokeimenōn hellēnikon kōdikon syntachtheisa men kai phōtotypikois kosmētheisa pinaxin, hypo...,* vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1891), 194–97. Referring only to Dmitrievskii, who mentions that this manuscript had been sent by Arsenios of Elassona from Moscow to Constantinople in 1602 *Arkhiepiskop Elassonskii,* 64–65, Shpakov mistakenly identifies it with a manuscript of the Pseudo-Dōrotheos chronicle containing information about the creation of the Moscow Patriarchate, Shpakov 2:252–54. Papadopoulos-Kerameus's description clearly shows that the manuscript copied by Hierotheos, as indicated by his own inscription, was a typical monastic compendium and did not include any materials from Pseudo-Dōrotheos. About Hierotheos's contacts with the voivode Peter, see Pseudo-Dōrotheos, in Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma,* Appendix, 25. See also Hierotheos's inscription in the manuscript described by Papadopoulos-Kerameus that indicates that Hierotheos copied the first part of the manuscript in Moscow (up to f. 193 v.) and ff. 197–396 v. *en Blachia,* 194. About Peter Şchiopul, Voivode of Moldavia (1574–1577, 1577–1579, 1582–1591), see Nicolae Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance. Continuation de l'"Histoire de la vie byzantine"* (Bucharest, 1935), 114ff.

who died in 1599.[51] In the absence of a viable alternative hypothesis identifying an author, the attribution of the final version to Hierotheos should not be hastily discounted.[52]

In 1665 in Moscow, Arsenios the Greek (Arsenii Grek) and Dionysios the Greek (Dionisii Grek) completed a Russian translation of the 1631 edition of the Pseudo-Dōrotheos that was to be published in 1666. The translation was never printed, apparently because of Arsenios's intimate connections with the disgraced and soon-to-be-condemned Patriarch Nikon and the concomitant wane of Greek influence in Muscovy, already negligible by the time of Peter I. It did, however, circulate in manuscript form.[53] The translation was used by Dimitrii of Rostov, who in preparing his *Lětopisets* commissioned a copy. Pseudo-Dōrotheos was read by nineteenth-century peasants, as is evident from the inscriptions left in a number of the manuscripts.[54] In the middle and second half of the seventeenth century, the chronicle was translated into Romanian and Arabic, and in the early eighteenth century into Georgian. In Romania and Georgia, the Greek legacy reflected in Pseudo-Dōrotheos could be used as a weapon and model in the ideological struggle against, respectively, the Turkish and Turkish-Persian political and cultural threat.[55] In Muscovy, the Russian translation was made just after the zenith of Greek ecclesiastical and cultural influence under Patriarch Nikon, who zealously sought to align Russian with Greek Church practice. It is symptomatic of the Western orientation of contemporary Ruthenian culture that Pseudo-Dōrotheos was apparently never translated during the seventeenth-century Ukrainian Orthodox revival spearheaded by Peter Mohyla and centered at the Kievan Academy.

Hierotheos had been in Moscow with Patriarch Jeremiah in 1588–1589, when Jeremiah installed Metropolitan Iov of Moscow onto the throne of the

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[51] Theodor Preger, "Die Chronik vom Jahre 1570," 4.

[52] In this regard it is interesting to note that the *stateinyi spisok* at least on one occasion refers to the metropolitan of Monemvasia that accompanied Patriarch Jeremiah of Constantinople to Muscovy (i.e. Hierotheos) as Dōrotheos. See the March 1592 letter sent by Patriarch Iov of Moscow to Jeremiah, *Posol'skaia kniga,* 127. For other examples in the Muscovite sources, see the "Book of D'iak Larion Ermolaev," Shpakov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov',* II, *Prilozheniia,* pt. 2, pp. 170, 173; *Sbornik* No. 852 of the former Kazan' Theological Academy consistently refers to Dōrotheos of Monemvasia, see extracts published by Shpakov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov'*, II, *Prilozheniia,* pt. 2, for example, pp. 6, 9, 11, 12, 17, 22, 27.

[53] Lebedeva discusses the circumstances of the translation and provides an analysis of it, along with biographical and bibliographical data on the translators, an excerpt from the translation narrating patriarch Jeremiah's stay in Muscovy, and a list of 30 manuscripts of the Russian version of Pseudo-Dōrotheos, *Pozdnie grecheskie khroniki,* 71–106.

[54] Lebedeva, *Pozdnie grecheskie khroniki,* 100.

[55] Lebedeva, *Pozdnie grecheskie khroniki,* 110–28.

new patriarchate. The text published by Sathas reproduces pages 584–605 of the 1631 edition. It comprises the end of the second part of Pseudo-Dōrotheos, which consists of a history of Rome, Byzantium, and the Turkish sultans up to Murad III, who ruled from 1574 to 1595. Runciman, who viewed the creation of the Patriarchate of Moscow as Jeremiah's "supreme diplomatic achievement,"[56] considers the source biased against Jeremiah and dismisses it completely on the grounds that it speaks of the patriarch as being an uneducated man.[57] Lebedev, who, following Sathas, believed the final version of the chronicle to be the work of Hierotheos of Monemvasia, showed that the last section of the Pseudo-Dōrotheos is inconsistent in many details concerning Mētrophanēs III, Pachōmios II, and Theolēptos II, as well as Jeremiah II. Lebedev considers the chronicle to be tendentiously critical of Greek clerics in general, and that the Metropolitan of Monemvasia himself is the only cleric to receive an unconditionally positive characterization. Lebedev cautions against the uncritical use of Pseudo-Dōrotheos for late sixteenth-century events, while at the same time recognizing that for much concerning the above-mentioned patriarchs, the chronicle remains the sole source, and therefore cannot be ignored.[58] It is important to note, however, that various

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[56] Runciman, "Patriarch Jeremiah II and the Patriarchate of Moscow," 240. Earlier Runciman had called "Jeremiah's solution... ingenious and intelligent," *Great Church*, 332–33. The opinion of the renowned scholar should be in this case taken *cum grano salis*. The casually researched article relies on a selective use of source material and contains many factual errors. In discussing the sources no reference is made to the textological literature. It seems that Runciman follows Moravcsik in the question of authorship; however, he does not refer to the literature, including Lebedeva's monograph. The declaration about the unreliability of the chronicle is based on a general evaluation without illustrative examples and on the one comment about Jeremiah. Ultimately, the accuracy of the information concerning Jeremiah's journey can be evaluated only through comparison with the other sources. Although the sources that have been discussed above each differ in some way in their account of the creation of the patriarchate, Pseudo-Dōrotheos is not confuted by them. In the most important details, such as Hierotheos's vigorous opposition to the whole project, the chronicle is corroborated by Arsenios's memoir.

[57] Runciman, "Patriarch Jeremias II and the Patriarchate of Moscow," 235 n. 1, also Runciman, "The Greek Church under the Turks: Problems of Research," 229. Presumably, Runciman is referring to the comment on Jeremiah's degree of learning found in Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma,* Appendix, 3: "ho Hieremias ēton anthropōs kalogerikos, plēn agrammatos kai apeiros paideuseōs." However, it in fact refers to Jeremiah I (1522–1524, 1525–1546) and not to Jeremiah II, cf. Chrēstos G. Patrinelēs [Christos G. Patrinelis], "Hieremias. Ho A' Patriarchēs Kōnstantinoupoleōs," in *Thrēskeutikē kai ēthikē egkyklopaideia*, vol. 6 (Athens, 1965), cols. 779–78.

[58] Lebedev, *Istoriia,* 285–88 n. 2. Lebedev believes that internal evidence, including the glowing picture of the Metropolitan of Monemvasia, supports Sathas's attribution of the chronicle to Hierotheos. As additional evidence he points out that the author uses the first person plural pronoun *hēmeis* in reference to the Metropolitan of Monemvasia (Hierotheos)

details of the account of Jeremiah's stay in Muscovy are corroborated by Muscovite sources or by the accounts of Arsenios of Elassona (especially, the opposition of Hierotheos and other Greeks to the creation of the patriarchate). Internal evidence (specific facts reflecting an eyewitness informant and the repeated, positive references to Hierotheos) supports the hypothesis that Hierotheos was at least the source for, if not the author of, the last section of the chronicle narrating events from Jeremiah's three tenures as patriarch.[59]

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and Theolēptos of Philippopolis. See the extract from Pseudo-Dōrotheos in Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma*, Appendix, 13.

59 For a translation of the sections of the *Biblion historikon* describing Jeremiah's sojourn in Muscovy, see the Appendix.

APPENDIX

A Greek Source on Patriarch Jeremiah II's Journey in 1588–1589

The following are English translations of excerpts from *Biblion historikon* attributed to a heretofore unidentified metropolitan of Monemvasia, Dōrotheos, by the 1631 publisher (in Houghton Library *MG 1223.4); possibly compiled by Metropolitan Hierotheos of Monemvasia.

Pseudo-Dōrotheos from Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma,* Appendix, 20–23.

I write in detail concerning Muscovy. In the place where they [the Muscovites] held Jeremiah they would not let anyone from the local people come to see him, nor would they allow him to go out. Only the monks [in Jeremiah's suite], when they so desired, would go out with the people of the Tsar into the marketplace and the Muscovites guarded the monks until they returned to their quarters. The Muscovites announced to Patriarch Jeremiah that they wanted him to create a patriarchate for them. First, Jeremiah said that this could not be done; he would only install an archbishop, as in Ohrid.[60] And when they were one on one, the Metropolitan of Monemvasia [Hierotheos] said to the Patriarch: "My Lord, this cannot be done, because Constantine the Great created the patriarchates together with an ecumenical council. And Justinian the Great together with the Fifth Ecumenical Council made Ohrid an archbishopric and Jerusalem a patriarchate, on account of the venerable sufferings[61] of Christ. There are only three of us here. ([This is so] because one, the Archbishop of Elassona, Arsenios, who did not have a see of his own, joined up with us in Poland and came to Muscovy with the Patriarch.) [My] Lord, we came to the Tsar for alms and on account of the debts incurred in our days." And he [Jeremiah] answered: "Neither do I want this. But if they wish, I will dwell [here] as Patriarch." And the Metropolitan of Monemvasia

[60] Concerning the status of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, see ***Viacheslav Zaïkyn, "L'organisation juridique de l'archêveché d'Okhrid dès sa fondation jusque à la conquête de la péninsule des Balkans par les Turcs," *Bohosloviia* 9 (1933): 89–96.

[61] The use of the plural in Greek reflects the Eastern Christian nuance according to which all of what Christ endured was part of the His salvific activity. The West has focussed more specifically on the Crucifixion as the efficacious soteriological moment of the Passion.

said to him: "Blessed Lord, this is impossible, for you speak a different language, you are not used to the place, they have different ordinances and customs, and they do not want you. Do not embarrass yourself!" But he did not want to listen at all. He had mischievous and cruel men on his heels, and everything that they heard they passed on to the interpreters, who in turn told the Tsar. Then cunningly the Muscovites devised a scheme and said: "My Lord, if you determine to stay here, we will have you." But these words were said to them neither by the Tsar nor by any of the boyars of the palace, but only by those who guarded them. Jeremiah thoughtlessly and without sizing things up, and without the advice of anyone said: "I am staying." And he had this habit, that he never listened to good advice from anyone, even from those subject to him. And for this reason both he and the Church were ruined in his days.[62]

Then the Muscovites, seeing that he was not about to consecrate [someone else as Patriarch], and that he wanted to remain, told him: "Because, my Lord, you want to stay, we want this as well; however, since the ancient Rus' throne is in Vladimir, take pains to stay there." And that was a place worse than Koukousos.[63] Then with the assistance of certain Christians [presumably Hierotheos of Monemvasia and the other Greeks who counselled Jeremiah],[64] the Patriarch said: "Do not tell such a story [about going to Vladimir]. I will not do this." Then they said to him: "The Tsar's order is that you should create a patriarchate for us." Then Jeremiah responded in a different tone: "Unless he was a double [twofold] bishop it would not be canonical."[65] [*or maybe:* Then

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[62] These last two sentences are omitted in the seventeenth-century Russian translation. See the excerpt published by Lebedeva, *Pozdnie grecheskie khroniki,* 93.

[63] The Church father and Archbishop of Constantinople St. John Chrysostom was banished to this Armenian frontier post in 404. Chrysostom never returned from exile and died in 407 while being transferred to an even more severe location. His *vita* would have been familiar to the sixteenth-century Greek reader schooled primarily in the monastic literary culture and perhaps even to the illiterate church-going Greek who would hear the *vita* read on Chrysostom's feast day.

[64] In the mind of a Greek living and writing under the Turks the term "Christians" was often a synonym for "Greek." See, for example, the brief memorandum written 29 (19) March 1590 by Leontios Eustratios at the request of Martin Crusius describing ecclesiastical events in Constantinople in the 1580s published by Otto Kresten, *Das Patriarchat von Konstantinopel im Ausgehenden 16. Jahrhundert,* 40, 44, 46. The Greeks from Jeremiah's party opposing the creation of a patriarchate in Muscovy are identified by Arsenios of Elassona, Dmitrievskii, *Arkhiepiskop Elassonskii,* 83.

[65] The meaning here is unclear. "Καὶ ὁ Ἱερεμίασ εἶπεν ἄλλον. ἀμὴ αὐτὸς εἶναι δισεπίσκοπος, καὶ δὲν εἶναι νόμιμον" (Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma,* Appendix, 22). The punctuation is slightly different in the 1631 edition, p. 601: "Καὶ ὁ Ἱερεμίασ εἶπεν, ἄλλον. ἀμὴ αὐτὸς εἶναι δισεπίσκοπος, καὶ δὲν εἶναι νόμιμον." It is interesting to note that Arsenios and Dionysios, the seventeenth-century Greeks translating Pseudo-Dōrotheos into Muscovite

Jeremiah responded "{I will consecrate} another one. For this one is a double bishop and it would not be canonical."] Finally, he unwillingly consecrated the [*or* him] Patriarch of Rus'. And they brought a large, exceedingly wide parchment document written in Bulgarian letters. And the Patriarch signed it. But the Metropolitan of Monemvasia asked: "What is written here? [When you tell me] then I will sign." And the first one [i.e., the overseer],[66] Andrei Tzalkanos [Shchelkalov] by name, answered: "It is written how you installed the Patriarch and how you came here." And the Metropolitan of Monemvasia said: "It should have been written in Greek, not in Russian." But they did not listen to him. The Patriarch's hieromonks signed as well, as did the Archbishop of Elassona. But the Metropolitan of Monemvasia was completely against this, lest the Church should be divided and another head and a great schism be created. He was in danger of being thrown into the river, until the Patriarch took an oath that the Metropolitan of Monemvasia had said nothing. Tsar Fedor was a peaceful man, in all things similar to Theodosius the Younger, simple, quiet.[67] But the Tsar's brother-in-law, Boris by name, was in all things skillful, wise, and cunning. It was he who did everything and to whom everyone listened. The Tsaritsa [Irina] was good, but she was still childless, and her brother was Boris; she summoned the Patriarch and the Metropolitan of Monemvasia, and he blessed her. And she said: "Beseech God that I may have a child" and [she said] many other things. And the Tsar gave

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Slavonic, skipped over this troublesome sentence. It is omitted in the extract from their translation (State Historical Museum, ms. No. 343, p. 75) provided by Lebedeva, 93. Charles du Cange used the *Biblion historikon* in compiling his dictionary, see *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis*, 2 vols. (Lyon [Lugduni], 1688; reprinted in Bratislava, 1891 and Graz, 1958), index of authors cited vol. 1, p. 47: "Dorothei Metropolitae Monembasiensis Synopsis Historiarum, ex editione Veneta." The term *disepiskopos*, however, is not entered. Kartashev without explanation reconstrues the term to be *disepiskoẽos—"что он не уполномочен епископами"* (*Ocherki po istorii Russkoi tserkvi* 2:26).

[66] Andrei Shchelkalov, the *posol'skii d'iak* ("foreign minister"), was responsible for surveillance over Jeremiah and his suite, see *Posol'skaia kniga*, 26. Pseudo-Dōrotheos is not alone in accusing Shchelkalov of mistreating foreigners. Giles Fletcher, Queen Elizabeth's ambassador to Moscow in 1588–1589, complained about the firm treatment he had received from Shchelkalov. See Fletcher's report on his embassy published as Appendix A in *Of the Russe Commonwealth by Giles Fletcher 1591. Facsimile Edition with Variants*, with an Introduction by Richard Pipes and a Glossary-index by John V. A. Fine, Jr. (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 43–53.

[67] Probably in reference to Roman Emperor Theodosius II (408–450), during whose rule powerful individuals in the court influenced decisions and themselves conducted much of the policy. For general comments and bibliography, see the entry in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* 3:2051–52. The author's allusion to Theodosius is not completely appropriate, since the emperor is known to have had scholarly inclinations, while Tsar Fedor's mental infirmity is well documented.

the Patriarch thirty thousand silver pieces when he came [to Moscow], and another thirty thousand when he left to go back to the City [Constantinople]. And he gave the Metropolitan of Monemvasia first five [thousand] and five more afterwards.[68] [He gave] cups, gowns, and sables to the Patriarch of Rus', Iov by name, on January 26, in the year 7097 [1589],[69] in the second indiction.[70] And Lord Jeremiah and all of them departed and with much exertion arrived in Poland. There were wars between the Tatars and the Poles. Jan Zamoyski, a man of much wisdom and kindness, paid great honor to the Patriarch and gave [him a retinue of] two hundred men and brought him to Kam'ianets', because the illustrious Sir Jan Zamoyski was the lawkeeper [Grand Chancellor] and protector[71] [Grand Hetman] of Poland.

Pseudo-Dōrotheos from Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma,* Appendix, 24–25.

And at that time, that is, in the year 1589, Jeremiah went from Muscovy to Moldavia, and Voivode Peter received him again marvelously, and he found a *chavush*[72] who met him to take him [to Constantinople] because the Sultan

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[68] Although the *Grecheskaia posol'skaia kniga* corroborates the fact that Jeremiah and his retinue received gifts from the Tsar, the sums recorded therein are significantly more modest than those in Pseudo-Dōrotheos. This kind of exaggeration, as well as the use of round numbers, can be seen as evidence supporting the view that the information in the chronicle concerning Jeremiah's sojourn in Muscovy was registered from oral accounts and not written down by Hierotheos himself.

[69] The date in Sathas is mistakenly given as 7099 [1591]. Here it is corrected according to the 1631 edition, p. 602 and the seventeenth-century Russian translation, Lebedeva, *Pozdnie grecheskie khroniki*, 94.

[70] The syntax is somewhat ambiguous: "Καὶ [ἔδῆκεν ὁ Βασιλεὺσ] *είσ* τον Μονεμβασιασ πέντε πρῷτα, καὶ πέντε ὕστερα, ποτήρια, φορέματα, σαμούρια, είσ τὸν Πατριὰρχην 'Ροσσίας..." Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma,* Appendix, 22. Sathas's rendition of the text from the 1631 edition includes some slight variation in punctuation and the addition of the preposition *eis*. The 1631 version is as follows: "Καὶ [ἔδῆκεν ὁ Βασιλεὺσ] τον Μονεμβασιασ πέντε πρῷτα, καὶ πέντε ὕστερα, ποτήρια φορέματα, σαμούρια, είσ τὸν Πατριὰρχην 'ροσσίας ..." That Iov, and not only the visiting hierarchs, received gifts from the Tsar on the day of Iov's installation as patriarch is indicated by Arsenios in his versified account of the creation of the Moscow Patriarchate, see "The Toils and Travels," in Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma,* Appendix, 51–52. The seventeenth-century Russian translation interprets the text as I have done, see Lebedeva, 94.

[71] Perhaps πρωτοστάτωρ should be read πρωτοστράτωρ. See Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma,* Appendix, 23.

[72] "An official of the [Sultan's] Palace, often sent to the provinces to convey and execute orders," from the "Glossary" in Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300–1600*, trans. Norman Itzkowitz and Colin Imber (London, 1973; reprinted, 1975), 218.

had decided that he again should take his see in Constantinople, because the unstable Nikephoros had caused so much instability and made countless and senseless expenditures, and everyone great and small hated him. They talked to the Sultan, and he gave the patriarchate to Jeremiah, who was eager for the first place, and he paid the two thousand florins.[73] And the most prudent Peter gave him the offering. And thus it happened and Jeremiah went to Constantinople.

[73] The Greek is unclear here: "θέλων εἰς τὴν πρώτην τάχξιν, καθὼς ἦτον εἰς δύο χιλιάδες φλουρία." See Sathas, *Biographikon schediasma,* Appendix, 25.

Great Wealth in Muscovy: The Case of V. V. Golitsyn and Prices of the 1600–1725 Period

RICHARD HELLIE

V. V. Golitsyn (1643–1714) was certainly one of the wealthiest men in late Muscovy. At the time of his fall from power in 1689, it is difficult to imagine that anyone had more property than he did. In this respect, he reminds one of Boris Ivanovich Morozov, certainly the most ostentatious man of the 1650s and 1660s.

Golitsyn was interesting not only because of the quantity of his wealth, but also because of its variety. He had opulent taste, and obviously devoted enormous effort to consumption. In this latter respect, he was like the new rich in today's Russia or China. His situation was probably comparable to the 1990s in another respect as well: Muscovy had been so incredibly poor that, prior to the middle of the seventeenth century, there were relatively small differences in consumption in Muscovy. Everybody lived in wooden houses, whose sole distinction was their size. After 1650, however, the elite began to live in stone houses, and in general differentiate themselves from the masses, much as in China or Russia today, where in the past the ruling ideologies forbade excessively ostentatious consumption or displays of "prestige" that would differentiate the elite from the masses. How this was paid for will be commented on at the end of the article.

In this presentation Golitsyn's vast wealth will be summarized in eighteen tables. From time to time, references will be made to data and other materials that will appear in my book *The Economy and Material Culture of Late Muscovy, 1600–1725.*

First a word about the data set from which this presentation is drawn. Data accumulation began in the summer of 1985. It was greatly facilitated by two major grants, one from the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation of Milwaukee, the other from NSF (Economics).[1] In the intervening years, 105,000 records have been accumulated of prices in the period 1600–1725. These records include over 8,500 distinct commodities, wages, and taxes. In addition to the relevant price information, the data set includes available

[1] NSF Grant SES87-20661. The author (and the students who were paid the funds) were and remain grateful for the support of the two organizations, neither of which is responsible for the views expressed here, which are those solely of the author.

information on the transactors involved (buyers and sellers, donors and recipients, employers and employees, of which there are now 32,500 different ones).

The data subset on the assets of V. V. Golitsyn comes from the remarkable four-volume collection *Rozysknye dela o Fedore Shaklovitom i ego soobshchnikakh* (St. Petersburg, 1884–1893).[2] The value of those assets was approximately 71,242 rubles, coded in the data set in 2,874 records. The history of the compilation of the original records is worthy of a separate presentation, but in a nutshell the story is as follows: Golitsyn, who was Tsaritsa Sofia's mentor and perhaps her lover as well, was overthrown in 1689 because of his disastrous management of the Second Crimean Campaign. (This followed upon the disastrous First Crimean Campaign two years earlier, in 1687.) With Golitsyn removed from his offices and exiled, his possessions were carefully inventoried and evaluated by government agents. The agents were used clothing/goods merchants, diamond and silver merchants, vegetable merchants, pot merchants, cloth merchants, chemical and dye merchants, booksellers, paper merchants, butter and oil merchants, container merchants, wine merchants, iron merchants, flour merchants, horse traders, gun merchants, bow and arrow and quiver merchants, saddle merchants, carriage and sleigh merchants, jewelers, and foresters about whom I know nothing more. These men were probably the elite of the Moscow merchantry, drafted to perform government service without compensation. As we shall see, three centuries later we can say that the numerous men (many of whom were literate and signed their reports) performed their task very competently. Be that as it may, the evaluators went from building to building and room to room in Golitsyn's various possessions (quite a saga in and of itself!) and described what they saw. Some other assessors in the so-called "Shaklovityi case/affair" only listed what they saw without evaluating it. The Golitsyn appraisers, however, put an individual price on each item (except the wall murals, which were done collectively [193.50 rubles—see Table 18] and which must have been stunning, for they are described in detail) and most of the icons. (This is indeed unfortunate, for Golitsyn spent a fortune on murals and icons, and it would be nice to know the price of each.)

After they had been used by Peter's palace coup forces who purged Sofia and Golitsyn, the documents were stored in a sealed box in the Armory. In 1837 Emperor Nikolai Pavlovich, ever alert to traitors after the 1825

[2] At this point the author must acknowledge the devoted service of Meng Li, who coded and entered in the computer all the data used from the Shaklovityi collection in this essay. The thirty-five other people who assisted in the collection of the entire data set are too numerous to list here. Acknowledgment must be made, however, of the valiant services of Marianne Grin, who began the project, and Susan Jones and Matt Payne, who are still with it.

Decembrist uprising, heard about the Shaklovityi case and ordered it brought to St. Petersburg. Following the tsar's orders, Minister of the Imperial Court Prince P. M. Volkonskii brought the box from Moscow to Privy Counsellor D. N. Bludov in St. Petersburg. Bludov learned that Count M. Iu. V'el'gorskii had in his possession additional papers on the Shaklovityi case, and in 1843 Bludov ordered that these be added to the case. Bludov reported to Nicholas the results of his review of ten scrolls from the Investigations Chancellery (*Rozysknyi prikaz*), whereupon the tsar ordered them published by the Archeographic Commission. Apparently he had in mind their publication in the *Akty Arkheograficheskoi kommissii,* an otherwise non-political, four-volume effort. For some unknown reason, the publication was never effected, although most of the documents continued to be at the disposal of scholars. The papers that had belonged to V'el'gorskii remained inaccessible.

The assassination of Aleksandr II on March 1, 1881, brought the Shaklovityi case to mind once again. The Archeographic Commission in session on February 9, 1883, decided to publish all of the documents, and in the process revealed that the V'el'gorskii documents had been at some time or another taken from the scrolls in the box discovered in the Armory. The Commission discovered that the scrolls had been disassembled, and restored them to their original order. Seven investigations were found, plus two administrative cases. The second of the latter was the case on the exile of Price Vasilii Golitsyn and his son Aleksei to Pustoozero and another case on the distribution to petitioners of "the traitors'" property. These cases provide the data about Golitsyn's possessions.[3]

My presentation does not include quite all of Golitsyn's property, for a very few of the confiscators did not append any prices to their lists and, for lack of time, I did not copy out those lists. They were for a handful of small villages: Bogoroditskoe (the former Chornaia Griaz') in Moscow uezd, Sokolovo, Spasskii, Medvedkovo, Bulatnikovo, Troetskoe, and Ivanovskoe in Borisov uezd.[4]

The strategy of this presentation will be to discuss/highlight some of the items in each of the eighteen tables below, and then to compare the Golitsyn confiscation inventory prices with average prices for similar goods in the

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[3] Needless to say, Golitsyn was not the first person in Russian history to endure complete confiscation of assets. Another case, from the beginning of the seventeenth century, was that of Mikhail Tatishchev. Even though the beginning of the document is lost, the Tatishchev assets obviously pale in comparison with the possessions of Golitsyn. They were appraised at 2,487 rubles (about one-thirtieth of what Golitsyn had) and were coded in 533 records (less than one-fifth of what Golitsyn had). See "Opis' i prodazha s publichnogo torga ostavshegosia imeniia po ubienii narodom obvinennogo v izmene Mikhaily Tatishcheva vo 1616 godu," *Vremennik* 8 (1850): 1–40.

[4] *Rozysknye dela o Fedore Shaklovitom*, 3 (1888): 230–34.

seventeenth century. One thesis is that many surviving Muscovite prices are to a significant degree source-dependent: if "sale" prices are the norm, then sometimes prices resulting from government processes such as confiscations are lower than the norm, evaluations of commodities given as charity to institutions such as monasteries are higher than the norm, and, quite surprisingly (given the historiography of the issue), prices from customs documents are at the norm.[5]

When the Golitsyn evaluations were made, Russia was entering a period of declining prices, which corrected the inflationary level of the previous years and which lasted until Peter's Great Northern War initiated another inflationary era.

Table 1, "Livestock. Agricultural Implements," may not be an accurate gauge of Golitsyn's holdings for a number of reasons. In the same

Table 1. Livestock. Agricultural Implements

English Name.....	Russian Name....	How Many	Total Sum	Price @
Gelding..........	Merin	58	....65.59	...1.13
Horse............	Kon'............	18	....22.10	...1.23
Horse............	Voznik..........	10	....61.30	..16.13
Horse............	Zhmot...........	2	.....5.00	...2.50
Plowshare........	Soshnik.........	47	.....2.80	.. .06
Rooster Indian...	Petukh Ind......	1	.... .20	.. .20
Scythe...........	Kosa............	55	.....1.80	.. .03
Thresher Copper..	Chepa...........	1	.... .06	.. .06

See also Table 2 for draft power items used both in farming and transportation.

[5] Some historians argue that prices in customs documents are too low because of merchant pressure to keep them that way to avoid imposts. Presumably, in that case, bribes would have been paid to get the customs agents to grant a discount. The other argument is that customs prices were higher than purchase prices because the customs agents jacked the evaluations up in order to increase their revenue. The evidence from this data set is that customs evaluations prices were very close to sale prices.

confiscation series, such as the cases of Andrei Bezobrazov[6] and Leontii Nepliuev,[7] there is a much broader range of livestock and fowl (including cows, calves, bulls, mares, pigs, rams, goats, a camel, ducks, geese, hens), but it seems possible that Golitsyn did not have such things. It may have been that his peasant serfs owned most of those items, and he collected them as rent or purchased them in the market when he needed them. The only indication that Golitsyn may have engaged in farming "directly" is the presence of plowshares (*soshniki*) in his inventory. (We must recall that one reason that serfs were not slaves was that the former owned their own agricultural inventory—plows, draft power, seeds—whereas slaves did not.)

The horse stock in Table 1 looks more like his resources for transportation and warfare (see Tables 2 and 17) than for agricultural pursuits. The horses known in Russian as *vozniki* were something special and might be translated as "draft horses," although that also might be misleading. One of them was valued at half a ruble, another at a bit over 5 rubles. Three pairs of dark gray *vozniki*, however, were evaluated at 30, 40, and 60 rubles a pair—an enormous sum of money in a land where the average craftsman's wage was 4 kopeks a day and a slave could be purchased for 3 rubles. The only other times such high prices for horses appeared were for a few so-called "Arabian horses" (*argamaki*), at the times of highest inflation, and for evaluations of donations to monasteries.

Golitsyn's holdings included 58 geldings, which were evaluated at an average of 1 ruble 13 kopeks apiece. They ranged from a low of 30 kopeks apiece to one for 5 rubles and one for 15 rubles. One may assume that these were the creatures on which he and his retinue of slaves rode off to war. In my larger data set, the median price of 514 geldings in the seventeenth century was 3 rubles 40 kopeks (the mean price was 5 rubles 8 kopeks—greatly inflated by donations to monasteries; the mean price for sales was 3.57). Note that the lowest prices in the entire data set are from the Golitsyn confiscation materials, which would indicate that the assessors underpriced Golitsyn's horses.

Late Muscovites had numerous names for horses. We have already seen *argamak, voznik,* and *merin*. "Horse" was *loshad'* (perhaps a female horse; median price in the general data set of 2.50 rubles, N = 438), a mare was a *kobyla* (median price was 2 rubles; mean price was 3.83 rubles, N = 143). Then there was the Polish horse, *zhmot*, evaluated in Golitsyn's holdings more highly on average than all but the *vozniki* and not appearing elsewhere in the data set. Then there was the *kon'*, valued at an average 1.23 rubles for the 18 in Golitsyn's stable. This should be compared with the median price of 12

[6] *Rozysknye dela*, 2: 131–34, 157–60, 331–39, 411–14.
[7] Ibid., 611–18, 719–26.

rubles apiece in the entire data set (N = 155), once again lower than one might expect from other data of the era.

Table 2 summarizes the Golitsyn possessions in the transportation sector (besides horses). Most notable are his 20 carriages, his 19 carts, 53 saddles, and 15 sleighs. That quantity of possessions probably rivalled those of almost any contemporary in the world, and would be equivalent in some way to what the richest people in the world now possess. One of Golitsyn's carriages had an evaluation of 500 rubles placed on it by the governmental assessors, another 200 rubles, a third 150 rubles. The 500-ruble vehicle was described as follows:

> A large, gilded, carved 'German' carriage, upholstered in black leather along the windows, with large panes of glass in the windows and doors. Along the panes were red, silken, braided tassles. Inside, the carriage was upholstered with red velvet and gold edging. The cushions and overhangs were of the same velvet. On the upper part [of the inside] of the carriage, it was upholstered with braided lace and had merlons and tassles of scarlet silk and gold. Along the doors were four red silken braids with silk tassles and gold. In the carriage the middle was upholstered in red leather with gilded copper nails. It had posts with carved and gilded scutcheons. The driver's seat and the wheels were painted vermillion. The wheels were bound with iron. Over [the carriage] was a linen cover. Price 500 rubles.[8]

This unquestionably was the Rolls Royce of its day. Like many of Golitsyn's more expensive possessions, it was imported, in this case from the West. The acquisition process is unknown to me (among the appraisers were carriage merchants; perhaps they had "showrooms" where the wealthy could come to spend their money), but it would be fair to assume that much finer, more expensive carriages could not be acquired on the face of the earth. Remember that 500 rubles was enough to purchase 165 slaves, and if the carriage was as undervalued as were the horses (by a factor of at least 3, which would seem unlikely), then Golitsyn could have purchased 500 slaves rather than the carriage. No other seventeenth-century conveyance (at least that I am aware of) cost nearly as much as Golitsyn's five-hundred-ruble carriage.

In addition to the vehicles themselves, Golitsyn's possessions included everything else needed to hitch up the horses and go. Just think of it: 54 bits (including 4 from Arabia), 87 blinkers, 119 bridles, 20 horse collars, harnesses, hobbles, and so forth. In addition, he had trunks worth more than a human being in which to transport his possessions.

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[8] *Rozysknye dela o Fedore Shaklovitom,* 4 (1893): 153.

Table 2. Items for Transportation and Conveyance

English Name.....	Russian Name......	How Many	Total Sum	Price @
Bit, Arabic......	Udila Arab.......	4	.... .55	.. .138
Bit, Iron........	Udila Zhelez.....	50	.... .25	.. .005
Blinkers.........	Shory............	87	...297.45	...3.42
Bridle...........	Uzda.............	119	...469.00	...3.94
Bridle Decoration	Nachelok.........	13	.... .75	.. .058
Carriage.........	Kareta/Koliaska...	20	1,476.00	..73.80
Cart.............	Telega...........	19	....62.8	...3.31
Curb-bit.........	Mundshtuk........	19	...154.30	...8.12
Gear for Cart....	Shesternia.......	1	.... .15	.. .15
Harness..........	Priprezha........	2	.... .30	.. .15
Hobbles..........	Obnozhi..........	1	.... .05	.. .05
Horsecloth.......	Popona...........	89	....57.80	.. .65
Horse collar.....	Khomut...........	20	.....9.36	.. .468
Horse shaft......	Duga.............	1	.... .70	.. .70
Limber...........	Peredok..........	11	.....2.10	.. .19
Saddle covers....	Namët....	11	.....7.45	.. .68
Saddle...........	ArchagSedloChaprak	67	...795.70	..11.87
Saddle girth.....	Podpruga.........	3	.... .30	.. .10
Semicarriage.....	Polukoreta.......	3	....55.00	..18.33
Six-in-hand......	Shesterik........	3	1	.. .333
Sleigh...........	Sani Vozok.......	19	...279.20	..14.69
Sleigh stand.....	Stanok Kaptannyi..	1	.... .10	.. .10
Strap Hole German	Pakhva...........	3	.... .15	.. .05
Suitcase.........	Chemodan.........	4	.....2.00	.. .50
Surcingle........	Trok.............	1	.... .03	.. .03
Trunk............	Sunduk Skrin'....	11	....49.30	...4.48

Table 3. Food and Spices

English Name	Russian Name	How Many	Total Sum	Price @
Anise	Anis (Kul')	.5	.30	.60
Anise	Anis (Pood)	8.5	6.10	.72
Apples	Iabloki (Bochka)	1	.10	.10
Butter	Maslo (Pood)	11	5.50	.50
Candy	Pastile (Korobka)	5	4.20	.84
Dessert Persian	Zaedka	1	.05	.05
Fruit drink	Mors (Bochёnok)	5	.15	.03
Ginger	Imbir' (Stavnia)	1	.10	.10
Ham	Vetchina (Polot')	37	1.48	.04
Hardtack	Sukhar' (Kul')	60	11.50	.19
Hardtack	Sukhar' (Chetvert')	4	1.20	.30
Hempseed Oil	Maslo Konop (Vedro)	13	6.50	.50
Honey	Mёd (Pood)	3	.90	.30
Millet	Psheno (Kul')	7	2.10	.30
Pork	Kabanina (Mesto)	8	.18	.023
Salt	Sol' (Pood)	12.25	1.59	.13
Sugar	Sakhar (Funt)	60	6.00	.10
Sugar	Sakhar (Golova)	12	4.00	.33
Sugar Cake	Kovrishka	1	5.00	5.00
Sugar Candy	SakharLede(Funt)	13	2.60	.20
Sugar (Milk)	SakharRiaz(Korobka)	1	.50	.50
Sugar White	SakharBel (Golova)	1	.60	.60
Vinegar French	Uksus Fr (Ankerok)	1	5.00	5.00
VinegarHungarian	UksusVeng(Bochenok)	1	4.00	4.00
Vinegar Rhine	Uksus Ren (Ankerok)	1	3.00	3.00
Vinegar Rhine	Uksus Ren (Galenok)	1	.50	.50
Vinegar White	Uksus Bel (Funt)	1.06	5.00	4.717
Wine	Alkan (Bochka)	1	35.00	35.00
Wine	Alkan (Suleia)	9	.90	.10
Wine	Ramaneia (Bochka)	.5	6.00	12.00
Wine Rhine	VinoRen (Bochka)	2.75	73.00	26.54
Wine Rhine	VinoRen (Ankerok)	6	23.00	3.83
Wine Rhine	VinoRen (Suleia)	5	2.30	.46
Wine Rhine	VinoRen (Meshochek)	.5	.10	.20

Table 3 lists the food and spices still on hand when the appraisers got around to enumerating them. Except for the apples, everything else in Table 3 is non-perishable. Probably even the 37 sides of ham and 8 lots of pork were cured so that they would last for some time. Regrettably, this table gives us very little idea of what a magnate of Golitsyn's eminence consumed at his table. (Such information, fortunately, can be found elsewhere, such as in B. I. Morozov's correspondence with his stewards[9] and Patriarch Adrian's expense book [without prices!] two years before his death.[10]) From the material in our general data set, we know that the diet of most Muscovites must have been extraordinarily monotonous, and perhaps often less than optimally nutritious. Vegetables consisted of cabbage, cucumbers, garlic, and onions. Fruits were apples, cherries, and pears. Nuts appeared occasionally. Grains were rye, oats, occasionally barley and wheat, and rarely millet (see Table 3). Millet appears only a dozen times in our data set, for prices ranging from 55 kopeks to 7.20 rubles per *pood* and once for 90 kopeks per *chetvert'*; at no other time is the price given by the bag. Millet was an expensive grain. I do not know whether Golitsyn consumed it as a form of porridge, or in some other manner. (It is possible that he fed it to his captive birds, as Americans do today.) The 60 bags and 144 pounds (4 *chetverti*) of hardtack (*sukhar'*) may have been left over from the Crimean campaign of 1689, but their presence would indicate that the diet of the great man himself was probably not always an experience in variety and luxury. (Of course the hardtack may have been meant to feed the slaves of his campaign retinue.) Fish in a large assortment was available for the rich, but the poor probably ate it rarely. Poultry was undoubtedly a similar luxury item. Meat (rather infrequently for ordinary people) consisted of beef, pork, lamb, and goat.

In a land without refrigeration, the presence of butter in a list of non-perishable commodities seems unusual. We know from export data of the nineteenth century that the Russians managed to keep butter for quite some time (although some exported butter was rancid). The 396 pounds (11 *poods*) of butter in Golitsyn's larder were appraised at 50 kopeks per *pood*, about half the "real" price of butter: for 71 cases, the median price of butter per *pood* was 1 ruble, the mean price was 1.009225 rubles per *pood*.

Most of the items in Table 3 are luxury items. This includes the two spices, anise (half a bag [*kul'*] and 306 pounds [8.5 *poods*]) and ginger (1

[9] *Khoziaistvo krupnogo feodala-krepostnika 17 veka*, ed. by S. G. Tomsinskii and B. D. Grekov, 2 vols. (Leningrad, 1933, 1936); *Akty khoziaistva boiarina B. I. Morozova*, ed. by A. I. Iakovlev, 2 vols. (Moscow and Leningrad, 1940, 1945).

[10] Andrei Aleksandrovich Titov, ed., *Raskhodnaia kniga Patriarshogo prikaza Kushan'iam podavavshimsia Patriarkhu Adrianu i raznogo china litsam s sentiabria 1698 po avgust 1699 g.* (St. Petersburg, 1890). See Jenifer Stenfors and Richard Hellie, "The Elite Clergy Diet in Late Muscovy," *Russian History* 22 (1995): 1–23.

stavnia). Pepper was not uncommon in late Muscovy, and it is somewhat surprising that none was inventoried among Golitsyn's possessions. Sugar was a luxury sweetener, and it is likely that Golitsyn himself (or someone else who had control over expenditures) had a sweet tooth, as evidenced by the presence of the sweeteners, dessert mix, and candies in the inventory. Honey was the classic Russian sweetener, and the 108 pounds (3 *poods*) discovered among his possessions would be expected to be present in some quantity in almost every household. In the larger data set, the median price of honey (N = 170) was a ruble per pood throughout the period; the mean was 1.75. The median *sale* price was also a ruble per pood, the mean *sale* price was 1.61 rubles per pood [N = 114]—both significantly above the 30 kopeks per pood assigned by those who evaluated Golitsyn's possessions. For 15 known cases, the median Moscow price of honey was 1.10 rubles per *pood*, the mean 1.31. In general, honey was dearer in places such as the North [Khlynov] and Siberia [Tobol′sk]; it was cheaper in the South, such as in Elets.

Notable are Golitsyn's vinegar holdings: white (perhaps Russian, but then perhaps not, considering the price), French, Hungarian, and Rhine (French-German). Vinegar was known to eleventh-century East Slavs (the word is Greek in origin), and by the seventeenth century was a relative commonplace. The price of ordinary vinegar in the second half of the century ranged from 4 to 15 kopeks a bucket (*vedro*—whose precise volume dimensions are unknown). Ordinary Russian vinegar was relatively inexpensive (a day's pay would buy a bucket of vinegar), but the white vinegar in Golitsyn's inventory was some form of liquid gold: 5 rubles for about a pint! The bottles of foreign vinegar were also very expensive.

Golitsyn's wine cellar seems to have been relatively lean for a person of his pretensions. Based on other episodes in Russian history, it would seem to be fair to speculate that those who suppressed Golitsyn and inventoried his goods regarded his wine cellar as part of their just compensation, so that only a small fraction of the original remains. Be that as it may, an interesting collection of units is associated with the wine collection: *ankerok* (also *ankirek, anker*) was a keg, cask, or small barrel; a *bochka* was a barrel; a *meshochek* very small bag, probably made of leather; and a *suleia* was a flat glass bottle, probably akin in form to a modern pint alcohol bottle. His total holdings were declared to be worth 130.30, a not-inconsiderable sum, of course, but they only amounted to about 5 barrels. *Alkan* was a form of Spanish brandy, *ramaneia* (also *romaneia*) was a kind of red table wine imported from France, and then there was Rhine wine. Russia itself did not produce wine, except perhaps some around Astrakhan′. What the Muscovites called *vino* has been translated in our project as "spirits," probably vodka.

This cost about 55 kopeks per bucket (*vedro*), and its price dropped at the rate of .5 percent per year between the years 1608 and 1711 (N = 418), slightly less than the the price of rye (presumably the main ingredient of vodka) fell in the period 1601–1720 (.067 percent per year, N = 805). When an adjective was put in front of *vino*, it was usually some form of wine—Alsatian, church, red, Canary, Rhine, Roman, Spanish, and so on. Its price per barrel was significantly less than that assessed from Golitsyn's cellar. In 21 cases where the price of a barrel (*bochka*) of wine was mentioned in our data set, the median price was 12 rubles, the mean 16.95 rubles. One may only hope that Golitsyn's liquor was of higher quality than that drunk by others, for it certainly cost more! Although the price of vodka was falling in the years 1608–1711, the price of wine was rising at the rate of .89 percent per year (N = 67), typical for many imported items.

Table 4 enumerates the tools and hardware found among Golitsyn's possessions by the assessors. Most of the basic handtools we know today are listed, with some significant exceptions. One sees no hammers, although *molot/molotok* did exist in the seventeenth century. Similarly, there are very few nails in the Golitsyn inventory (see Table 6), although our data set has hundreds of cases of *gvozdi* of all types. A modern carpenter would be surprised by the absence of the saw, even though the *pila* certainly existed. (The peasant is alleged much to have preferred the axe because of its more favorable interaction with the grain of wood.) Be that as it may, the woodworking handtools present would allow the shaping of almost any piece of wood into almost any form: adze, axe, brace and bit, brushes, chisel, drawknife, joiner's tool, knives, try square, and vise are still the basic hand tools of today's woodworkers. Metalworking tools are also in evidence: bellows, brazier, die. More serious metalworking would demand hammers, tongs, and other such tools. It would seem plausible that Golitsyn purchased many finished goods in the market (especially, obviously, imports), and he made no pretense at domestic autarky. (Golitsyn had a blacksmith shop, which was on "the itinerary" of the confiscation assessors.) As for the tool prices, they seem to be very low-ball estimates: if Golitsyn's adzes were deemed to be worth 3 kopeks apiece, the others in our data set were 12, 30, and 40 kopeks each. Golitsyn's fire axes must have been something special, for they are unique in the data set. Rarely did axes cost only 5 or 10 kopeks: typically, they were from 10 to 30 kopeks. Golitsyn's chisels were evaluated at 3 kopeks apiece, whereas others in the data set cost 9, 15, and 20 kopeks each. The discussion could go on, but the point should be clear: the tools listed in Table 4 are priced at less than most such tools in Muscovy. Perhaps this was because they were used.

Table 4. Tools and Hardware

English Name	Russian Name	How Many	Total Sum	Price @
Adze	Teslo	5	.15	.03
Axe	Topor	2	.20	.10
Axe, Fire	Toporik Ogn	5	5.50	1.10
Axe, iron	Bagor	10	.50	.05
Axe, iron rod	Toporik Zhelez	1	4.00	4.00
Bellows	Mekh Kuznetskii	1	.30	.30
Brace (Drill)	Kolovorot	1	1.00	1.00
Brand	Piatno	3	.05	.016
Brazier	Zharovnia	3	5.10	1.70
Brazier	Zharovnia(Zolotnik)	76	4.50	.059
Brush	Shchëtka/Kist'	30	4.51	.15
Chisel	Paznik	2	.06	.03
Crowbar	Lom	1	.05	.05
Die	Chekan	4	5.00	1.25
Drawknife	Skobel'	4	.12	.03
Joiner's tool	Dorozhnik	3	.15	.05
Knife	Nozh/Nozhik	6	3.62	.60
Knife	Rogatina	4	8.40	2.10
PenknifeGerman	Nozh NePer	1	.03	.03
Scissors	Nozhnitsy	4	1.30	.325
TacklerJoiner's	Snast'	28	.80	.029
Try square	Naugol'nik	4	.02	.005
Vise	Tisk	4	.50	.125

Table 5 lists the metals inventoried in Golitsyn's possessions: copper, iron, tin, and gold coins. One assumes that he had these items on hand to make repairs and as raw materials should he want something made. (Table 6 lists his wood supplies.) Note that the world's best iron at the time was made in Sweden, and at least part of Golitsyn's supplies came from the country that was Muscovy's third most important enemy, after Crimea and the Rzeczpospolita. Most of Golitsyn's iron holdings are not classified in ways

Table 5. Metals. Gold Coins

English Name.....	Russian Name......	How Many	Total Sum	Price @
Copper (Sheet)...	Med' (List).......	15	.....3.00	.. .20
Gold coins.......	Zolotoi...........	5	.....1.25	.. .25
Gold debts.......	Zolotoi...........	..3,030	-3636.00	...1.20
Iron, board......	DoskaZhelez.......	1	... .10	.. .10
Iron, cast board.	DoskaZhel (Pood)..	....666.5	...79.92	.. .12
Iron, sheet......	ZhelezoList(Bochka)	10	..115.00	..11.50
Iron, broken.....	ZhelezoLom (Pood).	1	... .25	.. .25
Iron, Swedish....	ZhelezoSvi (Prut).	......6.5	....3.00	.. .462
Ring copper......	Krug Mednyi.......	100	... .40	.. .004
Ring copper......	Kol'tso Mednyi....	1	... .15	.. .15
Tin.............	Olovo (Bochënok)..	5	... .10	.. .20

comparable to others in our data set, but in 294 observations in 40 different places in 59 of the years between 1610 and 1725 of 38 different commodities denominated in *poods* of iron the median price of a *pood* was 50 kopeks and the mean was 76 kopeks. As a rule, the high-price places for iron represent remote places in Siberia and Astrakhan', the low-price places near Tula or in the Urals after 1700. The median price of unworked iron (N = 68) and iron rods (N = 52) was 50 kopeks. Half of all prices were between 20 and 80 kopeks, 80 percent between 15 kopeks and 1.50. Once again, then, the 25-kopek evaluation for a *pood* of an iron commodity in Golitsyn's possession was on the low side. The median price of iron in Moscow was 60 kopeks (mean: 76 kopeks, N = 95); in Novgorod the median price was 43 kopeks (mean: 50 kopeks, N = 18); in Ustiug, 20 kopeks (21 kopeks, N = 40); in Tikhvin, 26 kopeks (27 kopeks, N = 11); in Tobol'sk, 2.05 rubles (mean: 2.93, N = 16); Urals, 26 kopeks (32 kopeks, N = 23).

Table 6 enumerates the building and construction materials found in Golitsyn's possession. This includes the main house itself, evaluated at 12,833.60 rubles—which must be contrasted with the average peasant hut

Table 6. Building and Construction Materials

English Name......	Russian Name....	How Many	Total Sum	Price @
Beams............	Brus............	..14	....3.00	...... .214
Board, wooden.....	Doska...........	...2	... .50	...... .25
Board, cedar......	Doska Kedr......	...7	...21.00	.......3.00
Board, nut........	Doska Orekh.....	...2	....1.55	...... .78
Board, oak........	Doska Dubovoi...	...2	... .150	...... .075
Board, wall.......	Doska Sten......	...1	... .50	...... .50
Bricks, slate.....	KirpichiAsp.....	..82	... .80	...... .01
Cornice..........	Podzor..........	...1	... .150	...... .150
Deadbolt/lock.....	ZamokNutr.......	...2	....2.00	.......1.00
Door.............	Dver'...........	...4	....7.15	.......1.79
Glass............	Steklo (Arshin)	...1	.....4.00	.......4.00
House itself......	Dom.............	...1	12,833.60	..12,833.60
Iron Roofing......	ZhelezoKrish(Pood)	225.25	157.68	...... .70
Logs	Brëvna..........		....17.50	....
Logs, chair.......	Derevo Stul.....	...7	.... .35	...... .05
Logs, oak.........	Briovna Dub.....	...8	.....4.80	...... .60
Logs, Kalmyk......	Derevo Kalmyk...	...2	.... .60	...... .30
Nails, copper.....	Gvozd' Med......	4500	.....1.40@100nails	.03
Paint............	Kraska (Funt)...	..15	....15.00	.......1.00
Pipe, blued.......	Truba Voro......	...5	.....5.00	.......1.00
Pipe, copper......	Truba Medn......	...1	.... .30	...... .30
Rod, iron.........	Batog Zhelez....	...2	.... .20	...... .10
Rods.............	Prut'ia (Pood)..	..11.25	....3.83	...... .34
Shutters..........	Stavnia.........	102	.....5.76	...... .056
Shutters, mica....	Zatvory Sliud...	...1	....15.00	......15.00
Staple, copper....	Skoba Medn......	...4	.... .60	...... .15
Staple, copper....	Skoba Medn (Funt)	...5	.... .60	...... .12
Stone, slab.......	Kamen' (Doska)..	...6	.....4.50	...... .75
Strap Iron........	Pomochi.........	..20	.....1.30	...... .065
Tar..............	Dëgot' (Vedro)	..30	.....1.50	...... .05
Windows w. mica...	OkonnitsaSliud..		...104.40	....
Windows w. mica...	OkonnitsaSliud..	..66	....54.00	...... .82
Window frames.....	Okonnitsa......		....91.20	....
Window frames.....	Okonnitsa......	216	....90.70	...... .42
WindowW/IronShutter	OknoZhZat......	...4	.....1.15	...... .288

(*izba*); 37 of them scattered throughout Muscovy cost 317 rubles, or about 8.50 rubles apiece. The "house" (*dom*) was typically more elaborate, ranging in price (in this data set) from 5 rubles to 50, 200, 403.56, 1,360, to 5,000 rubles, and then Golitsyn's at nearly 13,000 rubles.

The appraisers of Golitsyn's possessions were very interested in windows. This is not surprising, when one recalls that even two centuries later, in the nineteenth century, most peasant huts did not have chimneys, much less windows, to save heat. Thus, the fact that Golitsyn had about 270 windows was indeed interesting, as was the fact that they alone were assessed at half a ruble apiece. Window frames (*okonnitsy*) do not appear in the sources very often. Most of the dozen others in this data set come from the 1674 records of the Secret Chancellery (*Tainyi prikaz*), Tsar' Aleksei's private domain set up first to finance the Thirteen Years' War, then to serve as his secret police and to run his household.[11] The cost of those window frames was about the same as Golitsyn's. Into the window frames could go glass, mica, translucent fish bladders, and probably other things as well. Glass *seems* to have been so rare that even Golitsyn had a preference for mica in his windows. At 4 rubles for an *arshin* (= ca. 28 inches) of glass (I have no idea how wide it was), one can understand the need to find substitutes. Comparable prices are not at hand.

About a dozen pounds of paint (*kraska*) were found in Golitsyn's possession, evaluated at a ruble a *funt* (a *funt* equals approximately .9 pound). Paint was usually measured in units of a *pood*, a *funt*, or a *zolotnik*. (There were 40 *funts* in a *pood*, and 96 *zolotniks* in a *funt*.) An entire essay could (and will) be written about Muscovite paints, but in general the price depended on the color, which presumably was determined by the cost of pigments. (As we shall see in the discussion of textiles, Table 15, the same was often true for cloth.) White was the cheapest, then yellow and orange were next. Green was often still more expensive, and then blue, especially something called *krutik* and *golubets*. A crimson paint called *bakan* could be the most expensive. In only a few other cases, however, did *bakan, golubets, vinitseiskaia iar'* (light green), and *krutik* cost a ruble a *funt*, so Golitsyn's paint must have been of very high quality or something rare.

Golitsyn had in stock any number of forest products (such as beams, boards, and logs). The median price of all boards in seventeenth-century Muscovy was 7 kopeks (N = 231). In Moscow, the median price was 12 kopeks (N = 51). In the North, in Ustiug Velikii, the median price was 3 kopeks (N = 33). The median price of an otherwise-undefined board was 7 kopeks (N = 130; the mean was 13 kopeks). Boards specifically defined as "pine" were cheaper: the median was only half a kopek (the mean 5.52

[11] *Dela Tainogo prikaza, kniga 3* in *Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka* 23 (1904): 315–17.

kopeks; N = 53), whereas oak boards were much more expensive, a median of 24.2 kopeks (mean 39.49 kopeks; N = 17). Once again, we find that Golitsyn's oak boards, at 7.5 kopeks apiece, were probably undervalued. On the other hand, his "wooden boards" seem to have been significantly overpriced, although there may have been something special about them that made them worth far more than average boards. The forester-assessors should have known. Golitsyn's cedar boards were imported, as were probably his "nut" boards.

Unfortunately the assessors did not report how many "logs" (*brëvna*) there were in Golitsyn's possession, only that they were worth 17.50 rubles. One would doubt that this was firewood, which had a special name, *drova*, that, to my knowledge, was always used when relevant. The median price of firewood was 10 kopeks a load, so that sum would have purchased 175 loads, which would seem to be an excessive quantity even for someone like Golitsyn. Golitsyn was, we might recall, arrested in the autumn. Be that as it may, someone with an establishment like Golitsyn's probably did store up many loads of firewood for the winter. The median log in Muscovy cost 4.5 kopeks (the average = mean log cost 14.66 kopeks; N = 269), which means that there should have been something between 120 and 390 logs in Golitsyn's stockpile— quite a few, in any case.

A few words may be in order about the metal products in Table 6. Counting all 4,500 copper nails must have provided someone with diversion for some time, and one wonders why the same person did not count the logs. As today copper nails are a rare luxury item hard to find, so they were in Muscovy. Golitsyn's are the sole example in the data set excepting one from 1710. The first point to make is that Golitsyn's copper nails were grossly underpriced at 3 kopeks for 100 nails. That was often the price for 10 regular nails in the seventeenth century. Another reason to suspect undervaluation is the fact that, in the 1710 case, ten copper nails cost 12 kopeks. Raw copper in 1710 cost about twice as much as it had two decades earlier, 7 rubles a *pood* *vs.* ca. 3.50 rubles. The copper staples are overvalued at 12 kopeks per *funt*, which translates into 4.80 rubles per *pood*. Lastly, there are the iron rods, valued at 40 kopeks per *pood*. This was close to the median price for iron in 1690, but that should be increased slightly for what we might term "the Moscow premium."

Table 7 summarizes the containers in Golitsyn's possession at the time of his arrest: barrels, bottles, boxes, cases, jars, and sacks made out of wood, cloth, metal, and glass. The assortment was not equivalent to what one might have today, but is hardly anything to sneeze at. The list hardly does justice to the assortment, some of whose luxury aspects can be ascertained by looking at the prices for the items. Obviously someone in the Golitsyn menage had a

passion for collecting bottles, boxes, cases, jars, and sacks. Note that silver objects were routinely weighed and valued at 8 rubles per *funt* and tin items were valued at about 10 kopeks per *funt*. Tin, from England, Holland, and Georgia in the Caucasus, had a market price of from 3 to 4 rubles per *pood* in 1689–1690, so the assessors' assigning a price of 3.60 per *pood* of tin objects was not far from the mark. Of course this assigns no value to craftsmanship or labor.[12] Some of these objects survive in the Moscow Kremlin Armory (*Oruzheinaia palata*).[13]

Table 7. Containers

English Name.......	Russian Name.....	How Many	Total Sum	Price @
Barrel Tin.........	Bochka BZh.......	19	..187.00	...9.84
BarrelPlacer/Mining	BochkaRossypana..	1	....6.00	...6.00
Bottle.............	Suleia/Chetvertin	29	....9.89	.. .34
Box................	Runduk/Korobka...	15	....9.90	.. .66
Case...............	Shkatulka/Lagolishch...	55	..819.51	..14.90
Case, kid leather..	Shkatulka (Funt).	....95.5	..788.33	...8.2
Container..........	Stav/Stavik......	7	....8.17	...1.17
Crate/ box.........	Iashchik.........	69	...40.80	.. .59
Crate/box silver...	Iashchik Sereb(Funt)	....3.13	...25.00	...8.00
Jar, glass.........	Sklianitsa.......	51	....5.91	.. .116
Pepper boxSilver...	Perechnitsa......	1	....5.00	...5.00
Sack...............	Meshok/Kul'......	58	...25	.. .03
Tin container......	Olovenik.........	28	...15.84	.. .57
Tin container......	Olovenik (Funt)..	....82.75	....9.44	.. .114

Table 8 lists Golitsyn's furniture. Not everyone in the world even today owns 154 chairs, and probably very few people did in 1689–1690. These were not the kind of chairs peasants would have sat on to milk cows (if peasants had chairs at all), for they were assessed as being worth from 30 kopeks to 2.50 rubles apiece. It would be fun to describe them all, but it should be enough to note that velvet and gold are frequently mentioned. The less expensive ones are often described as "worn"—*vetkhii.*

[12] *Rozysknye dela*, 3: 427.

[13] S. K. Bogoiavlenskii, ed., *Gosudarstvennaia oruzhainaia palata moskovskogo kremlia. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov po materialam gosudarstvennoi oruzheinoi palaty* (Moscow, 1954), 183.

Golitsyn had at least 39 tables, for which he paid an average of 3.44 rubles apiece. Oak was a favorite construction material; some of the more expensive tables had slate tops. There are no such comparable tables elsewhere in the data set.

Table 8. Furniture, Appliances

English Name	Russian Name........	How Many	Total Sum	Price @
Armchair....	Kreslo..............	8	...28.80	...3.60
Bed.........	Krovat'/Spal'nia....	12	..527.95	..44.00
Bench.......	Skam'ia/Skat'ia.....	14	.....4.90	.. .35
Brazier.....	Zharovnia...........	3	.....5.10	...1.70
Brazier.....	Zharovnia (Zolotnik)	76	....4.50	.. .059
Chair.......	Stul................	154	...155.72	...1.01
Chest.......	Larets Pogrebets....	10	....38.48	...3.85
Cupboard....	Shkaf Postavets.....	19	...421.10	..22.16
Featherbed..	Perina..............	4	....26.40	...6.60
Featherbed..	Pukhovichishko......	1	.... .40	.. .40
Headrest....	Podgolovok..........	4	.....2.10	.. .525
Mattress....	Bumazhnik Tiufiak...	12	....71.65	...5.97
Stove.......	Pech'...............	20	...113.50	...5.68
Table.......	Stol................	39	...134.20	...3.44
Tableleg....	Noga................	1	.... .20	.. .20
Warming oven	Plitka Nemetsk......	2	....60.00	..30.00

Golitsyn loved his beds, and paid handsomely for them. "Gilded" and "walnut" are the essential adjectives of his 150-ruble resting places. Others cost less, of course. Then he had expensive mattresses to go on the beds. Various chests and cupboards were present for storing goods. The most expensive ones were imported (from Germany? *Nemetskii* really means "Northern European" in many cases rather than "German") and were listed as being worth 50 and 150 rubles. Wardrobes and armoires apparently did not exist (the word *garderob* had not entered the Russian language), as far as I know closets did not exist, and in general one can say that his furniture storage pieces were inadequate for all of his possessions. What the storage solution was remains to be determined.

Heating has been a major winter problem in Russia for some time, and Golitsyn solved it by having a stove in practically every room. These could be extraordinarily expensive. One was evaluated as being worth 112.50 rubles. He also had what we might translate as "German warming ovens" (*nemetskie plitki*) that cost 30 rubles apiece and "braziers" (*zharovni*), at least one of which must have been a luxury item because it was evaluated in precious-metal weights (*zolotniki*).

The furnishings in the Golitsyn establishment must have been stunning. Table 9 includes the ornaments and other "do-dads" and "knick-knacks" found among his possessions. They included wooden and glass apples, little bells, a gold-and-silver burdock, copper horses, an ornamental deer head (*olen' golova*), a copper eagle, a gilded eagle, various statues, a copper lion, a wooden raven, a wooden snake—items that were intended to reveal their owner's taste and sensibilities. Perhaps significant is the presence of 5 shells (*rakoviny*), the symbol of the Baroque, which was just coming into Muscovy at the time Golitsyn was flourishing.

Very interesting in Table 9 are the 95 mirrors, appraised at the enormous sum of 801.20, or an average of 8.43 apiece. One of the mirrors with silver and gold was assessed at 60 rubles. No form of extravagance was too extreme for Golitsyn's mirrors, whose frames were made out of rare woods and amber. One even had a "tortoise frame" (*cherepakhovaia rama*) and was assessed as being worth 20 rubles, the price of six slaves. One may assume that the mirror had special significance in Baroque high culture, and that Golitsyn was living at the peak of that culture.

Lighting is always a precious commodity in Russia. For much of the year there is very little sunlight, and in order to retain heat, the windows typically were smaller than in more clement climes. These conditions placed a premium on artificial illumination provided by candles. Golitsyn spent at least 461.20 on 19 chandeliers. The average is distorted by the fact that one of them, made out of white bone, was assessed at 200 rubles. Chandeliers illuminated most of the rooms of his mansion. In addition to the chandeliers, Golitsyn had 65 candleholders which cost on average about 1.30 apiece. One of them cost 15 rubles, a far cry from the few kopeks paid for a candleholder by most people. Most of Golitsyn's candleholders were made out of copper (brass, bronze?), whereas often ordinary ones were made out of wood or iron. Six of them must have been made out of silver, for they were weighed and their value appraised at 7.00, 7.50, 8.00, or 9.00 per *funt*.

As for the candles providing the illumination, Golitsyn's inventoried supplies were not as large as I would have preferred–only 4 "big candles" valued at 17.5 kopeks apiece, among the most expensive such instruments in this data set. "Ordinary Muscovites," including those who worked in government offices, purchased either tallow or the more expensive wax candles. The median price of a tallow candle was 0.4 kopeks (the mean was the same; N = 702). Wax candles were frequently sold by weight, but when the price was recorded by the piece, they seem to have cost as much as ten times as much as the smoky tallow ones.

Table 9. Home Furnishings

English Name.....	Russian Name......	How Many	Total Sum	Price @
Apple ornament...	Iabloko De i St...	...15	.....2.64	.. .176
Basin...........	Taz Rukomoinik....	5	.....1.75	.. .35
Bell............	Kutaz Sklianochka	...10	.....2.57	.. .257
Burdock, gld&silv	Repei ZoSe........	1	.....3.00	...3.00
Candles Big......	Svechi Bolshoi....	4	.... .70	.. .175
Candleholder.....	Shandal Podsvechnik	...65	....84.69	...1.29
Candleholder.....	Shandal (Funt)....	...14.90	...118.266	...7.94
Chandelier.......	Panikadilo........	...19	...461.20	..24.27
Chandelier.......	Panikadilo (Pood).	....8.85	....43.60	.. 4.93
Chandelier.......	Panikadilo (Funt).	...30	.....4.00	.. .133
Clock...........	Chasy............	...16	...522.00	..32.625
Copper Horse.....	Loshad' Med'......	...10	.... .60	.. .06
Copper Horse.....	Loshad' Med' (Funt)	5	.... .60	.. .12
Deer silver......	Olen' Serebr......	1	....50.00	..50.00
Deer head........	Olen' Golova......	1	.....1.00	...1.00
Eagle copper.....	Skopa Medn........	4	.... .60	.. .15
Eagle gilded.....	Oriol Zoloch......	1	....20.00	..20.00
Egg.............	Iaitso Trusov.....	2	.... .80	.. .40
Frame gilded.....	Rama Zoloch.......	2	.....2.00	...1.00
Frame wooden.....	Rama Derev........	2	.... .40	.. .20
Frame silv&gild..	Rama Zol-Sere.....	1	.... .20	.. .20
Icon case........	Kiot.............	1	.....2.00	...2.00
Icon lamp........	Lampada..........	...16	....22.00	...1.375
Iconostasis......	Ikonostas.........	1	.....1.00	...1.00
Lamp............	Fonar'...........	7	.....7.60	...1.09
Lantern mica.....	Fonar' Sliud......	3	.....7.80	...2.60
Lion copper......	Lev Mednyi........	5	.....3.10	.. .62
Lion copper......	Lev Mednyi (Funt).	...24	.....2.60	.. .11
Mirror..........	Zerkalo..........	...95	...801.20	...8.43
Nest............	Gnezdo...........	...42	.....6.45	.. .15
Nut wooden.......	Gaika Derev.......	4	.... .40	.. .10
Raven wooden.....	Voron Derev.......	1	.... .20	.. .20
Rug.............	Kovër............	...38	...397.60	..10.46
Shell...........	Rakovina..........	5	.....1.30	.. .26
Snake wooden.....	Zmeia............	1	.... .20	.. .20
Statue Glass.....	Figura Stekl......	1	.... .20	.. .20
Statue German....	Figura Nemetsk....	3	.....1.00	.. .33
Swan sugar.......	Lebed' Sakhar.....	1	.... .50	.. .50
Symbol Sign......	Znak.............	4	.....1.33	.. .33
Tapestry.........	Shpaler..........	...19	...334.80	..17.62
Washtub.........	Lokhan'..........	5	.....4.30	.. .86

Golitsyn probably was some form of Orthodox believer. As noted earlier, his house had murals painted on many of the walls and icons greeted the visitor to almost every room. Other cult objects were items such as the iconostasis (icon frame), on which icons were hung in a specific order to tell the Biblical story. The iconostasis was a church cult object rarely found in private homes. In addition, the icon lamps (16 of them) give some notion of how many major icons Golitsyn had. Major rooms had a "red corner" in which there was an icon, an icon lamp in front of it, and other cult objects.

Also important were Golitsyn's tapestries and oriental rugs. His 19 tapestries must have been stunning. They were appraised at an average of 17.62 rubles apiece. The most valuable pieces were deemed to be worth 65, 60, 40, and 30 rubles. Among others, the tapestries were made of velvet, silk, and worsted. They had pictures of trees and birds on them. The oriental rugs were appraised as being worth about 10 rubles each, but they ranged in price from 50, 40, 35, 30, and 25 rubles down to 40 kopeks for a "worn" rug. Most of the rugs came from Persia, some from India. The most expensive of them had gold in them; silk was the most prominent fabric in others.

Table 9 also lists various vessels used for washing laundry and the person. Soap is in Table 18.

Among Golitsyn's most interesting possessions unquestionably were his clocks. Golitsyn in 1689 had at least 17 clocks, appraised at 542 rubles. As usual, the average price tells little in this world of luxury goods. The most expensive one was valued at 200 rubles, the next at 70. The 200-ruble piece had a tortoise-shell case. Most of the clocks had chimes (*boevye*). Golitsyn did not own all the clocks in Muscovy, of course. To my knowledge, their history has not been written, but the first one in this data set comes from 1607, and they were almost always expensive—tens of rubles, sometimes 100, 130, or 150 rubles. No one came any closer, however, to Golitsyn's 200-ruble masterpiece. Let us hope it kept good time!

Table 10. Dishware and Serving Utensils

English Name.....	Russian Name.....			Price @
Bowl.............	Kubok...........			..13.20
Bowl.............	Kubok (Funt).....			...8.00
Bowl.............	Kubok (Zolotnik).	..132	...16.775	.. .127
Bowl copper......	Chasha...........	1	... .10	.. .10
Bowl copper......	Kubok............	1	... .20	.. .20
Bowl copper......	Peredacha........	1	....1.50	...1.50
Bowl glass.......	Bratina St.......	...14	... .98	.. .07
Bowl glass.......	Kubok Stekl......	7	....1.20	.. .17
Bowl gold........	Bratina Zol......	1	...34.125	..34.125
Bowl gold........	Bratina Zol (Funt)	....4.88	...34.125	...7.00
Bowl jasper......	Bratina Ias......	1	....5.00	...5.00
Bowl jasper......	Chasha Ias.......	1	... .15	.. .15
Bowl pewter......	Peredacha Ol.....	1	....2.958	...2.958
Bowl pewter......	PeredachaOl(Funt)	...32.25	....2.958	.. .09
Bowl tin.........	Chasha OKr.......	8	....5.80	.. .725
Bowl wooden......	Misa Derev.......	2	... .20	.. .10
Bowl other.......	Chasha, Kubok....	...49	...55.128	...1.13
Cup..............	Chashka.Bratina..	...25	....3.50	.. .14
Cup..............	Dostakan.........	4	....1.15	.. .29
Cup..............	Stopa............	9	... .65	.. .07
Cup alabaster....	Chashka Alebas...	1	... .10	.. .10
Cup amber........	Charka iantar...	1	... .50	.. .50
Cup copper.......	Chashka Medn.....	...11	....4.10	.. .37
Cup dec. gold....	Chashka Zol.om...	2	... .25	.. .125
Cup glass........	Chashka Stek.....	3	... .90	.. .30
Cup glass........	Dostakan Stek....	...14	....2.21	.. .1578
Cup glass........	Stopa Stek.......	2	....1.00	.. .50
Cup icon.........	Chashka Lamp.....	4	... .80	.. .20
Cup jasper.......	Chashka Ias......	1	....3.00	...3.00
Cup jasper.......	Chashka Ias......	1	....5.00	...5.00
Cup limestone....	Stopa Belokamen..	1	....2.00	...2.00
Cup oil..........	Chashka Oliflen..	4	... .60	.. .15
Cup Persian......	Chashka Persid...	9	....1.35	.. .15
Cup silver.......	Chashka Ser......	2	....2.25	...1.12
Cup stone........	Chashka Kam......	1	... .50	.. .50
Cup stone........	Dostakan Kam.....	...10	....1.00	.. .10
Cup w prec.stone.	Charka Pereleft..	1	... .50	.. .50
Cup wooden.......	Chashka Der......	1	... .05	.. .05
Cup wooden.......	Dostakan Der.....	1	... .36	.. .026
Cup wooden.......	Stopka Derev.....	6	... .10	.. .017
Dish.............	Bliudo...........	...87	...10.37	.. .119
Dish.............	Rosol............	4	... .85	.. .21
Dish amber.......	Rosol Iantar.....	1	...40.00	.....40.00
Dish glass.......	Bliudo Stekl.....	1	... .30	.. .30
Dish glass.......	Rosol Steklian...	4	... .12	.. .03
Dish iron........	Veko Zhelezn.....	1	... .10	.. .10
Dish silver......	Bliudo Serebr....	4	... .80	.. .20
Dish silver......	Rosol Serepet....	1	... .50	.. .50
Dishes silver....	Posuda Serebr....	1	..400.00	400.00
Dish table.......	Korenovatika.....	2	... .30	.. .15
Dish tin.........	Bliudo Olovian...	...67	...33.10	.. .49
Dish tin.........	Bliudo Olo (Pood)	...11.51	...43.50	.. 3.78
Dish wooden......	Rosol Derevian...	1	....2.00	...2.00
Glass............	Stakan...........	..184	..112.29	.. .61

Glass............	Stakan (Funt)....	...27.31	..224.52	...8.22
Glass............	Stakan (Zolotnik)	...91	....7.00	.. .077
Glass wine.......	Riumka...........	...20	....1.06	.. .053
Jam dish.........	Bliudechk........	3	... .30	.. .10
Mug..............	Kruzhka..........	...22	..362.60	..16.48
Mug..............	Kruzhka (Funt)...	...99.65	..719.80	...7.22
Mug..............	Kruzhka (Zolotnik)	...71	...16.00	.. .225
Pitcher..........	Kuvshin..........	...58	...13.21	.. .228
Plate............	Tarelka..........	..183	...18.45	.. .10
Plate............	Podshandan.......	1	... .20	.. .20
Plate amber......	Tarelka Iantar...	3	....3.00	...1.00
Saltshaker.......	Solonka..........	5	....2.82	.. .564
Saltshaker.......	Solonka (Zolotnik)	...41	...11.66	.. .28
Saltshaker.......	Solonka (Funt)...	....1.16	...11.00	...9.48
Saucer...........	Podbliudni.......	7	... .90	.. .129
Saucer...........	Podbliudni(Funt).	...13.75	...49.26	...3.58
Saucer...........	Poddon...........	3	... .09	.. .03
Scoop[er]........	Cherpak..........	1	...12.00	..12.00
Scoop[er]........	Chiunch (Funt)...	....1.97	...12.80	...6.50
Scoop[er]........	Kovsh............	...14	....3.30	.. .24
Scoop[er]........	Kovsh (Funt).....	....2.625	...21.00	...7.98
Scoop[er]........	Nalivka..........	2	...33.70	..16.85
Scoop[er]........	Nalivka (Funt....	....6.53	...46.42	...7.11
Silverware set...	Monastyrek.......	1	....2.00	...2.00
Spoon amber......	Lozhka Iantar....	2	....2.00	...2.00
Spoon apple......	Lozhka Iablo.....	...10	....1.50	.. .15
Spoon bone.......	Lozhka Kostei....	6	....1.20	.. .20
Spoon cornelian..	LozhkaSerdolikovaia	1	... .70	.. .70
Spoon dripping...	Lozhka Kar.......	...15	....1.50	.. .10
Spoon gilded.....	Lozhka Zol (Funt)	....3.41	...30.658	.. 9.00
Spoon root.......	Lozhka Korenchat.	...60	....1.00	.. .017
Spoon shell......	Lozhka Rakovin...	5	... .75	.. .15
Spoon wooden.....	Lozhka Derev/Kop.	...79	....1.70	.. .022

Table 10 enumerates Golitsyn's dishware and serving utensils. His objects were made out of nearly every practical substance known to man in his era: alabaster, amber, bone, clay, copper, glass, gold, iron, jasper, limestone, pewter, shell, silver, stone, tin, and wood. He had bowls, cups, dishes, glasses, mugs, pitchers, plates, saltshakers, saucers, scoopers, and serving spoons. He even had sets of knives, forks, and spoons. Whether he or anyone else used them is unknown. At least he had them—something residents of the Ukrainian village of Viriatino did not have until the 1930s.[14] Here, as elsewhere, modesty was not called for. His 400-ruble set of silver dishes must have been absolutely world class. His 184 glasses must have allowed quite a few to quench their thirst as they boasted about Golitsyn's ill-fated (and erroneously advertised) campaigns of 1687 and 1689, which led to his overthrow.[15] They varied in appraised value from 2.3 kopeks apiece to 7.44 rubles apiece. One should note in Table 10 that Golitsyn had every form (defined by different names in Russian) of every kind of dishware. What are translated as "bowls" were in Russian *bratina, chasha, kubok, misa,* and *peredacha*. The Russian name for "dish" was *bliudo, posuda, rosol,* and *veko.* One can only imagine what it was like when Golitsyn and his cavalrymen sat down to dine off this finery. We know that, when the tsar sat down to eat in the Kremlin and desired to commence the meal, the call went out *"Tsariu khochetsia est'!"* ("The Tsar wants to eat!"). There must have been a similar scene at Golitsyn's.

Golitsyn also had saltshakers for his table, some of them grandiose centerpieces. One of them cost 9 rubles, another 7.50. Others, presumably the individual-use type, cost much less. One made out of tin was estimated to be worth 5 kopeks, others were 3 kopeks. Of course Golitsyn had salt to go in the saltshakers (see Table 3), about 440 pounds of it. One lot was appraised at 12 kopeks a *pood*, the other at 15 kopeks per *pood.* This was close to the median price of 10 kopeks per *pood* (and also the mean price of 15 kopeks per *pood*; N = 1132).

An establishment such as Golitsyn's demanded many linens. Those listed by the appraisers are reproduced in Table 11. There hardly seem to be enough of some items, such as bed sheets, so perhaps they had been stolen by someone. Thirty-two bed sheets and 19 blankets would hardly seem to be adequate for the furniture listed in Table 8. This is in spite of the fact that one

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[14] Sula Benet, trans. and ed., *The Village of Viriatino. An Ethnographic Study of a Russian Village from Before the Revolution to the Present* (Garden City, NY, 1970).

[15] Richard Hellie, *Enserfment and Military Change in Muscovy* (Chicago, 1971), 230–31.

Table 11. Linens

English Name.......	Russian Name...	How Many	Total Sum	Price @
Bed curtain........	Polog.........	9	....48.00	...5.33
Bedspread..........	Chekhol.......	5	.....2.45	.. .49
Bench cover........	Polavochnik....	4	.....4.00	...1.00
Blanket gold.......	Odeialo Zolot..	1	...150.00	150.00
Blanket ordinary...	Odeialo........	18	...269.00	..14.94
Cornice curtain....	Podzor Zaves...	10	....64.60	...6.46
Cover..............	Pokrov (-ets)..	3	.....1.80	.. .60
Curtain............	Zaves.........	62	..348.23	...5.62
Pillow.............	Izgolov'e.....	2	.....4.80	...2.40
Pillow.............	Podushka.......	28	....18.85	.. .67
Pillowcase	Navolka........	20	.....8.93	.. .45
Pillowcase.........	Zastenok......	4	.... .70	.. .175
Roller(footpillow)	Valik.........	2	.... .70	.. .35
Sheet, bed.........	Prostynia.....	32	.....7.45	.. .23
Table cloth........	Skatert'......	62	....49.50	.. .80
Towel..............	Polotentse.....	11	.... .90	.. .08

blanket, with gold in it, was appraised at 150 rubles. (The appraisers did not explain the warmth value of gold.) As bedsheets do not appear elsewhere in my data set, it is not possible to claim that they were widely used by other Russians. The numbers of pillows (30) and pillowcases (24) seem more in keeping with the size of the Golitsyn household, although again one wonders whether the pillowcases were ever washed. (Soap is found in Table 18, but hardly in quantities comparable to the salt.)

Golitsyn spent a lot of money on curtains, both for his bed and for his windows. Bed curtains were hardly everyday items in Muscovy, although others do appear in the data set in the possession of what would seem to be quite ordinary people. In 1632, for example, a group of peasants from Ustiug petitioned the tsar to complain about the theft of quite a bit of their property. Included was a bed curtain alleged to be worth 2.50 rubles.[16] Two years later, a widow, also from Ustiug, complained about the theft of her bed curtain, which she valued at 1.20 rubles.[17] In 1671, in yet another theft involving a bed curtain, a peasant in Temnikov complained of the loss of one that he alleged was worth 8 rubles.[18] (Theft prices often were exaggerated.) Then in

[16] RIB 25(1): 119.

[17] RIB 25(1): 163.

[18] *Krest'ianskaia voina pod predvoditel'stvom Stepana Razina. Sbornik dokumentov. Tom 4, Dopol.* (Moscow, 1959): 39.

1692 a townsman of Tikhvin imported a load of things from Sweden, and among them was a bed curtain alleged to be worth 20 kopeks.[19] It is probable that these possessors of bed curtains were among the most wealthy peasants and townsmen of Muscovy, if one judges by the prices quoted, for ordinary persons were unlikely to have so much money. Regardless, one cannot fail to note that Golitsyn's bed curtains, at nearly 6 rubles apiece, were far more expensive than what anyone else had. This was particularly true in the case of one set of bed curtains valued at 20 rubles and made of Chinese silk and velvet.

An extended discussion could also be made of Golitsyn's window curtains (*zaves*), on which he expended what easily would have been an ordinary person's lifetime wages. One set of six curtains was evaluated at 200 rubles; they were made of gold and silk (*ob'iar*). While it is true that Golitsyn's curtains in general were made of various forms of silk and otherwise extravagant, he did have one set that was appraised at 2 kopeks per curtain.

The Golitsyn household was also well equipped with tablecloths and towels. As one might expect, he had one tablecloth appraised at 20 rubles. Gold thread was found in the most expensive ones. His towels, at 8 kopeks apiece, were hardly noteworthy.

Table 12. Kitchen Tools, Supplies

English Name....	Russian Name......	How Many	Total Sum	Price @
Cauldron iron...	Kotiol Zhelez.....	2	.....5.00	...2.50
Frying pan......	Skorovoda.........	3	.... .25	.. .083
Lid, bowl.......	Krovlia s Kubka...	1	.....7.50	...7.50
Lid, bowl.......	Krov..(Zolotnik)..	8	.....7.50	.. .938
Lid pot copper..	Krovlia Gor Med...	2	.... .13	.. .065
Mortar copper...	Igot'............	1	.... .80	.. .80
Sack cloth......	Meshok Sukonnoi...	8	.... .25	.. .03
Stove "German"..	Plitka Nemetsk....	2	....60.00	..30.00
Stove Russian...	Pech'............	20	...226.00	..11.30

[19] *Russko-shvedskie ekonomicheskie otnosheniia v XVII veke. Sbornik dokumentov* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1960), 514; *Ekonomicheskie sviazi mezhdu Rossiei i Shvetsiei v XVII v. Dokumenty iz sovetskikh arkhivov* (Moscow and Stockholm, 1978), 175.

Table 12 lists what the appraisers found of Golitsyn's kitchen equipment. This can hardly have been all there was, for it would hardly arouse the envy of a late twentieth-century customer in a Chef's Kitchen store. Two iron pots, 3 frying pans, 3 pot lids (2 of copper, the third of precious metal), a copper mortar, some of the tools listed in Table 10, and a stove hardly would have been adequate to prepare the food for the Golitsyn household. Perhaps his slaves, hearing of his arrest on treason charges, "liberated" most of the kitchen utensils in anticipation of their own liberation. Slaves were ordinarily freed after their owners had been arrested on treason charges.[20] This was the fate of Golitsyn's slaves who wanted to be freed. Others of his slaves accompanied him into exile in the northern Urals. One source indicates that Golitsyn owned at least 227 slaves.[21]

Table 13 lists Golitsyn's confiscated clothing and jewelry. Most of it is men's clothing, although there are a few dresses. A glance at the table makes it apparent that Golitsyn was a clotheshorse. His 138 caftans (the Russian *kaftan* comes from the Ottoman Turkish *kaftan*, which may have its origin in the Persian *haftan*) probably have been rarely equalled either in the possession of a single individual or in their variety and luxuriousness. A reading of the inventory makes one convinced that many of them had been purchased (or specially made for him), but never worn, for they had not yet had buttons sewn on them. Buttons sometimes were the major part of the cost of a coat. An extreme example is the set of 4 gold and diamond buttons worth 200 rubles, or 50 rubles per button. His gold and diamond cufflinks cost almost as much apiece. This is the juncture to point out that Golitsyn seems to have been able to resist purchasing very many of the diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones that existed in Muscovy. His major "weaknesses," rather, were for gold and silk.

Golitsyn had over three thousand rubles worth of caftans when his property was assessed in 1689–1690. Other sources reveal the methods by which he acquired garments of such extraordinary value. Thus, he was awarded (basically by himself, of course: he was running the government) a caftan worth 400 rubles in 1686 for his role in negotiating the Eternal Peace with Poland. For some reason it took a year and a half to make the garment (of gold and silk) in the Treasury Chancellery (*Kazennyi prikaz*) and send it to the Military Chancellery (*Razriad*), which had ordered it.[22] Whether the coat

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[20] Richard Hellie, *Slavery in Russia, 1450–1725* (Chicago, 1982).

[21] "Sluzhilye kabaly proshlykh let," *Rozysknye dela*, 4 (1893): 264–76. This total is arrived at by calculating each "with children" (*s det'mi*) as the listed adults plus 2 for the children.

[22] *Sobranie gosudarstvennykh gramot i dogovorov* (Moscow, 1828), 4: 524, no. 178 (June 29, 1686); Ivan Zabelin, *Domashnii byt russkikh tsarei v XVI i XVII st.* (Moscow, 1915), 2: 811 (December 30, 1687).

Table 13. Clothing, Jewelry

English Name.....	Russian Name......	How Many	Total Sum	Price @
Band taffeta,wool	Poviazka..........	14	.... .28	.. .02
Beads silver.....	Pronizka Ser......	5	.... .60	.. .12
Belt satin silk..	Podviazka.........	3	.... .275	.. .09
Belt silk........	Poias.............	5	....10.26	...2.05
Belt leather.....	Remen'............	2	.... .10	.. .05
Bib..............	Grud'.............	1	.... .05	.. .05
Boots Chinese....	Sapogi Kitai......	1	.... .30	.. .30
Button gold......	Pugovitsa Zolot...	32	....97.00	...3.03
Button g.&diam...	Pugov.Zol/Almaz...	11	...221.00	..20.09
Button other.....	Pugovitsa.........	56	....14.00	.. .25
Caftan...........	Aziam.............	5	....22.00	...4.40
Caftan...........	Kaftan............	...129	..3033.00	..23.51
Caftan...........	Zipun.............	4	.....8.50	...2.125
Cap satin........	Kolpak............	1	.... .60	.. .60
Clasp silver.....	Gapel'ka Ser......	10	.... .30	.. .03
Claw crawfish....	KleshniaRakov.....	1	.... .01	.. .01
Cloak felt.......	Burka.............	1	.....1.00	...1.00
Coat cover.......	Sporok............	14	....72.00	...5.14
Coat dinner......	Shuba Stolov......	9	....66.20	...7.36
Collar silk......	Patrakhel'........	2	.... .17	.. .085
Comb tortise.....	Greben' Cherep....	1	.....1.00	...1.00
Crown diamond....	Venets Almaz/Zhem	1	...700.00	700.00
Crown silver.....	Venets Serebr.....	1	....50.00	..50.00
Cufflink.........	Zapona............	16	...732.75	..45.80
Dress Chinese....	Portishche Kitai..	1	.....6.00	...6.00
Dress long wom...	Telogreia.........	24	...403.20	..16.80
Dress summer.....	Letnik............	6	....33.00	...5.50
Fan..............	Opakhalo..........	4	.....1.90	.. .475
Footwrap.........	Shkarpetki........	1	.... .06	.. .06
Hat cloth........	Kaptur............	10	.....2.50	.. .25
Hat cloth........	Shapka............	4	.....6.30	.. 1.58
Hat copper.......	Shapka Medn.......	1	.....1.00	...1.00
Hat metal........	Shapka Erikhonka..	2	.....1.10	.. .55
Hat sleeping.....	Shapka Spal'naia..	1	.... .10	.. .10
Hat steel........	Shapka Er. Stal'..	2	.....5.00	...2.50

Hat velvet.......	Shapka Barkhat....	5	...282.00	..56.40
Hat w/gold&silv..	Shapka Er. ZolSer	1	...300.00	300.00
Hat woman's......	Shapka zhenskaia..	2	.....4.00	...2.00
Hat..............	Shliapa...........	3	.....2.10	.. .70
Hat..............	Verkh.............	3	.....3.00	...3.00
Kerchief.........	Platok............	3	.... .240	.. .08
Lining fox.......	Ispod Lis.........	1	.....6.00	...6.00
Lining sable.....	Ispod Sobol.......	2	....45.00	..22.50
Lining...........	Podkladka.........	2	.... .20	.. .10
Mittens..........	Rukavitsy.........	6	....12.20	...2.03
Necklace diamond	Ozherel'e Almaz...	1	....60.00	..60.00
Pants deer.......	Shtany Olen.......	1	.... .06	.. .06
Pants silk.......	Shtany Kamchat....	3	.....7.00	...2.33
Pants wool Germ..	Shtany Nem Sukn...	1	.... .90	.. .90
Pearls...........	Zhemchug (Zolotnik)	16	....25.60	...1.60
Ring coat........	Emurluk...........	2	....19.00	...9.50
Ring diamond.....	Kol'tso Almaz.....	3	....26.00	...8.67
Ring gold & sil..	Krug Zol/Ser......	1	.... .42	.. .42
Ring gold & sil..	Krug..(Zolotnik)..	.....3.5	.... .42	.. .12
Ring pearl&diam..	Obruch Zh i Alm...	1	...285.00	285.00
Sash silk,tafPer	Kushak............	8	....17.70	...2.21
Sash.............	Kushak (Arshin)...	.....9.69	.....4.00	.. .41
Sequined ornament	Voshva............	4	.....8.80	...2.20
Shirt, man's.....	Rubashka Muzhs....	17	....10.00	.. .588
Shirt&pants......	Rubashka&Portki...	6	.....2.10	.. .35
Shoes............	Bashmaki..........	14	.....2.25	.. .16
Skirt............	Pola..............	3	....22.00	...7.33
Skullcap.........	Skuf'ia...........	2	.... .33	.. .165
Sleeve...........	Rukav.............	5	...268.15	..53.63
Stockings........	Chulki............	19	....12.32	.. .65
Tunic............	Opashen'..........	4	....20.60	...5.15
Uniform coachm...	Plat'e Kuch.......	1	.....5.00	...5.00
Walking stick....	Trost'............	6	.....4.70	.. .78

was delivered to Golitsyn is unknown, but one would assume that it was. The most expensive caftan in the confiscation inventory was valued at 150 rubles. It was made out of a special kind of orange silk twist called *baiberek* trimmed with sables, and probably most of the coat was made with sables as well; there was silver lace around it and the sleeves were lined with squirrel belly fur. This discussion could go on for some time—easily to a piece of article length—but the point must be clear by now that Golitsyn really loved his coats! Note that he even had 14 coat covers (*sporki*) appraised at 5.14 rubles apiece.

Only one pair of boots (Chinese at that!) is inventoried, plus 14 pairs of shoes. These shoes (*bashmaki*) were probably not the ones Golitsyn wore when inspecting his pigs, for they were made out of goatskin, calfskin, velvet, or wool. Perhaps they might better be termed "house slippers." At 16 kopeks a pair, Golitsyn's used shoes were valued at less than the average such object in our data set. Perhaps used shoes were heavily discounted. Regardless, even Golitsyn's used shoes were valued 35 times more than typical peasant bast shoes (*lapti*), which cost less than half a kopek a pair—and probably were new besides.

The inventory also lists a pair of footwraps, hats for sundry occasions ranging from sleeping to military service (see also Table 17 for more military wear), linings, mittens, shirts and pants, belts and sashes, stockings, sleeves, and even walking sticks. (Presumably Golitsyn rode into exile.)

Women's clothing was minimal: 24 long dresses (*telogrei*), 7 summer dresses (one specified as having been made in China), a couple of hats, some kerchiefs. It is hard to imagine that Princess Avdot'ia Golitsyna's wardrobe was so grossly inferior to her husband's. Perhaps she was permitted to take most of it with her into exile.

Aside from the cufflinks, there was surprisingly little jewelry in the Golitsyn collection. The 60-ruble diamond necklace is interesting, but there is only one of them. One gold and silver ring worth 42 kopeks might be more than a poor peasant would have, but it is hardly a king's ransom. One wonders what the silver crown was for, and how it got into the Golitsyn possessions—and especially what it meant to anyone, wearer or observer. Maybe it was a piece of woman's jewelry. Again, there was only one. One concludes that either much is missing, or else the Golitsyns placed almost no value on jewelry. Other wealthy individuals left more in their wills than this, so Golitsyn must have concluded that gold, silver, and gems in the form of jewelry was not for him. Perhaps this had something to do with baroque tastes. I simply do not know.

Golitsyn's property contained a number of more or less "raw" pelts and hides, i.e., those materials not made into their final product. (See Table 14.)

Table 14. Fur, Leather

English Name.....	Russian Name......	How Many	Total Sum	Price @
Bear, polar......	Medved' Belyi....	6	....18.50	...3.08
Bear, polar......	Medvedna Bela....	2	.....1.00	.. .50
Cow hide.........	Kozha............	351	...140.10	.. .40
Cow hide gilded..	Kozha Zolotnaia...	304	....71.20	.. .23
Cow hide gild Ger	Kozha Pozol Nem...	91	....28.75	.. .32
Cow hide green...	Kozha Zelionnaia..	1	.... .20	.. .20
Cow hide pressed	Kozha Paiutnaia...	5	.... .40	.. .08
Cow hide saddle..	Kozha Sedel'naia..	3	.... .05	.. .017
Elk..............	Losina...........	1	.... .30	.. .30
Fox belly........	Mekh Lisii Cher...	1	.....2.00	...2.00
Fox blue.........	Mekh Golub Pests..	1	.....3.00	...3.00
Fox polar belly..	Mekh Pests Cher...	1	.....5.00	...5.00
Fox red..........	Lisa Buraia......	1	.....2.00	...2.00
Fox scraps.......	Loskut Lisii......	5	.....5.20	...1.04
Fur..............	Mekh Treshchachent	1	.... .90	.. .90
Goat.............	Saf'ian...........	6	.....3.00	.. .50
Hide rough.......	Khoz Alyi.........	4	.... .80	.. .20
Leopard snow.....	Kozha Barsov......	4	.....1.00	.. .25
Lynx.............	Mekh Rysei Lap....	1	.....4.00	...4.00
Sable belly......	Mekh Cherev Shakh	1	.....2.00	...2.00
Sable belly......	Sobol'Pupok Port..	1	.....7.00	...7.00
Sable lining.....	Sobol' Podkroika..	8	...105.00	..13.125
Sable plate......	Tska Sobol'......	1	...400.00	400.00
Seal skin........	Kozha Nerpovaia...	45	.....2.25	.. .05
Sheepskin........	Ovchina...........	518	....23.33	.. .045
Sheepskin gray...	Ovchina Seraia....	1	.....1.20	...1.20
Squirrel.........	Mekh Bel'ii......	2	.....4.00	...2.00
Swan skin........	Meshina Lebed'....	1	.... .10	.. .10
Tiger pelt.......	Babr.............	3	.....1.50	.. .50

This is somewhat similar to the building materials in Table 6. Presumably craftsmen in the Golitsyn establishment converted these raw materials into finished products. The American "just in time" manufacturing system was not developed until 300 years later, so the late Muscovites had to have all supplies on hand in the eventuality that they might be needed. This probably explains the presence of the single elk hide, lynx fur, sable bellies, swan skin, the two polar bear hides and squirrel pelts, the three cow saddle hides and tiger pelts, and so on. It does not, however, explain the 45 seal skins, the 91 "German" gilded cow hides, the 304 apparently Russian gilded cow hides, the 351 plain cow hides, and the 518 sheepskins. Whether some of those products (particularly the enormous numbers of cow hides and sheepskins) were grouped on the Golitsyn properties as rent from peasants awaiting sale, or whether perhaps Golitsyn had workshops specializing in finished products using these products, is unknown. If one considers the appraisals of these items, one concludes that they were rather on the mark. There are numerous cow hides in the data set, and they range in price from 30 to 50 kopeks apiece, right around the 40 kopeks assigned to Golitsyn's expropriated property.

Sable was one of the major luxury items in Muscovy. We have already noted its presence in various garments. Sables were one of the government's major revenue sources. Moreover, the government, which had the right of first refusal to purchase sables, to some extent controlled the price of the fur by dumping its supplies on the market should prices rise too high.[23] The Russians had a practice of sewing furs into a "plate" (*tska*), and Golitsyn's holdings reveal a sable plate valued at 400 rubles. (The coincidence between this plate and the award caftan is at least apparent, if not real. It seems possible that the assessors merged the one into the other.) Sable prices moved upward in the period 1600–1725. This may be attributable to the gradual exhaustion of easily harvestable sables in Siberia, which led to the Russian jump across the Pacific to North America.

In addition to supplies of lumber, furs, and hides, Golitsyn had significant supplies of textiles in stock. The presence of the remnants (*ostatki*) would indicate that Golitsyn had been in possession of a workshop where clothes for his family and slaves were made. Further evidence of this would seem to be the presence of supplies of thread and yarn. As usual, his oecumenical tastes spring out from the data: braid, brocade, silk (both raw and textiles), and taffeta from the Middle East, lace from Persia, satin from China, and woolens from western Europe and England. The sackcloth was probably Russian, as likely were the felts. The origin of the velvets cannot be determined.

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[23] Richard Hellie, "Furs in Seventeenth-Century Muscovy," *Russian History* 16 (1989): 171–201.

The basic textile unit of measure was the *arshin* (about 28 inches). Except for the outrageously priced Persian lace (2.53 rubles an *arshin:* more than four times the price of the most expensive laces in the data set, which peak at 60 kopeks per *arshin*), the prices for Golitsyn's laces seem to correspond with those from elsewhere in Muscovy. One piece of gilded lace was evaluated at 20 kopeks per *arshin*, and some silver lace was evaluated at 19 kopeks per *arshin*, whereas the median price of lace was 4 kopeks per arshin. (This figure is heavily influenced by the fact that most of the data come from 1614 and are concentrated in two kinds of lace: tinsel lace, whose median price was 3 kopeks per *arshin* [N = 142], and lace woven with gold, whose median price was 5 kopeks per *arshin* [N = 134]).

Silk was the luxury textile of choice in Muscovy. The data set now has 2,227 silk entries in it. Silk typically was measured by the *arshin*, but it was also sold by weight—the *ansyr'* (= 128 *zolotnikov* or 1-1/3 *funt*), *funt* (= 9/10 lb; 1/40 *pood*), the *pood*, and the *zolotnik*. There were two additional measures, the *kosiak* (a bolt of fabric of unknown dimensions, in the literature ranging from 8 to 36 to 100 *arshins*) and the *zaviazka* (perhaps "skein" would be the best rendition). The median price of an *arshin* of silk was 80 kopeks (N = 977), the same as the median price in Moscow (N = 724). In China, it was 50 kopeks (N = 94). In the data set, 345 cases originate in Persia (v. 115 of the silk cases in China), but silk there was either sold by weight or by some seemingly rather uniform measurements that have yet to be determined. There were numerous kinds of silk (as is evident in Table 15) circulating in Russia. The median price of an *arshin* of each was as follows: *fata*, 15.5 kopeks (N = 1); *doroga*, 27 kopeks (N = 74); *kutnia*, 45 kopeks (N = 8); *kamka*, 80 kopeks (N = 546); *baiberek*, 1.18 rubles (N = 22); and *ob"iar*, 1.20 rubles (N = 88). These prices can then be compared with those from the Golitsyn confiscation, listed in Table 15: *fata*, 15.5 kopeks (the same case); *kamka*, 52 kopeks; *baiberek*, 50 kopeks; *kutnia*, 53.3 kopeks; and finally, *ob"iar*, 1.15 rubles. We must bear in mind that there were wide variations in the prices of silks by the same name (they were typically described in much greater detail in the sources than simply their name such as *kamka*—color, weave, probably width [never specified] all played a role), as shown in Table 15. Be that as it may, the Golitsyn-assessment prices and the prices of silk in the larger data set are in the same ballpark.

The entire data set has 311 cases involving taffeta. Among them are 94 different kinds of taffeta and objects made of taffeta. The median price of taffeta valued in *arshin* units is 70 kopeks per *arshin* (the mean is 66 kopeks; N = 204). Again, these prices correspond rather well with the 311.45 *arshins* of taffeta found in Golitsyn's possession valued at 52 kopeks per *arshin*.

Table 15. Textiles. Thread. Yarn. Feathers

English Name...	Russian Name.......	How Many	Total Sum	Price @
Braid silk.....	Tes'maSh(Arshin)...	.....3.75	....1.00	.. .267
Brocade........	Izorbaf (Arshin)...	7	...13.00	...1.857
Brocade........	Zarbaf (Arshin)....	....22.63	...23.00	...1.02
Cloth (?)......	Polmet (Arshin)....	....21.69	....8.245	.. .38
Cord cotton....	Verv'Bumazh.(Funt)	65	....1.30	.. .02
Cord silk......	Shnurok Sholk......	8	... .50	.. .063
Cord worsted...	Shnurok Garus......	5	... .13	.. .026
Down goose.....	Pukh Gusin.........	1	....1.00	...1.00
Embroidery.....	Vymetka............	2	... .01	.. .005
Felt...........	Kozha Voilochnaia..	1	... .15	.. .15
Felt...........	Polst'.............	7	...31.10	...4.44
Felt...........	Voilok.............	6	....3.30	.. .55
Felt fabric....	Plat s Voilokom....	3	....9.20	...3.07
Hat fabric.....	Plat Shapochnyi....	1	... .50	.. .50
Lace gilded....	Kruzheva Zo(Arshin)	.....7.50	....1.50	.. .20
Lace Persian...	Kruzheva K (Arshin)	.....1.19	....3.00	...2.53
Lace Persian...	Kruzheva Kyzl......	1	....3.00	...3.00
Lace silv&gold	KruzhevaSZ(Zolotnik)	...138	...27.60	.. .20
Lace silver....	Kruzheva S (Arshin)	.....5.25	....1.00	.. .190
Lace silver....	Kruzheva Sereb.....	1	....1.50	...1.50
Linen..........	Polotno............	4	....1.50	.. .375
Remnant........	Ostatok............	18	....2.53	.. .14
Remnant........	Ostatok (Arshin)...	....26.76	...12.203	.. .456
Ribbon.........	Lenta..............		....1.00	....
Sackcloth......	Kholst.............	18	....4.00	.. .22
Satin Chinese..	Atlas..............	1	....3.00	...3.00
Satin various..	Atlas (Arshin).....	...197.21	..227.91	...1.16
Scraps various	Loskut.............	25	...11.44	.. .46
Scraps various	Loskut (Arshin)....	.....1.25	... .60	.. .48
Silk...........	Baiberek(Arshin)...	19	....9.50	.. .50
Silk	Baiberek...........	1	....2.00	...2.00
Silk...........	Fata (Arshin)......	.....7.75	....1.20	.. .155
Silk...........	Kamka (Arshin).....	...108.81	...48.80	.. .45
Silk...........	Kamka..............	2	....2.30	...1.15
Silk...........	Kutnia (Arshin)....	.....7.5	....4.00	.. .533
Silk...........	Ob'iar (Arshin)....	....86.03	...99.277	...1.15
Silk...........	Sholk..............	7	....6.70	.. .96
Silk...........	Sholk (Ansyr').....	...161	...87.05	.. .54
Taffeta........	Tafta..............	1	....1.50	...1.50
Taffeta various	Tafta (Arshin).....	...311.45	..162.023	.. .52
Thread.........	Nitki..............	1	... .05	.. .05
Thread, skein..	Motok Nitok........	2	... .05	.. .025
Velvet.........	Barkhat (Arshin)...	....89.13	..123.80	...1.39
Velvet.........	Plat Barkhat.......	6	...47.50	...7.92
Velvet woolen..	Trip (Arshin)......	18	....5.40	.. .30
Woolens........	Liatchina (Arshin)	10	....1.00	.. .10
Woolens........	Mukhoiar(Arshin)...	17	....3.40	.. .20
Woolens........	Plat Sukonnyi......	2	....4.50	...2.25
Woolens........	Polas..............	1	... .40	.. .40
Woolens........	Sukno(Pieces/Bolts)	18	...23.20	...1.29
Woolens........	Sukno (Arshin).....	...360.7	..219.65	.. .61
Yarn, skein....	Motok Priazh.......	30	... .50	.. .01

Another major textile among the elite was velvet. Its use in many end products has already been noted. Golitsyn had 89.13 *arshins* in stock evaluated at 1.39 ruble per *arshin*. This is very close to the median price of velvet (1.50 rubles per *arshin;* N = 190) in my entire data set.

Books have been written about woolens, and certainly one could be written about the woolens in this data set. Woolens were one of the major objects of commerce with western Europe. The basic name for wool cloth seems to have been *sukno*, of which Golitsyn had 18 pieces or bolts and 360.7 *arshins* (evaluated at a mean of 61 kopeks each). In my data set, all the woolens measured in *arshins* had a median value of 50 kopeks per *arshin* (N = 1566; the mean value was 78.2 kopeks per arshin). Of these, 1254 cases were *sukno* of one description or another whose median price was 52.5 kopeks and mean price 78.3 kopeks per *arshin*—close to that belonging to Golitsyn. Golitsyn had a form of wool cloth known as *mukhoiar* (see Table 15), not otherwise present in my big data set. Golitsyn also had 10 *arshins* of a wool cloth known as *liatchina*, evaluated at 10 kopeks per *arshin*. My data set contains a total of 14 cases of *liatchina*, whose median value was 21.25 kopeks per *arshin* and mean value 24.67 kopeks per *arshin*—probably the most inexpensive of the woolens excepting sackcloth and crash (derived from the Russian word *krashenina*). Russians knew many other forms of woolens as well. The names of some of them were: *dzha[n]zhin, garus, grafin, iarenka, karmazin, kufter, nastrafil',* and *zuf'*. These textiles did not appear in the Golitsyn inventory.

The history of leisure time in late Muscovy has yet to be written. A good place to start might be Table 16, the listing of Golitsyn's toys, games, and musical instruments. In his possession were two toy watchtowers and two toy carriages. He had two chess boards and one chess set. He also had a number of musical instruments. The Russian flutes (*surna*) were probably military instruments. Whether the "German flute" was a domestic or military musical instrument is unknown. The *domra* was a three-stringed banjo-type instrument used by folk singers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[24] How such an instrument came into Golitsyn's possession is unknown—the jesters (*skomorokhi*) who used them were in bad odor with the Church. A major expression of Golitsyn's Western outlook was the presence of the clavichord in his household (almost certainly underpriced at 3 rubles), as well as the existence of four organs, whose evaluations ranged from 1 (*sic*) to 30 to 200 (two of them) rubles apiece.

[24] G. V. Keldysh, ed., *Muzykal'nyi ektsiklopedicheskii slovar'* (Moscow, 1990), 180.

Table 16. Toys. Musical Instruments. Games

English Name....	Russian Name....	How Many	Total Sum	Price @
Carriage toy....	Koliaska........	2	.... .20	.. .10
Chess board.....	Doska Shakhmat..	2	.... .40	.. .20
Chess set bone..	Shakhmaty Kost..	1	.... .60	.. .60
Clavicord.......	Klevikort.......	1	.....3.00	...3.00
Domra...........	Domra...........	1	.....1.00	...1.00
Flute German....	Fleita Nemets...	2	.... .60	.. .30
Flute iron......	Surna Zhelezn...	1	.... .50	.. .50
Flute wood......	Surna Derevian..	1	.... .05	.. .05
Organ...........	Argan...........	4	...431.00	107.75
Watchtower......	Kalancha........	2	.... .10	.. .05

Table 17. Weapons and Military Gear

English Name.....	Russian Name.....	How Many	Total Sum	Price @
Armor...........	Bakhterets......	3	....11.50	...3.83
Armor...........	Laty............	3	.... .50	.. .17
Armor chainmail..	Kol'chuga.......	4	....16.50	...4.13
Armor chainmail..	Pantsyr'........	56	...225.20	...4.02
Armor hand.......	Naruchi.........	30	...154.20	...5.14
Armor horse......	Chaldar.........	16	...320.70	..20.04
Armor plate......	Kuiak...........	1	.....1.50	...1.50
Arquebus.........	Pishchal'.......	11	....43.00	...3.91
Arrow various....	Strela..........	300	.....9.00	.. .03
Axe battle.......	Berdysh.........	91	.....5.40	.. .06
Axe battle.......	Obukh...........	7	.....9.50	...1.36
Axe battle.......	Podobushni......	1	.....1.00.	....1.00
Blade axe........	Polosa Bulav....	7	....16.50	...2.36
Blade sabre......	Polosa Sabel....	8	....90.70	...5.04
Blade sword......	Polosa Palach....	2	.....1.45	.. .73
Blade unknown....	Polosa Gancher...	8	.....3.20	.. .40
Blade unspecif...	Polosa..........	1	.... .50	.. .50
Bolt arqueb......	Zamok Pishchal'..	2	.... .40	.. .20
Bow Chinese......	Luk Kitaiskii....	3	.....2.50	.. .83
Bow cover........	Lub'e Saadak.....	2	....15.00	...7.50
Bow Crimean......	Luk Krymskii.....	1	.... .30	.. .30
Bow other/old....	Luk Vetkhii......	9	.....1.20	.. .13
Bow string.......	Tetiva..........	3	.... .10	.. .033
Bow Turkish......	Luk Turetskii....	3	.....8.50	...2.83
Broadsword.......	Palash..........	1	.....6.50	...6.50
Cannon...........	Drobovik........	1	.....4.00	...4.00
Cannon barrel....	Drobovik Stvol...	2	.....4.00	...2.00
Cannon carriage..	Drobovikozha.....	1	.....3.00	...3.00
Carbine..........	Karabin.........	25	.....9.80	.. .39

Cheval-de-frise..	Rogatina........	2	40	.. .20
Cover armor,gun..	Nagalitse.......	62	.....1.45	.. .02
Dagger..........	Kinzhal.........	2	.....4.60	...2.30
Flintlock.......	Pishchal' Zaves..	12	....20.00	...1.67
Flooring,cooking	Pol Povarn.......	5	.... .50	.. .10
Flooring,linen...	Pol Kholst.......	2	.... .50	.. .25
Flooring,strong..	Pol Zdorov.......	12	.....3.00	.. .25
Flooring,white...	Pol Belyi........	2	....15.00	...7.50
Glove chainmail..	Nadolonka........	4	.... .80	.. .20
Gunpowder........	Porokh (Pood)....	5	.... .40	.. .80
Gunpowder horn...	Rog Porokh.......	1	.... .10	.. .10
Gunpowder measure	Merka............	8	.... .08	.. .01
Gunstock.........	Lozhe Pishchal'..	1	.....1.00	...1.00
Hat infantry.....	ShapkaGaidutsk...	2	.... .03	.. .015
Helmet...........	Misiurka.........	22	....33.23	...1.51
Holster..........	Olstra...........	4	.....1.50	.. .375
Holster worn.....	Olstra Vetkh.....	18	.... .15	.. .008
Kettledrum.......	Litavra..........	16	....59.80	...3.74
Lance............	Grotik...........	2	.....1.10	.. .55
Lance............	Kop'ë...........	21	....16.80	.. .80
Longgun hunting..	PishchalVintovka	18	....56.05	...3.11
Mace.............	Bulava...........	6	...271.00	..45.17
Mace.............	Buzdugan.........	1	.... .50	.. .50
Musket...........	Fuzeia...........	15	....65.20	...4.35
Musket...........	Mushket..........	4	.....3.20	.. .80
Pistol...........	Pistol'..........	28	....94.50	...3.38
Pistol worn......	Pistol'Vetkhii...	16	.... .80	.. .05
Quiver...........	Dzhid............	1	.....3.00	...3.00
Rapier...........	Shapaga..........	1	.... .30	.. .30
Sabre worn.......	Sablia Vetkh.....	1	.... .05	.. .05
Scabbard sabre...	Nozhni...........	6	.....6.40	...1.07
Shield gold......	Shchit Zolot.....	1	.....5.00	...5.00
Shield steel.....	Shchit Stal'n....	1	.... .40	.. .40
Sleeve chainmail	Rukav Pantsyr....	1	.....1.50	...1.50
Staff............	Drevko...........	22	.....8.40	.. .38
Staff............	Posokh...........	5	.....3.38	.. .676
Sword............	Mech.............	1	.....2.50	...2.50
Sword............	Suleba...........	1	.....4.00	...4.00
Tambour cradle...	Pial'tsy Kolyb...	1	.... .30	.. .30
Target...........	Mishen'..........	48	.... .05	.. .001
Tent.............	Izbushka.........	2	.....9.00	...4.50
Tent.............	Namët...........	8	...159.00	..19.88
Tent.............	Palata...........	1	.....4.00	...4.00
Tent.............	Palatka..........	8	...149.70	..18.71
Tent.............	Shatër..........	5	...285.00	..57.00
Tent poles.......	Derevo Shatër...	26	.... .60	.. .02
Tip of banner....	Tok..............	2	.....1.50	.. .75

See also Flutes in Table 16.

V. V. Golitsyn, like almost all the other members of the civil (non-Church) elite in late Muscovy, was supposed to be a military man. This was true throughout Russian history, almost categorically until 1762, when Peter III freed the gentry from compulsory military service while allowing them to keep their serfs, and in fact until about 1900, when the landed elite began to be replaced at the helm of Russia by other members of society who had little connection if any with the military (merchants and members of the professions that had begun to develop since 1864). In Golitsyn's case, we must recall that it was he who "led" the Russian forces on their ill-fated 1687 and 1689 expeditions to the Crimea. Thus, it should hardly surprise us that many of his possessions had a military connection, from weapons and armor to clothing and tents. Many of the horses of Table 1 and the "transportation gear" of Table 2 unquestionably also were intended primarily for military use.

Golitsyn's military possessions (see Table 17) are a museum of the gunpowder revolution, which had triumphed in Muscovy by 1689.[25] Although the Crimean Tatars still shot bows and arrows, it is doubtful that the Muscovites did very often. If we look at Golitsyn's bow and arrow supplies, most of them seem to be museum pieces, not battlefield weapons. Thus, there are 3 Chinese bows, a Crimean bow, and 3 Turkish bows. The 9 Russian bows are noted to be "old, decrepit" (*vetkhie*). If bows were actual field weapons, there should have been considerably more of them, for the retainers Golitsyn took with him on campaign were certainly armed, either to protect his goods in the baggage train or to shoot at the enemy as his slaves went with him to the front. There are 300 arrows, many of them also *vetkhie*. One quiver hardly would have been adequate for an active archer and his slave retinue. A military variation on the arrow was the lance, and Golitsyn's arsenal contained nearly a couple dozen of those––probably for his slave retainers guarding the baggage train.

Although the Russians themselves probably fired bows rarely, they still had to defend themselves against the Crimean arrows. For this the steel shield might have been of use. (I should imagine that the golden shield was a ceremonial object, something used to demonstrate its owner's authority—if it ever went out into the field at all.) More useful against enemy arrows would have been the various forms of armor, especially the body and horse armor. One may assume that Golitsyn possessed 60 sets of chainmail not because he was a kleptomaniac or because he felt that he needed one set of chainmail for every two coats he owned, but because by law he was required to provide them to his slave retainers who accompanied him on campaign.

[25] Hellie, *Enserfment and Military Change in Muscovy.*

Golitsyn's cold weapons were for hand-to-hand combat. Most notable are the 99 battle axes. The extraordinarily low price (6 kopeks apiece) of the 91 *berdyshes* is nearly inexplicable, although their number is not hard to fathom: they were issued to slaves whose primary task in a combat zone had come to be, after the 1630s, guarding the baggage train. It so happens that two decades earlier, Velikii Ustiug expended 15.78 rubles for the *labor* to produce 263 *berdyshes* out of fear that the Razin uprising might spread there.[26] However, those 6 kopeks apiece were for the labor alone, not the cost of the metal, profit, etc. *Berdyshes* first appear in the data set in 1660. They typically cost from 10 to 21 kopeks apiece. Perhaps those were for nice shiny new ones, guaranteed to slice off a head with one swipe, whereas Golitsyn's supply were tarnished and had nicks in them from overuse. Golitsyn had two "big *berdyshes*" appraised at 30 and 40 kopeks apiece, which must have been monster butcher instruments. His two *cheval-de-frises (rogatinas)* were similar two-hands-on swinging axes.

Golitsyn's armory also contained a number of other striking instruments, swords, sabres, daggers, a rapier, as well as sundry blades for such instruments. He also had a number of lances, most of which presumably would have been used to arm his slave retainers. He also owned bludgeons (maces) whose principal function was to cave in an enemy's head in hand-to-hand combat. At least three of the maces were ceremonial: a golden one was appraised at 200 rubles; a silver and gold one at 50 rubles; and a silver one at 12 rubles. It is doubtful that those were made to cave in the heads of Tatars, Poles, or Swedes. His other maces may have been intended for such gory duty—they were made of copper, ivory, or walrus tusk.

All the tools of war discussed so far were descendants of those used by the mediaeval ancestors of the Muscovites centuries earlier: percussion or cutting instruments to fight hand to hand, bows and arrows to fight at a distance. The intervening centuries witnessed the gunpowder revolution, which by 1689 was fundamentally completed in Muscovy. Golitsyn's confiscated arsenal included every up-to-date weapon an individual might own—it must be noted that "government issue" did not exist; every combatant had to provide his own. Golitsyn had 1 gunpowder horn, 8 gunpowder measures, and 18 pounds of gunpowder. Gunpowder ordinarily was sold by weight, 5 to 22 kopeks a *funt* and .20 to 2.90 rubles a *pood*. The evaluation of 80 kopeks a *pood* is at the low end of these typical prices. (One can only wonder whether modern warfare would be so bloody if soldiers had to pay for the gunpowder they used.)

Gunpowder means guns, and Golitsyn had them aplenty. Because of terminological confusions, it is sometimes difficult to determine precisely

[26] *Krest'ianskaia voina ... Razina* 4:131, no. 129.

what was what. He had 11 arquebuses—*pishchali*—the proper translation in the sixteenth century; in the seventeenth century, these became "flintlocks" and "muskets." But those who inventoried Golitsyn's possessions used other terms that also mean "flintlock" and "musket": 12 flintlocks (*pishchali zavesnye*), evaluated at 1.67 apiece, and 15 *fuzei* and 4 *mushkety*, evaluated at 4.35 apiece for the former and 80 kopeks apiece for the latter. In addition, he had 25 carbines (*karabiny*), probably issued to his slave retainers for use on horseback, valued at 39 kopeks apiece.

In addition, he had 18 hunting long guns (*pishchal'nye vintovki*), which may have been rifled, evaluated at 3.11 apiece. Finally, he owned 28 apparently functioning pistols, evaluated at 3.38 each, and 16 worn out pistols listed at 5 kopeks apiece. Unless he was personally "gun-crazy," one might assume that his slave retainers wore sidearms in addition to carrying long guns. All of these are on the low side of contemporary market prices.

Gunners have to have something to shoot at, and so Golitsyn had 48 targets for practice.

All of this military hardware any Muscovite might have had, although of course some of the more expensive guns were manufactured (or imported) for the elite. But Golitsyn had more: his own cannon. One was ready to go, then there were two barrels and one carriage for a gun barrel. To the best of my knowledge, this was atypical. Others did not own cannons.

Golitsyn and his retinue had to be housed while on campaign, and for this he owned 35 tents, which must have ranged in size from something not much bigger than pup-tents (*izbushki* and *palaty*) evaluated in the range of 4 to 4.50 rubles apiece to probably the biggest tents in Muscovy—one Turkish *shatër* was appraised at 250 rubles, one his most highly valued possessions. The Golitsyn tent menage must have been quite a sight: his tents came not only from Turkey but also from Persia and the Kalmyks. Some were red (one was made of red velvet), others were blue, one was made of white silk, another (valued at 100 rubles) was waxed. Some were made of goatskin, others of linen. With those tents, the steppe and the Near East came to Moscow.

The tents had special poles, of which 26 are noted in the confiscation inventory. Many of the tents had special floors. Golitsyn owned 5 "cooking floors" and 16 others, some made of linen, others of calico, and a third group described only as "strong."

Lastly, mention must be made of Golitsyn's military musical instruments. His flutes have been noted above. In addition, he had 16 kettledrums, appraised at 3.74 rubles apiece.[27] The flutes and kettledrums, however, probably were more effective on the western front against the Poles and

[27] On the use of these "musical instruments" in warfare, see W. H. McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History* (Cambridge, 1995).

Table 18. Miscellaneous Possessions

English Name...	Russian Name.......	How Many	Total Sum	Price @
Anchor iron....	Iakor' Zhelez......	1	... .50	... .50
Angel..........	Angel..............	1	... .90	... .90
Bird cage......	Kletka Ptich.......	8	... 2.60	... .325
Book...........	Kniga..............	92	...59.93	... .65
Chain minted...	Tsep' Grem (Funt)..	12	...72.00	....6.00
Coat-of-arms...	Gerb...............	1	....5.00	....5.00
Cowberries.....	Tsvety Brusnichnye.	2	... .90	... .45
Crutch.........	Kliuchka...........	1	....2.00	....2.00
Engraving......	Evangeli (Zolotnik)	...181.5	...21.78	... .12
Handle lash....	Pletnik............	1	... .03	... .03
Horn buffalo...	Rog Buiv...........	3	... .20	... .067
Horn deer......	Rog Olenii.........	21	... .15	... .007
Magnif. glass..	Trubka Bol Stek....	1	....3.00	....3.00
Map of World...	Chertiozh Zemel....	1	... .50	.. .50
Map of Europe..	Chertiozh Evrop....	5	....2.40	.. .48
Medicine Siber.	Lekarstvo Sibi.....	1	... .50	.. .50
Murals in house	Rospis' Sten......		..193.50	......
Pen............	Pero...............	36	... .72	... .02
Print.matterGer	List Nemetsk.......	19	...20.99	... 1.10
Scale..........	Bezmen.............	1	... .15	... .15
Scale..........	Kontar'............	7	... .15	... .02
Scale..........	Terezi.............	1	...10.00	...10.00
Scale..........	Veski..............	4	....2.23	... .575
Soap...........	Mylo (Funt)........	2	...25	... .125
Soap German....	Mylo Nemetskoe.....	3	... .09	... .03
Telescope Germ.	Trubka Zr. Nem.....	1	....2.00	... 2.00
Thermometer....	Termometr..........	3	...15.00	... 5.00
Torch German...	Luchina Nemets.....		... .10	......
Tusk walrus....	Zuba Ryb'ia........	1	....1.20	... 1.20
Tusk walrus....	Zuba Ryb (Pood)....	.....1.33	....7.95	... 6.00
Wax first flow.	Stok Voshii........	8	...12.60	... 1.575
Wax red sealing	Surguch (Mesto)....	25	... .50	... .02
Wig............	Volosy Nakladnye...	2	....3.60	... 1.80

Swedes than they were against the Crimean Tatars. This once again illustrates the Muscovite military dilemma: the need to be prepared on two very different fronts, the southern front against the Crimean light cavalrymen armed with bows and arrows, and the western front against the Poles and Swedes, increasingly infantry equipped with firearms.

Table 18 is a catch-all of various things, many of them representing Western influence. Thus Golitsyn had two varieties of soap, apparently Russian soap appraised at 12.5 kopeks per *funt* and "German" soap for 3 kopeks a bar. He also had a "German" torch (some kind of lighting instrument). Then there was a "German" telescope, 3 Western mercury thermometers, and a magnifying glass. The set of Western proto-scientific instruments were all essentially baroque curiosities in Muscovy valued as much for their enormous expense and "exotic" foreign origin as for what they could actually see or measure.

The 8 bird cages almost certainly were part of the baroque interest in things unusual that helped create the modern scientific spirit. They represent part of the same mentality as the telescope, magnifying glass, and thermometer: trying to press the boundary of what primitive man unaided in a state of nature could learn by himself. This led to the creation of zoos and menageries; apparently some contemporary Romanov households also had this spirit and were full of caged birds, freaks, and other oddities of nature.

The Western printed matter of various kinds perhaps more than anything else portrays Golitsyn's mindset. He had what was probably a map of the earth (*chertiozh zemel*) as well as 5 maps of Europe. It is indeed dubious that there were many other such maps in all of Muscovy, especially considering their cost of at least half a ruble apiece. There was a Western engraving of the Gospels and something otherwise unknown called "'German' printed matter" (*nemetskii list*—the appraisers themselves probably did not know what it was precisely), which they estimated was worth the large sum of 20.99 rubles.

The 92 books inventoried among Golitsyn's things are perhaps his most interesting possessions. He was a man who could read German and Greek, and spoke Latin freely, one of the most educated and probably most cultured men of his era. One may assume that consumer sovereignty reigned in his acquisition of books, that very few of them were gifts from others or forced on him by the Church or government (which, recall, he ran from his position as head of the Foreign Affairs Chancellery between 1682 and his fall in 1689). According to the works by Luppov and others on seventeenth-century book-collecting, few personal libraries were larger than Golitsyn's, and few institutional (primarily monastic) collections were much bigger, either.[28]

[28] S. P. Luppov, *Kniga v Rossii v XVII veke* (Leningrad, 1970), 107 et seq.

Certainly there were few larger collections of primarily secular works, or of those imported from the West. Thanks to the pre-Revolutionary work of Adrianova-Peretts, we have a ready source of book prices.[29]

In the data set of which the Golitsyn material is a part, the median price of a book in this period was a ruble (N = 634). Perhaps not surprisingly, the prices of books follows the general level of prices in the period. Several other facts should be reported: the median price of books bought and sold was also one ruble (N = 270), whereas the median evaluation of the 90 books confiscated from Golitsyn was only 30 kopeks. This would indicate that his books were probably undervalued, although of course it is possible that used books in Muscovy had only one-third the value of new ones.

As nearly as I can calculate, Golitsyn's personal library was more secular than religious—quite a feat in a place that has the reputation that did pre-Petrine Muscovy. Of the books confiscated from him, 48 dealt with religious subjects: a Bible, a Psalter, service books, saints' lives, Gospels, something on the Antichrist, a book on schismatics, and so forth. Fifty-four of the books seem to have been on secular themes. Two were translated from Polish, another was in Polish, and there was a history of Polish and a grammar of Polish and Latin. Seven books were in German: one portraying "all the fish and animals in the world," another on land surveying, a calendar. The non-Church books in Middle Russian included the Law Code (*Sudebnik*) of 1550 (surprisingly, the Law Code [*Sobornoe ulozhenie*] of 1649 was not there), 4 books on comedy and one on poetry, a book on doctoring horses, several books on rulership, one on ambassadors, and two on military affairs. It would be interesting to compare this collection with those in the possession of the rulers of the other European states in the 1680s. The premium that Golitsyn placed on literacy was marked not only by the books but also by the 36 pens that had been in his possession. We must bear in mind that relatively few people outside the court were literate in the sixteenth century, and that Muscovy had begun to move from a society that placed a premium on oral tradition to written records only about the middle of the sixteenth century. The promulgation of the *Sudebnik* of 1550 was probably a significant landmark in that respect, as was the introduction of numerous governmental chancelleries (*prikazy*) with increasing specialization about the same time. The first book was printed in Muscovy in 1564. The next stage of literacy was probably instigated by the publication of the *Ulozhenie* of 1649 in two editions of 1200 apiece, which became widely known and used throughout Muscovy with its demand for literacy in many areas of life. This led to the publication of 300,000 ABC primers in the next half century as some

[29] V. Adrianova, "Materialy dlia istorii tsen na knigi v drevnei Rusi XVI–XVIII vv.," *Pamiatniki drevnei pis'mennosti i iskusstva* 178 (1912): 9–105.

Muscovites tried to respond to the demand for literacy. The presence of the pens indicates that writing was probably a major activity of the Golitsyn household, for they were not sufficiently valuable or distinctive to serve as objects of consumption and ostentation, as were many of Golitsyn's commodities. The wax may have been used to authenticate Golitsyn's written documents, either his own private affairs or government work he carried home.

More down-to-earth were Golitsyn's 13 scales, whose very existence implies that considerable buying and/or selling was done on the premises. The walrus tusk and "buffalo" and deer horns were almost certainly raw materials for objects manufactured on the Golitsyn premises, or by off-premises craftsmen who would not have such valuable commodities in stock (much like the textiles discussed above). The cowberries were apparently some kind of ornamentation to be sewn on a garment. The coat-of-arms may have been carried into battle, or more likely used as an ornament in the house.

Concern for health is evident in the "Siberian medicine" as well as the crutch.

The two wigs may represent a balding Golitsyn, or more likely another importation from western Europe, another manifestation of his desire for modernity.

What have we learned from this brief journey through Golitsyn's possessions and their comparison with some of the most common commodities of late Muscovy? First, we have learned that Golitsyn was a very wealthy man, the likes of which were rare (if non-existent) prior to his time, were very rare during his time, and became more common in the eighteenth century thanks to a combination of increasing exploitation of the enserfed peasantry and perhaps increasing productivity in a few spheres (transportation may have been one). It should be of at least marginal interest that a similar differentiation and creation of great wealth began in western Europe at approximately the same time we see this happening with Golitsyn in Muscovy. As Arcadius Kahan observed some years ago about the later eighteenth century, this was a major aspect of Westernization, as the elite came to believe that possession of Western commodities was a major mark of modernity, which, incidentally, increasingly differentiated them from their "traditional," enserfed subjects who furthermore adhered to the Old Belief.[30] This differentiation was paid for, of course, by the working population of Muscovy (most of them serfs) who were susceptible to greater exploitation both by their individual lords and by the tax-collecting state after the codification of legal stratification by the *Ulozhenie* of 1649. V. V. Golitsyn

[30] Arcadius Kahan, "The Costs of 'Westernization' in Russia: The Gentry and the Economy in the Eighteenth Century," *Slavic Review* 25, no. 1 (March 1966): 40–66.

possessed a world of commodities that M. I. Tatishchev hardly could have dreamed of eight decades earlier. Many of Golitsyn's imported possessions, costing buckets of money, simply were unavailable during the Time of Troubles. Whether the rise of expenditures on imported luxuries was complemented by any lower costs resulting from increased efficiencies in Muscovy remains to be determined, but the declining level of many domestic prices hints that this may have been occurring. Probably few late-twentieth-century Americans would want to exchange their material culture for Golitsyn's, but from his we can learn what there was in the world of material goods in Russia in 1689.[31]

Finally, the confiscation and inventorying of Golitsyn's possessions was a major event in Russian price history because it produced over three thousand prices for individual items. This occurred during the fall of prices in the 1690s. As we have repeatedly observed, the appraisers seem to have been very aware of what they were doing, extraordinarily aware of the current state of prices. Sometimes they low-balled the market, perhaps because the items were used, perhaps because they did not understand what they were. In general, however, they were "in the ball park," which makes their estimations the useful addition to price history they are.

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[31] Golitsyn may be the eastern outpost of the "consumer revolution," which Prof. Jan de Vries of the University of California at Berkeley postulates commenced about 1650 in western Europe and served as a major stimulus for the ensuing "industrial revolution."

Naming Cultures in Early Modern Russia*

DANIEL H. KAISER

> И когда умирала она, стоявшие при ней женщины говорили ей: не бойся, ты родила сына. Но она не отвечала, и не обращала внимания. И назвала младенца: Ихавод [Бесславие], сказав: «отошла слава от Израиля».
>
> —Первая книга царств 4:20–21

Proper names, Lévi-Strauss maintained, "form the fringe of a general system of classification: they are both its extension and its limit...the *quanta of signification* below which one no longer does anything but point."[1] However, the totemic classificatory systems to which Lévi-Strauss looked developed out of relatively "untamed" impulses, primary efforts at classifying and organizing social experience. Like most peoples whom Lévi-Strauss examined, the Sauk of North America drew their names from clan animals, "either because they mention the name of the animal itself, or because they suggest one of its habits, attributes, or characteristic qualities..., or because they refer to some animal or object with which it is associated." Lévi-Strauss likened this process to biological classification, dividing "...species into parts of the body and attitudes, and... social segments into individuals and roles."[2]

Because others bestow names on us, naming is a deeply social activity, and the study of naming can reveal much about the society and culture of the named. Although some names, like Ichabod's, may derive from individuation, more often names function as signs of social states or processes.[3] Given names honor the dead or the living, identify the bearer with kin or class, or join

*I was the beneficiary of helpful comments from many colleagues at presentations of earlier versions of this paper. I owe special thanks to Lindsey Hughes, Ann Kleimola, Kira Stevens, David Ransel, and the anonymous referee of this journal.

[1] Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (Chicago, 1966), 215.

[2] Ibid., 219, 173–75.

[3] V. A. Nikonov, "Lichnoe imia—sotsial'nyi znak," *Sovetskaia etnografiia*, 1967, no. 5, 154–67; Susan Cotts Watkins, Andrew S. London, "Personal Names and Cultural Change: A Study of the Naming Patterns of Italians and Jews in the United States in 1910," *Social Science History* 18(1994):170–71; Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman, "Child-Naming Patterns" in *A Place in Time: Explicatus* (New York, 1984), 83.

individuals across several generations; naming patterns may show differences across gender and race, and may reflect class distinctions.[4] Name preferences can remain static over prolonged periods, or alter abruptly in the context of broader social upheaval. If, for example, in Revolutionary France new names rapidly displaced the old, then for centuries prior to 1789 the dynamic of name selection was remarkably stable, depending for the most part on names deriving from another, pre-rationalist ideology.[5] Similarly, when Puritan emigrants arrived in colonial Massachusetts, they promptly introduced a new universe of Biblical given names, thereby inventing a tradition which came to dominate name choices in the colony.[6]

The history of Russian names suggests a similar story. When the Russian Revolution of 1917 ushered in dramatic social and political changes, the reservoir of Russian names likewise expanded and changed. Freed from previous naming conventions, parents in a revolutionary era borrowed names from the mechanical world around them (Elektra, Elevator, Industriia), celebrated the Revolution (Oktiabrina, Rev and Reva [from *revoliutsiia*]) and the new order it initiated (Serp, Molot, Agitprop, Ateist, Borets), and also devised entirely new names from the institutions of the communist world (Kim [*kommunisticheskii internatsional molodezhi*], Karm [*Krasnaia armiia*], Revdit [*revoliutsionnoe ditia*]).[7] In pre-revolutionary Russia personal names reflected another ideology, the dominant values of Christian Orthodoxy, associating newborns with saints of the Church calendar.

What names did Muscovite children bear? Christian baptism required that the christened child take a name from the list of saints, reflecting a Christian metaphysic that linked temporal and celestial citizens.[8] Despite the Christianization of Rus' in the tenth century, however, the Christian naming

[4] Louis Haas, "Naming Practices," *Encyclopedia of Social History*, ed. Peter Stearns (New York, 1994), 521; Stanley Lieberson and Eleanor O. Bell, "Children's First Names: An Empirical Study of Social Taste," *American Journal of Sociology* 98 (1992): 511–12. See also Richard D. Alford, *Naming and Identity: A Cross-Cultural Study of Personal Naming Practices* (New Haven, 1988).

[5] Jacques Dupâquier, "Naming-Practices, Godparenthood, and Kinship in the Vexin, 1540–1900," *Journal of Family History* 6 (1981): 137–47.

[6] Daniel Scott Smith, "Child-Naming Practices, Kinship Ties, and Change in Family Attitudes in Hingham, Massachusetts, 1641–1880," *Journal of Social History* 18 (1984–1985): 541–66.

[7] Genevra Gerhart, *The Russian's World: Life and Language* (New York, 1974), 29–30; V. D. Bondaletov, *Russkaia onomastika* (Moscow, 1983), 132. Other combinations were possible: Roblen (*rodilsia byt' lenintsem*); Mels (*Marks, Engels, Lenin, Stalin*); Arvil' (*armiia V. I. Lenina*); Vilora (*Vladimir Il'ich Lenin—organizator revoliutsii*); Gertruda (*Geroinia truda*); Ninel' (Lenin backwards), etc. For these and other "monstrosities," as the author calls them, see V. A. Ivashko, *Kak vybiraiut imena*, 2d ed. (Minsk, 1988), 125–26, and Bondaletov, *Russkaia onomastika*, 132.

[8] S. V. Bulgakov, *Nastol'naia kniga dlia sviashchenno-tserkovno-sluzhitelei*, 2d ed. (Kharkiv, 1900), 873.

system did not win a prompt and complete victory over traditional naming practices. For some time, newborns in Rus' bore names which did not depend upon Christian inspiration but stemmed from other traditions. For example, surveys of Novgorod birch bark charters for the period stretching from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries show that about a third of all persons identified in these texts bore non-Christian names, borrowed mainly from early Slavic usage (Borislav, Dobromir, Gostiata, and the like). Study of names in Northeast Rus' in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries found that Christian names accounted for about three-quarters of all names mentioned in surviving documents. In more remote places where Christianity had yet to put down deep roots, rival systems were especially in evidence. Twice early in the sixteenth century the Novgorod archbishop wrote to parishioners in far-off Votsk, condemning native customs there, one of which involved having local shamans name a child before the priest was summoned.[9]

Non-Christian names remained usual even in central Muscovy centuries after the official introduction of Christian ritual. For example, the late sixteenth-century sinodicon which commemorated victims of Ivan IV reveals that churchmen of that time, whom one might expect to have been sensitive on this point, nevertheless employed Christian and non-Christian names alike to recall the slain in prayer. Customs books, tax lists, and many other sources prove that the so-called "non-calendric" names remained very usual in Muscovy.[10] Personal characteristics, geographic location, birth order, and likenesses to animals and objects found frequent expression in common names.[11]

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[9] N. P. Cherneva, "Lichnye imena v novgorodskikh berestianykh gramotakh," in *Onomastika Povolzh'ia 2* (Gor'kii, 1971), 30–32; Astrid Bæcklund, *Personal Names in Medieval Velikij Novgorod: I. Common Names* (Stockholm, 1959), 42–44; Marian Wójtowicz, *Drevnerusskaia antroponimiia XIV–XV vv. Severo-Vostochnaia Rus'* (Poznan, 1986), 13, 21, 31, 149; *Dopolneniia k aktam istoricheskim, sobrannye i izdannye Arkheograficheskoiu komissieiu*, 12 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1846–1872), 1, nos. 28, 43.

[10] Wójtowicz, *Drevnerusskaia antroponimiia*, 19, 21. For a sample of such names drawn from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources, see A. Balov, "O drevne-russkikh 'nekalendarnykh' imenakh v XVI i XVII vekakh," *Zhivaia starina* 11, no. 3–4 (1901):106–111; N. N. Brazhnikova, "Dokhristianskie imena v kontse XVII–nachale XVIII vv.," in *Onomastika Povolzh'ia* (Ul'ianovsk, 1969), 39–40; and V. B. Kobrin, "Genealogiia i antroponimika (po russkim materialam XV–XVI vv.)," in *Istoriia i genealogiia: S. B. Veselovskii i problemy istoriko-genealogicheskikh issledovanii* (Moscow, 1977), 81–88. For a general discussion of early, non-Christian names, see A. A. Ugriumov, *Russkie imena*, 2d ed. (Vologda, 1970), 6–32; Cherneva, "Lichnye imena," 30–35; and Bæcklund, *Personal Names*, 42–44.

[11] A. N. Miroslavskaia, "O drevnerusskikh imenakh, prozvishchakh, i prozvaniiakh," in *Perspektivy razvitiia slavianskoi onomastiki* (Moscow, 1980), 203. For other examples confirming Miroslavskaia's view, see Hagar Sundberg, *The Novgorod Kabala Book of 1614–1616: Text and Commentary* (Stockholm, 1982), 193–94. For a handy concordance to these names, see N. M. Tupikov, *Slovar' drevnerusskikh lichnykh sobstvennykh imen* (St. Petersburg,

A data set which includes more than 8,000 names drawn from 391 Muscovite testaments and more than 300 marriage agreements confirms these reports.[12] Names reflecting birth order are especially frequent, and in a surprising way: there are only a handful (6) of names associated with "first" (Pervyi, Pervoi, Pervushka, Odinets); "second" (Vtoroi) appears only a few times (3) as well, but "third" (Tret'iak) shows up 34 times, and "fifth" (Piatoi) another 15 times. Other names appear in much lower frequencies, but in extraordinary variety. One meets, of course, individuals named after their ethnic origin (Chiudin [Finn], Litvin [Lithuanian]), but personal characteristics seem the more fruitful source of inspiration. In addition to the obvious qualifiers of size (Big [Bol'shoi] and Little [Malyi, Men'shoi, Men'shak]), one also meets other vivid depictions: Meat-eater (Miasoed); Proud (Gordei); Dark (Chernivo); Unlucky (Bezchasnyi); Slow or Late (Dolgoi); Melon (Dynia); Messy (Neustroi); Dry (Sukhoi); Lame (Khromets); Stay-at-Home (Domashnei); and Angry (Serdit). Other characterizations liken individuals to things: Bulat (Sword); Tulup (Sheepskin Coat); Almaz (Diamond); and Voronets (Crow). Still others hint at personal misery: Sleepless (Bezson); Ugly (Nekras); No Good (Nekhoroshka, Plokhoets); and Unloved (Neliubov'). Although all such names account for only a fraction of the whole group of more than 8,000 individuals recorded in the data set, their persistent appearance in testaments and dowries confirms the prolonged use of names which did not come from the Christian naming system.

Several attempts to explain this circumstance have appeared. It may be, as Uspenskii and others have argued, that children born in Muscovy received a secular name at birth, and only later—perhaps at baptism or when celebrating a child's first birthday—a Christian name. Alternatively, parents might change a child's name in connection with magic rituals. For example, in imperial Russia, parents of an ill infant, despairing of any help and convinced that powerful spirits had conspired to do the child harm, would usher their baby out of the house, announcing loudly their intention of exchanging the child for another. Some time later, they would return home with their same child, but having given the newborn a new name indicating happenstance acquisition, in this way perhaps fooling the spirits who threatened the infant's health. This would explain names like Nenash (Not Ours), Naiden (Found), Kraden

1903); Cherneva provides a supplementary listing of names which do not appear in Tupikov ("Lichnye imena," 31–32).

[12] There is not space here to detail the locations of all these texts which originate from a wide variety of published and archival sources. However, in the monograph on *Family Life in Early Modern Russia* on which I am now working I expect to publish the complete list.

(Stolen) and Prodan (Sold).[13] But, as Uspenskii points out, some second names also came from the Church calendar, although how this happened is not clear. The well-known seventeenth-century icon-painter Ushakov, for example, bore the baptismal name Pimen, together with a second Christian name, as a 1673 inscription shows: "painted by the icon painter Pimin, son of Fedor, called Simon Ushakov." Samuel Collins reported a similar case, noting that the secretary of the Foreign Affairs Chancellery was "...called Boris Iuanoidg, but his right name is Eliah Iuanoidg." Collins also claimed that mothers gave their children "Love-names," like "Almaus, my Diamond" over and above their baptismal, Christian names.[14]

Another explanation for the persistence of non-calendric names in Muscovy is that all non-Christian names were simply nicknames, and not proper names at all, just as today, a person in Muscovy might normally have employed an informal name, gained perhaps in childhood as a reflection of some personal characteristic, but all the same also bear a Christian name. Others disagree, however, observing that even in Muscovite legal texts individuals who had every reason to guarantee that their legal name was used nevertheless appear in the record bearing non-Christian names. For example, the *Tysiachnaia kniga* of 1550, which allotted Moscow lands to select servitors, knows one "Shestak [Sixth] Fedorov syn Vasil'chikov," "Ivan da Posnik [Faster] Semenovy deti Solovtseva," and similar formulations. These examples indicate that non-Christian names continued in use, and not simply as nicknames, but as fully acceptable legal identifiers.[15]

Muscovite anthroponyms seem to have been of two kinds, each functioning differently. The first were associated exclusively with birth, especially birth order (Pervoi [First], Vtoroi [Second], Pozdei [Late], etc.), physical appearance or character (Beliai [Pale], Khudiak [Unwell], Bezson [Sleepless]), or parents' attitude toward the child's birth (Nezhdan [Unexpected]). Almost certainly these names stuck to their bearers from birth. A second group probably originated later in life, taking their inspiration from an individual's occupation (Banshchik [Bathhouse attendant]), ethnic or

[13] A. K. Baiburin, *Ritual v traditsionnoi kul'ture* (St. Petersburg, 1993), 46.

[14] B. A. Uspenskii, "Name Changes in Russia from a Historical and Semiotic Point of View (On A. M. Selishchev's 'Changes in Surnames and Given Names')," *Soviet Anthropology and Archeology* 17, no. 4 (Spring 1979): 32–33; *Etnografiia vostochnykh slavian: Ocherki traditsionnoi kul'tury* (Moscow, 1987), 398; N. I. Kostomarov, *Ocherk domashnei zhizni i nravov velikorusskogo naroda v XVI i XVII stoletiiakh* (St. Petersburg, 1860), 156; Samuel Collins, *The Present State of Russia* (London, 1671), 19.

[15] A. I. Sokolov, "Russkie imena i prozvishcha v XVII veke," *Izvestiia obshchestva arkheologii, istorii i etnografii pri imp. Kazanskom universitete* 9, vyp. 1 (1891):1–16; V. K. Chichagov, *K istorii russkikh imen, otechestv i familii* (Moscow, 1959), 19–29; *Tysiachnaia kniga 1550 g. i dvorovaia tetrad' 50-kh godov XVI v.* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1950), 61, 65.

geographic origin (Belozer [someone from the White Lake region], Kazanets [resident of Kazan']), resemblance to an animal (Volk [Wolf], Voronets [Crow]), or some other defining external trait, whether physical (Sedoi [Grey], Krivoi [Crooked or One-eyed], Gorbun [Hunchback]) or behavioral (Balagur [Joker or Clown]). Both groups of names appear regularly in Muscovite documents, but names from the first group often stand alone, without any Christian name, while those from the second group often take a subsidiary place, and not infrequently texts identify them specifically as nicknames. The bi-modal character of name-giving indicates that unofficial, folk naming practices remained dynamic in Muscovy, thriving alongside Christian naming fully into the seventeenth century, by the end of which time non-calendric forenames begin to disappear, especially in towns.[16]

Kobrin found in the 1551–1552 Court Register (*Dvorovaia tetrad'*) that although more than 14% of all individuals listed there bore a non-calendric name, Men'shik, the most frequently employed non-Christian name, appeared only 29 times, accounting for less than 1% of all the 3,500 or so names. By contrast, Ivan, the most usual calendar name, registered in the list 580 times (16.6%); 19 other Christian names were more usual than Men'shik. Consequently, even though the non-calendric names as a group continued to be important in Muscovy, Christian names were more usual and much more concentrated.[17]

Muscovite slavery contracts make the same point. Studying more than 7,500 names drawn from slavery contracts, mainly from early in the seventeenth century, Richard Hellie found that for the most part both chattel and master shared the same Christian names. In both groups, for example, Ivan was by far the most usual male name; Vasilii, Fedor and other Christian names were also common among both master and slave. Female slaveowners, too, shared names with their human property; both were likely to be called Anna, Mariia, or Avdotiia.[18]

Unlike the Court Register of the mid-sixteenth century, the service rosters (*razriadnye knigi*) of the early seventeenth century know almost no names which did not belong to the Orthodox calendar. Ivan proved especially popular: about one man in nine answered to that name. Vasilii was second-most usual, borne by about 5% of those identified in the roster; Grigorii

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[16] Miroslavskaia, "O drevnerusskikh imenakh," 202–213; Brazhnikova, "Dokhristianskie imena," 38–42; and E. N. Baklanova, "Antroponimiia russkogo naseleniia vologodskogo uezda v nachale XVIII veka," in *Onomastika Povolzh'ia 2* (Gor'kii, 1971), 37, who notes the persistence of non-Christian names among rural residents late in the seventeenth century.

[17] Kobrin, "Genealogiia," 82, 87–89.

[18] Richard Hellie, *Slavery in Russia 1450–1725* (Chicago, 1982), 396–405; see also Sundberg, *The Novgorod Kabala Books*, 189–95, who studies a smaller set of names.

(3.5%), Fedor (3%), and Semen (3%) followed. These five names together account for more than a quarter of all servitors mentioned for the years 1612–1622, indicative of the concentration of these names and the dominance of the Christian naming system as a whole.[19]

Similar frequencies have been reported for other populations. According to evidence from the southern frontier towns in the second half of the seventeenth century, less than 10% of all provincial servitors did not have a Christian name, even though considerable numbers of Tatars were resident here. Among males the same names predominated: Ivan (12%); Fedor (5.2%); Vasilii (4.2%); Grigorii (3.7%); Semen and Stepan (each 2.7%). The population inventory (*perepisnaia kniga*) of Toropets in 1678 produced similar results: Ivan accounted for 14.2% of all men, Fedor for 5.3%, Vasilii for 5.0%, Semen and Mikhail for 3.7% each, and Grigorii for 3.6%; few non-calendric names appear in the list.[20] These records indicate that by the end of the seventeenth century, more and more often Muscovite children bore exclusively Christian names.[21]

Certainly censuses of central Russian towns early in the eighteenth century (see Table 1) contain very few names not met in the Church's list of saints. In the 1720 Tula census, for example, one meets a Sredneva, but such a name is quite exceptional; very nearly every one of the more than 38,000 names recorded in twelve censuses was a Christian name, indicating perhaps that at long last the Christian naming system had by this time conquered its rivals.[22] The same concentration of names remarked on above also prevailed here. No name was so usual as Ivan (see Table 1): 7.8% of the population bore that name, meaning that approximately one of every six men identified in the censuses was an Ivan. Furthermore, Ivan was popular everywhere: in every

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[19] L. M. Shchetinin, *Imena i nazvaniia* (Rostov, 1968), 171–209. The same names seem to have predominated even earlier; see Wójtowicz, *Drevnerusskaia antroponimiia* , 22, who suggests that (male) naming patterns seem to have stabilized by the sixteenth century.

[20] Carol Stevens, "The Naming of Warriors: Name and Name Usage on Muscovy's Southern Frontier, 1650–1700," unpublished paper, 17; *Toropets: Materialy dlia istorii goroda XVII i XVIII stoletii* (Moscow, 1883), 9–16. Calculations of the Toropets name frequencies are mine.

[21] Bondaletov, *Russkaia onomastika*, 104–109; T. V. Bakhvalova, "Iz istorii razvitiia lichnykh imen v Belozer'e (na materiale pamiatnikov pis'mennosti XVI–XVII vv.)," in *Problemy onomastiki* (Vologda, 1974), 123.

[22] Of course, it may also be the case that the census takers insisted on receiving a Christian name, although firm evidence on this point is lacking. A 1701 decree in fact did demand "complete" (presumably Christian) names in official documents; as many texts show, however, practice diverged widely from this ideal (Bondaletov, *Russkaia onomastika*, 113). For purposes of reporting name frequencies in the present article, variants and diminutives are listed under a single, formal name. Hence Irina for all occurrences of Irina, Arina, Orina, and Petr for all occurrences of Petr, Petrushka, etc.

Table 1

TOTAL NAME FREQUENCIES, EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY:
Ten Central Russian Towns (12 Censuses)

MALE

Name	Absolute Number	% Total	% Male
Ivan	2978	7.8	16.5
Vasilii	1071	2.8	5.9
Fedor	874	2.3	4.8
Petr	782	2.0	4.3
Mikhail	666	1.7	3.7
Aleksei	606	1.6	3.3
Semen	592	1.6	3.3
Grigorii	563	1.5	3.1
Andrei	556	1.5	3.1
Stepan	518	1.4	2.9
Iakov	504	1.3	2.8
Afonasii	370	1.0	2.0
		26.5	55.7

FEMALE

Name	Absolute Number	% Total	% Female
Avdotiia/Evdokiia	2078	5.4	10.3
Anna	1553	4.1	7.8
Praskoviia	1153	3.0	5.7
Mariia	1115	2.9	5.6
Irina	976	2.6	4.9
Matrena	846	2.2	4.2
Marfa	804	2.1	4.0
Dariia	727	1.9	3.6
Tatiana	673	1.8	3.4
Pelageia	632	1.7	3.1
Aksiniia	603	1.6	3.0
Akulina	572	1.5	2.8
		30.8	58.4

SOURCE: Author's data set.

one of the twelve censuses carried out in the ten towns, Ivan was the most popular name (see Table 2).

Among women's names, the predominance was less pronounced. If one combines Avdotiia with its Orthodox equivalent, Evdokiia, then these names demonstrated considerable popularity in all the census towns.[23] Like Ivan, Avdotiia was the most usual woman's name in every one of the twelve inventories, and overall about 10% of the population answered to these names. However, the difference in frequency between Avdotiia and other women's names was less dramatic. Anna, which almost everywhere was the second most popular woman's name, identified almost 8% (about one in thirteen) of all women in the twelve censuses.[24]

Among men, name frequency drops precipitously after Ivan; Vasilii was clearly next, accounting for 5.9% of all men's names (one out of every seventeen men), followed by Fedor and Petr (4.8% and 4.3% respectively). Other names follow in a long list. The same preferences emerge when names are considered by rank order: Vasilii was clearly the second most popular name, followed by Fedor and Petr. Altogether sixteen different male names occupied at least one space among the top ten names in the twelve census lists examined here.

The concentration of names is understandably tighter among females, reflecting a narrower circle of names from which to choose. Praskoviia was about as usual as Vasilii, accounting for 5.7% of all female names; Mariia followed close behind (5.6%), after which came Irina, Matrena, and Marfa. However, nineteen different female names occupied one of the top ten places in one or another of the ten towns surveyed. Avdotiia and Anna led the way; Praskoviia, third in total frequency, was also third in rank order, followed by Mariia, Irina, Matrena, Marfa, and Dariia, the same sequence observed by total frequencies. Consequently, although some regional favorites emerge, it appears that the name frequencies represent rather well the general name preferences in these central Russian towns early in the eighteenth century.

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[23] On the conflation of Avdotiia and Evdokiia, see A. V. Suslova, A. V. Superanskaia, *O russkikh imenakh* (Leningrad, 1991), 109; B. I. Uspenskii, *Iz istorii russkikh kanonicheskikh imen* (Moscow, 1969), 52–53. There is some reason, nevertheless, for tracing their frequencies separately. In half the twelve censuses used here Evdokiia barely makes an appearance. In Riazan′, for example, one counts 93 instances of Avdotiia but none of Evdokiia; in Uglich 237 cases of Avdotiia and but two of Evdokiia. In the other six inventories, however, Evdokiia and Avdotiia both appear with considerable frequency. In Belev, for example, the 1718 census found 139 Avdotiias and 112 Evdokiias.

[24] V. A. Nikonov observes a geographical distinction in the relative popularity of these two women's names. Evidently in part because of a seventeenth-century canonization of the Tver′ princess Anna, the name Anna came to dominate Avdotiia in northern areas; elsewhere, Avdotiia prevailed (*Imia i obshchestvo* [Moscow, 1974], 49–50).

Table 2

NAME PREFERENCES BY RANK ORDER*
Early Eighteenth-Century Russian Towns

Name	Points
MALE	
Ivan	120
Vasilii	106
Fedor	89
Petr	78
Mikhail	51
Aleksei	44
Semen	43
Grigorii	37
Stepan	30
Andrei	25
Iakov	22
Afonasii	8
Dmitrii	3
Efim	2
Filip	1
Timofei	1
FEMALE	
Avdotiia/Evdokiia	120
Anna	105
Praskoviia	87
Mariia	74
Irina	69
Matrena	49
Marfa	44
Dariia	31
Aksiniia	18
Tatiana	17
Pelageia	9
Akulina	8
Nastasiia	6
Nataliia	6
Katerina	5
Efimiia	4
Fedosiia	4
Uliiana	3
Vasilisa	1

*To combat the imbalance which the unequal size of the different populations reflected, I determined the rank order of names for each of the twelve censuses for which I had information, assigning points for the first ten places for each sex in each town: the most popular name in a given town earned ten points, the second most popular name nine points, and so on. As a result, the maximum score for any one name was 120 points (first place in all twelve censuses), but a name which appeared only once among the top ten places might receive as few as one point (one tenth-place finish).

Table 3

FREQUENCY OF SAINTS' DAYS
RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CALENDAR

(In Order of Total Frequency in Reported Populations)

MALE

Name	Number Diff. Days	% Days in Year
Ivan (Ioann)	61	16.7
Vasilii	16	4.4
Fedor	29	7.9
Petr	29	7.9
Mikhail	13	3.6
Aleksei	6	1.6
Semen	11	3.0
Grigorii	16	4.4
Andrei	13	3.6
Stepan	17	4.7
Iakov	16	4.4
Afonasii	13	3.6

FEMALE

Avdotiia (Evdokiia)	3	0.8
Anna	11	3.0
Praskoviia (Paraskeva)	3	0.8
Mariia	10	2.7
Irina	4	1.1
Matrena	5	1.4
Marfa	5	1.4
Dariia	1	0.3
Tatiana	1	0.3
Pelageia	3	0.8
Aksiniia (Ksenia)	1	0.3
Akulina	2	0.5

SOURCE: S. V. Bulgakov, *Nastol'naia kniga dlia sviashchenno-tserkovno-sluzhitelei*, 2d ed. (Kharkiv, 1900), 652–68.

In these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that Ivan should appear so often in these lists. No other Christian name was recalled more frequently in the lists of commemoration which governed Orthodox liturgy (see Table 3). The Church calendar remembered Ivan (or Ioann) on more than 60 days of the year; to put it another way, the Orthodox liturgy celebrated some Ivan about every sixth day of the Church year, far more often than any other name, male or female.[25] Furthermore, this frequency corresponds almost exactly to the observed frequency of the name in the towns of early eighteenth-century Russia, corroborating the suggestion advanced above that the Christian naming system had taken firm root by the turn of the century.

On the other hand, most of the other name frequencies accord less well with the Church calendar. For example, Vasilii was remembered in the liturgy 16 times a year, just 4.4% of all days in the year, but townsmen in eighteenth-century Russia bore the name Vasilii more often (5.9%) than the Church calendar predicts. To be sure, the differential is not great, but it is striking that the Church calendar recalls both Fedor and Petr, the third- and fourth-most-frequent names in the census towns (4.8% and 4.3% respectively), far more often than Vasilii: Church calendars celebrated Fedor and Petr each 29 times during the year (7.9% of days in the year), but Vasilii, recalled less often in Church calendars, was nonetheless the more usual name in practice. Even more remarkable is the fact that Aleksei, whom clerics remembered on just six days in the year, proved a much more usual name than Semen, Grigorii, Andrei, Stepan, Iakov and Afonasii, all of which figured in the Church calendar two or three times as often as Aleksei.[26]

A similar picture emerges from considering women's names. Anna was one of the most celebrated of women in the annual Church calendar. Although recalled much less often than many of the men, Anna nevertheless appeared on the Church schedule much more often than did most women's names; only Mariia was honored more often, but from ancient times the Orthodox Church preserved "the honorable custom not to give to those newly christened the names of the Lord Jesus Christ or His Most Holy Mother. . . ."[27] Therefore, it

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[25] Although it is usual to count Ivan the equivalent of the calendric Ioann, Uspenskii points out that the relationship is more complicated (*Iz istorii russkikh kanonicheskikh imen* [Moscow, 1969], 16–19).

[26] It is possible that the frequency of the name Aleksei is connected with the popularity of the seventeenth-century sovereign, Aleksei Mikhailovich, but the names of other sovereigns of the era, Fedor and Petr, did not share in that popularity.

[27] Bulgakov, *Nastol'naia kniga*, 875. Although one sometimes meets in the record persons named Mariia, that name evidently honored women other than the Virgin. Uspenskii points out that prior to the mid-seventeenth century Maríia served only to denote the Virgin, whereas Máriia (later modified in colloquial speech to Már'ia) honored other saints, such as Mary Magdalene; the situation in the southwest was different (*Iz istorii*, 39–47).

Table 4

NAME FREQUENCIES IN
KUBENSK RURAL DISTRICT,VOLOGDA PROVINCE, 1717

Name	% Total	% Male
Ivan	12.2	17.6
Fedor	4.3	6.2
Vasilii	5.7	3.9
Lukiian	3.9	2.7
Mikhail	3.8	2.6
Andrei	3.6	2.5
Petr	3.6	2.5
Dmitrii	3.2	2.2
Semen	2.9	2.0
Stepan	2.6	1.8
Aleksei	2.6	1.8
Iakov	2.1	1.5
	50.5	47.3

Name	% Total	% Female
Anna	2.3	7.3
Mariia	2.1	6.8
Avdotiia	1.8	5.9
Uliiana	1.7	5.4
Irina	1.7	5.4
Marfa	1.3	4.1
Praskoviia	1.2	3.7
Aksiniia	1.1	3.7
Dariia	1.0	3.1
Fedora	0.9	2.9
Efrosiniia	0.9	2.8
Katerina	0.8	2.6
Fedosiia	0.8	2.5
Pelageia	0.7	2.4
Marina	0.7	2.4
Fekla	0.7	2.4
Efimiia	0.7	2.3
Akulina	0.7	2.3
Tatiana	0.7	2.2
	21.8	71.3

SOURCE: E. N. Baklanova, "Lichnye imena vologodskikh krest'ian po perepisi 1717 g.," in *Lichnye imena v proshlom, nastoiashchem, budushchem* (Moscow: Nauka, 1970), 313–14.

is not surprising that Anna should have been so usual a name in the eighteenth-century Russian cities. Avdotiia, however, represents a very different case. Recalled on only four days in the Church list of festivals, Avdotiia nevertheless emerged as the single most popular woman's name in these ten Russian towns, outdistancing both Anna and Mariia. By the same token, three other women's names in the top twelve were recalled in the Church calendar only one time each: Dariia, Tatiana, and Aksiniia. Celebrated in Church services less than one percent of the days of the year, these names all the same accounted for 3.6%, 3.4%, and 3.0% of all women's names. These variations indicate that, although the Church calendar was influential in deciding names early in the eighteenth century, it was not always determinative.

Inasmuch as the twelve censuses used here depend upon urban populations, a comparison with rural name frequencies of the time would be helpful. E. N. Baklanova has studied one such population, the residents of Kubensk rural district (*tret'*) near Vologda in north-central Russia. Inventoried several times in the seventeenth century (males only except for widow household heads), and again twice early in the eighteenth century, the population of Kubensk district in 1717 totalled 12,583 persons; males outnumbered females, registering about 117 males for every 100 females.[28] Baklanova found examples of more than 205 different male names in Kubensk, but only 64 different female names, reflecting that same differential of name possibilities noted above.[29] Despite the potential for distributing names across this range, the peasants of Kubensk district showed a marked inclination to concentrate their name choices. Table 4 shows that many of the same names usual in the cities of the time were also popular in the countryside. Ivan, for example, was almost exactly as usual a name in Kubensk as it was in the twelve city inventories: about one in six men bore that name. Fedor, however, was even more usual among peasants than among their city cousins, more closely reflecting the Church calendar frequencies. But the same names dominate the top dozen choices in both city and country. Only one name not cited in any of the frequency charts for the twelve city inventories appears in Kubensk district, Luk'ian, the fourth-most popular name in these villages. Recalled on five separate days in the annual Church cycle, Luk'ian was much less likely to

[28] N. A. Baklanova, "Perepisnye knigi 1678 i 1717 gg. po vologodskomu uezdu kak onomasticheskii istochnik," in *Etnografiia imen* (Moscow, 1971); idem, "Lichnye imena vologodskikh krest'ian po perepisi 1717 g.," in *Lichnye imena v proshlom, nastoiashchem, budushchem* (Moscow, 1970), 308–314; idem, "Antroponimiia." In these three pieces Baklanova gives slightly different totals for the number of names inventoried.

[29] Baklanova, "Antroponimiia," 35.

be selected than any of the top twelve names identified in the city censuses. All the same, among the Vologda peasants it was a very popular name.[30]

The women of Kubensk district were less likely than men to bear the same name as a neighbor. Whereas among the men the twelve most usual names accounted for more than half the inventoried population, the top nineteen women's names account for barely one-fifth of all women's names. Furthermore, men's names show less variability between country and city; eleven of the twelve men's names most frequently met in the city censuses were also most frequently met in the country. Among women the parallel was not nearly so strong. One has to examine the first nineteen village names to find eleven of the twelve names most usual in the city inventories. In addition, the fourth most usual name among Vologda peasant women, Uliiana, did not even make the top twelve in the cities.[31]

In Church lists Uliiana (Iulianiia) appears rather often, being celebrated on eight separate days during the year, less often than either Anna or Mariia, but far more frequently than most women's names. Nevertheless, in the cities Uliiana was not a usual name.[32] Fedora and Efrosiniia also appeared reasonably often in the Church calendar (eight and six days respectively), which may account for their popularity among Kubensk peasants. But neither name was usual in the census cities. Although more case studies will be necessary to confirm the point, this comparison indicates that, although the name bank for villagers and town residents was very similar, by the early eighteenth century differences had begun to appear (especially among women), and found their reflection in naming conventions.

Examining name frequencies in this way conveys the impression of static preferences, but of course the early modern Russian naming system was dynamic, just like its modern counterparts. By comparing name frequencies among different generations, Baklanova established that some names, already usual in the seventeenth century, became even more popular later. Ivan, for

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[30] Why is not clear; a certain Luk'ian, who died in 1654 after having founded a hermitage near Aleksandrova, might have been the inspiration (Nikolai Barsukov, *Istochniki russkoi agiografii* [St. Petersburg, 1882], 334).

[31] Lieberson and Bell found that in names given to children in New York between 1973 and 1985 a similar dynamic was at work. Female names were more subject to change, whereas male names were generally more conservative, hence associated with higher frequencies and less variation: " ...[R]elatively speaking, novelty [in name choice] is more appealing for girls, and traditional names more appealing for boys" ("Children's First Names," 516–22). Of course, the naming system of late twentieth-century New York is different in many ways from that which prevailed in Petrine Russia. Nevertheless, the possibility that gender played a similar function in eighteenth-century Russian naming practices is arresting, and deserves special study.

[32] Several Iulianiias were known to Muscovite Christians, but which was influential among the peasants of Kubensk is not known (Barsukov, *Istochniki*, 282).

example, accounted for about 17.6% of all names entered in the books for the years from 1650–1717; but for those born between 1700–1717, Ivan represented 21.6% of men's names. Indeed, several of the most frequently-cited names grew still more usual early in the eighteenth century, testifying to a growing tendency to settle upon an ever narrower range of names. The same tendency is not so marked among women. Although early in the eighteenth century Anna grew more popular, improving from 7.1% to 9.0% of all women, Mariia, Evdokiia, and Uliiana all lost ground, while Irina increased its share from 4.0% to 5.4%. Among other women's names, Praskoviia, Fedora, and Pelageia all found increasing favor among the peasants of these villages.[33]

This information points unmistakably to an evolving system of naming which came to distinguish social layers. If early in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries elite society and their inferiors shared a similar name fund, one which came to depend increasingly upon the reservoir of Orthodox saints' names, the eighteenth century witnessed the beginnings of a process of social separation evident in name choices. Name preferences in both city and village gave unwitting expression to different cultural values, marking perhaps the first stages of the separation between town and country which has played so dramatic a role in modern European history. The full expression of this tendency came later, however.[34]

What meaning Christian names had for Muscovite families is far from clear. We know almost nothing about how ordinary people settled on names. According to the prescription of clerical handbooks and outsiders' testimony, the naming ritual took little cognizance of parental wishes, since ritual prevented parents themselves from attending the baptism. And in any case, in theory, the Church calendar determined the child's name: Christian children received the name of a saint whose festival coincided with the date of baptism, normally eight days after birth.[35] However, we know from the experience of

[33] Baklanova, "Antroponimiia," 38–39. Even more revealing would be a study of the frequency and character of inter-generational naming. However, such a study would require access to a secular series of nominal data for a given community. For the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, study of parish registers would serve, but for the earlier period no sources seem suitable to the task.

[34] V. A. Nikonov, "Zhenskie imena v Rossii XVIII veka," in *Etnografiia imen* (Moscow, 1971), 129–30.

[35] A. Tereshchenko, *Byt russkogo naroda* (St. Petersburg, 1848), 3:56. Eve Levin claims that in pre-Petrine Russia naming took place on the eighth day and baptism on the fortieth, though she does not explain how the one could take place without the other ("Childbirth in Pre-Petrine Russia: Canon Law and Popular Traditions," in *Russia's Women: Accommodation, Resistance and Rebellion*, ed. Barbara Clement et al. [Berkeley, 1991], 54). A. Makarenko maintains that in nineteenth-century Siberian peasant society ". . . it was usual to give newborns names of those saints associated with the greatest percent of surviving children" ("Materialy po narodnoi meditsine, Uzhurskoi volosti, Achinskogo okruga, Eniseiskoi gubernii . . . ," *Zhivaia starina* 7[1897]:98).

Table 5

BIRTHDAYS AND NAMEDAYS FOR
SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY TSAREVICHES AND TSAREVNAS

(All Dates According to Old Style)

Child	Birthday	Nameday	Interval (in Days)
Irina Mikhailovna (1627)	22.IV	6.V	14
Pelageia Mikhailovna (1628)	?	?	?
Aleksei Mikhailovich (1629)	10.III	17.III	7
Anna Mikhailovna (1630)	?	?	?
Ivan Mikhailovich (1633)	2.VI	2.VI	0
Sofiia Mikhailovna (1634)	?	?	?
Tatiana Mikhailovna (1636)	5.I	12.I	7
Evdokiia Mikhailovna (1637)	?	?	?
Vasilii Mikhailovich (1639)	14.III	22.III	8
Dmitrii Alekseevich (1648; 1649?)	23.X	26.X	3
Evdokiia Alekseevna (1650)	18.II	1.III	11
Marfa Alekseevna (1652)	26.VIII	1.IX	6
Aleksei Alekseevich (1654)	5.II	12.II	7
Anna Alekseevna (1655)	23.I	3.II	11
Sofiia Alekseevna (1657)	17.IX	17.IX	0
Ekaterina Alekseevna (1658)	27.XI	24.XI	-3
Mariia Alekseevna (1660)	18.I	26.I	8
Fedor Alekseevich (1661)	30.V	[5.VI]	6
Feodosiia Alekseevna (1662)	28.V	29.V	1
Simeon Alekseevich (1665)	3.IV	17.IV	14
Ioann Alekseevich (1666)	27.VIII	29.VIII	2
Evdokiia Alekseevna (1669)	?	?	?
Petr Alekseevich (1672)	30.V	29.VI	30
Nataliia Alekseevna (1673)	22.VIII	26.VIII	4
Feodora Alekseevna (1674)	4.IX	11.IX	7
Il'ia Fedorovich (1681)	11.VII	[20.VII]	9
Mariia Ioannovna (1689)	21.III	1.IV	10
Aleksei Petrovich (1690)	18.II	23.II	5
Feodosiia Ioannovna (1690)	4.VI	20.VI	16
Ekaterina Ioannovna (1691)	29.X	8.XI	10
Anna Ioannovna (1693)	28.I	?	?
Paraskeva Ioannovna (1694)	24.IX	14.X	20

SOURCES: *Akty sobrannye v bibliotekakh i arkhivakh Rossiiskoi imperii Arkheograficheskoiu ekspeditseiu imp. Akademii nauk*, 4 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1836), vol. 3, nos. 185–86, 221, 259; ibid., vol. 4, nos. 31, 44, 60, 69, 81, 97, 109, 113, 134, 151, 193, 195, 306, 310; *Akty Moskovskogo gosudarstva*, 3 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1890–1901), vol. 3, nos. 428, 579; *Dopolneniia k Aktam istoricheskim, sobrannye i izdannye Arkheograficheskoiu komissieiu*, 12 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1846–72), vol. 6, no. 91; *Drevniaia rossiiskaia vivliofika* 20 pts. (Moscow, 1788–91), 11:182–89, 192–93; *Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka*, 39 vols. (St. Petersburg-Leningrad, 1872–1927), vol. 35, nos. 420, 422, 448, 478; *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii. Sobranie pervoe*. 45 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1830), vol. 1, no. 523; *Dopolneniia k tomu III-mu dvortsovykh razriadov* (St. Petersburg, 1854), 461–84; *Dom Romanovykh*, 2d ed. (St. Petersburg, 1992).

the children of the seventeenth-century sovereigns that sometimes considerable intervals separated births from name days (see Table 5). For the children of Mikhail, an average of five days passed between birth and baptism. Aleksei, for example, was born on the tenth of March, but his nameday was March 17; Vasilii gained his baptismal name eight days after his birth in March 1639. Ivan Mikhailovich, on the other hand, took his name from the very day on which he was born, June 2. The children born of Aleksei's marriage to Mariia Miloslavskaia also received a name on average about five days distant from their birthdays. Dmitrii was born on October 23, 1648, and his nameday was October 26; Marfa, who was born August 26, 1652, took September 1 as her name day. Evdokiia, on the other hand, was born February 18, 1650, and did not take her name until March 1. Similarly irregular intervals prevailed for other children of Mariia Miloslavskaia: Sofiia's name day was the same as her birthday, while Simeon (born 1665) took as his nameday April 17, a full two weeks after his birth.

Children born of Aleksei's second marriage, like those born later to Peter and Ivan, all took namedays some distance from their birthdays. An average of two weeks separated birthdays from namedays. Peter himself was born on May 30, 1672, but was baptized a month later, June 29; Paraskeva Ioannovna was born September 24, 1694, though her name day was nearly three weeks later, October 14. Others received namedays closer to their birthdays, but the average for this whole cohort was much longer than for the sovereign's children born earlier in the century. Clearly, then, the name day did not necessarily correspond to the eighth day after birth, as clerical sources maintain that it should have.

A child's name day need not even correspond to the date of baptism. Mariia Ioannovna, for example, was born March 21, 1689 and was baptized four days later (March 25). However, the newborn took as her name day the first of April, a date which followed baptism by almost a week. How far into the future the priest might go is not clear, but the experience of the royal family suggests that normal practice prevented the selection of a name whose festival did not occur within a week or two of birth. Furthermore, all names had to be chosen from saints whose festivals lay in the future, and not from the name of any saint whose life the Church had already celebrated that year.[36]

However, priests and godparents might violate even this rule if the child to be baptized were a girl. Because the list of Orthodox saints included more

[36] Baiburin, *Ritual*, 45. N. A. Minenko observes, on the basis of parish registers, that in eighteenth-century Siberia, the interval between birth and baptism might stretch from as few as nine to ten days to as long as five to seven months (*Russkaia krest'ianskaia sem'ia v zapadnoi Sibiri [XVIII—pervoi poloviny XIX v.]* [Novosibirsk, 1979], 256).

than twice as many men as women, the list of names available to Muscovite females was considerably smaller than that available to males. As a result, far from every day in the Church calendar featured a woman, obliging those giving a name to a young female to search further afield than might those baptizing a boy. In this circumstance, then, Orthodox clergymen sometimes allowed godparents to select a name from a recently-celebrated festival. In fact, from the list of seventeenth-century tsareviches and tsarevnas, only one child received a nameday from a date already past: Ekaterina Alekseevna was born November 27, 1658, but her nameday was November 24, three days before her mother delivered her.[37]

Of course, without reconstituting families whose birth records are less well known, it is impossible to know whether the same patterns that prevailed in the sovereign's household also obtained in the rest of the society. However, it does not seem unreasonable to think that the seventeenth-century tsars, several of whom had reputations of deep piety, would have conformed by and large to acceptable practice. Not only might their convictions have restrained them from violating canonical prescription, but their actions were much more public than any peasant's, and likely therefore to have drawn comment had they been regularly at variance with clerical expectations.

In any case, it seems that the parish priest himself was the most influential actor in naming ceremonies. Ethnographies from the nineteenth century confirm that priests wielded considerable power in naming children brought to them. As one student of family rituals astutely observed, the naming ceremony was really a gift exchange: "the priest receives bread, millet, a chicken, and other goods while the child receives a name."[38] When the exchange did not meet the priest's expectations, he might correspondingly devalue the name, bestowing upon the newborn an unpronounceable or "inhuman" name. Parents, then, would find it necessary to petition (and bribe) him to rename the child.[39] A similar dynamic may have operated in Muscovy, but no surviving records document the practice.

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[37] V. Stepanov reported that in Moscow guberniia early in the twentieth century, irrespective of Church rules, peasants were reluctant to name a boy after a saint whose festival had been celebrated prior to the boy's birth; for girls, however, such a deviation was allowed ("Svedeniia o rodil'nykh i krestinnykh obriadakh v Klinskom uezde Moskovskoi gubernii," *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie* 70–71[1906]:233). *Etnografiia vostochnykh slavian*, on the other hand, maintains that newborns could receive the name of any saint commemorated in the Church calendar in the interval spanning "eight days before to eight days after" the child's birth (398).

[38] Baiburin, *Ritual*, 46.

[39] Ibid.; Olga Semyonova Tian-Shanskaia, *Village Life in Late Tsarist Russia*, ed. David L. Ransel (Bloomington, 1993), 15; N. K. Gavriliuk, *Kartografirovanie iavlenii dukhovnoi kul'tury (po materialam rodil'noi obriadnosti Ukraintsev)* (Kiev, 1981), 73. In turn-of-the-century Olonetsk guberniia peasants are reported to have bargained with the priest over a pleasing-

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Naming names in early modern Russia, then, confirms the dynamic pattern of naming cultures elsewhere. Pre-Christian Rus' depended upon an "untamed" system of naming whose anthroponyms looked to nature, physical characteristics, and parental attitudes; the Christian naming system gradually displaced this culture, substituting a list of "disembodied" names which simultaneously identified large numbers of men and women. The new system, consequently, sacrificed individuation for other values. But for all its innovation, the Christian naming system also evolved, adapting foreign names to the Russian tongue and supplementing the name bank with saints newly entered into the approved universe. Except perhaps in moments of intoxication or perverseness, even the officiants of Muscovite Christian culture were not rigid in imposing names on newborns; parents and godparents operated within relatively relaxed rules which linked baptism to a Christian name.[40]

Within this new system, names continued to serve as important social signs. Throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries few Christian given names were class-typed, but the process of social differentiation was surely underway, and given names gradually came to reflect this process. Already in the villages of Petrine Russia some names were distinctively rural, especially among women. Even so, townsfolk in the 1760s still bore the same basic group of names popular with their equals in Petrine Russian towns, suggesting that the Russian naming culture achieved some stability in these years.[41] By the end of the century, however, the process had gone much further, especially among women: peasant, urban, and noble society each had its own name preferences, and these names displayed their bearers' social origins as sharply as any footwear might. As before, some names were usual in all three groups, but among eighteenth-century peasants Vasilisa, Glikeriia, Mavra, Fedosiia, and Fekla were more than twice as usual as they were among townswomen or noblewomen. By the same token, few peasant women answered to Aleksandra or Elizaveta, names borne most often by gentry daughters.[42]

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sounding name (V. Kharuzina, "Neskol'ko slov o rodil'nykh i krestinnykh obriadakh i ob ukhode za det'mi v Pudozhskom u. Olonetsk. gub.," *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie* 58–59 [1906]: 90).

[40] During his exile in Viatka in the 1830s, Aleksandr Herzen encountered a case in which a drunken priest had inadvertently given a boy's name to a baby girl (*Byloe i duma*, 2 vols. [Moscow, 1969], 1:231).

[41] Bondaletov, *Russkaia onomastika*, 115–16.

[42] Ibid., 117–18; Nikonov, " Zhenskie imena," 129–30; idem, *Imia*, 54.

By late in the nineteenth century, the process had apparently accelerated. In Penza, for example, name frequencies almost fully reversed those apparent in the census towns of early eighteenth-century Russia. Among the eleven most usual women's names in nineteenth-century Penza, only four (Mariia, Anna, Pelageia, and Tatiana) survived from the names most popular among women in the eighteenth-century census frequencies. Furthermore, many of the names most common among eighteenth-century women practically went out of use in Penza. Praskoviia, for example, a name which 5.7% of all women in the census towns had borne, lost considerable popularity, accounting for just 1.6% of the total in Penza. Other names went out of favor even more sharply: Irina, Matrena, Marfa, Dariia, Aksiniia, and Akulina, each evidently having become firmly associated with rural rather than urban dwellers, fell into desuetude. In their place an entire cadre of newly popular names appeared: Aleksandra, Elizaveta, Ol'ga, Nataliia, and Anastasiia. Among men Aleksandr, Boris, Georgii, Konstantin, and Sergei achieved frequencies unknown a century earlier.[43]

The naming culture of early modern Russia, then, testifies to a dynamic process. Muscovite naming conventions illustrate first the persistence of traditional, "untamed" values, then the gradual victory of Christian name signs, and finally a further evolution in the functions of these names which became, in later imperial Russia, markers not only of Christian identity but also social class. If earlier generations combined their children's names and their birth order, or likened their children to the natural world around them, then Christian parents increasingly adapted the system of Christian names to mark off their children not only as members of a heavenly kingdom, but also as members of distinct social classes.

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[43] V. D. Bondaletov, "Zhenskie lichnye imena v kontse XIX v. (po materialam goroda Penzy)," in *Onomastika Povolzh'ia 3* (Ufa, 1973), 120; idem, *Russkaia onomastika*, 123.

Fathers, Sons, and Brothers: Ties of Metaphorical Kinship between the Muscovite Grand Princes and the Tatar Elite

CRAIG KENNEDY

Any student who has the good fortune to study with Professor Keenan learns early on that no analysis of a political event at the Muscovite court is complete without due consideration to the kinship ties among the major figures involved. So important, in fact, were the bonds of birth and marriage among Muscovy's clans that they constituted, in Professor Keenan's felicitous phrase, "the grammar of Muscovite court politics." The use of kinship as a fundamental ordering principle in high politics was something Muscovy shared with the pastoralist societies in the Steppe. At the same time that the Glinskii and Shuiskii clans were forging alliances and counter alliances through strategic marriages in Moscow, the Argyn, Shirin, Mangit, and Taibuga clans were doing much the same in the neighboring Turco-Tatar polities. Indeed, the evidence suggests that during this period clan ties were at the heart of court politics in all four corners of Central Eurasia, from Moscow to Mogulistan, and from Tiumen′ to the Tauride Peninsula.[1]

Throughout the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—after the collapse of the Qipchaq Khanate at Sarai—the Muscovite court maintained intensive diplomatic relations with many of these neighboring Turco-Tatar polities. In numerous instances these diplomatic contacts led to the forging of formal, personal alliances between Muscovite grand princes and certain khans, *beks*, and *mirzas*. These personal ties were of considerable importance to the Muscovite state, a fact that is evident from the immense administrative energy and material resources expended on negotiating and maintaining them. It was in part thanks to these personal alliances that Muscovite grand princes

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[1] The following studies provide a good introduction to political structures in Central Eurasia of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: B. A. Akhmedov, *Gosudarstvo kochevykh Uzbekov* (Moscow, 1965); Halil Inalcik, "The Khan and the Tribal Aristocracy: The Crimean Khanate under Sahib Giray I," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3–4 (1979–80): 445–66; Edward L. Keenan, "Muscovy and Kazan′, 1445–1552: A Study in Steppe Politics," Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1966; Nancy Shields Kollmann, *Kinship and Politics: The Making of the Muscovite Political System, 1345–1547* (Stanford, Calif., 1987); Beatrice Forbes Manz, "The Clans of the Crimean Khanate, 1466–1532," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 2, no. 3 (1978): 282–319; Uli Schamiloglu, "The Qaraçi Beys of the Later Golden Horde: Notes on the Organization of the Mongol World Empire," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 4 (1984): 283–98.

achieved such notable success in pursuing their interests at Kazan' and Astrakhan', in Sibir and the Crimea and among the Nogai tribal confederation.[2]

Given that kinship ties played a central role in defining political alliances in both Muscovite and Steppe society, one is not surprised to find, on occasion, the alliances between the grand princes and the Tatar elite were confirmed through the contracting of marriage ties. This may help explain why the Muscovite genealogical registers (*rodoslovnye knigi*) for many decades gave prominence to the genealogies of several of the Steppe's leading families.[3]

During this period, several members of the Tatar royal dynasty married into the Muscovite elite. The most notable of these were the marriages of Sultan Khudaikul (Peter) to Evdokiia, sister of Vasilii III early in 1506,[4] and of Khan Sain Bulat (Semen) to Anastasiia, a daughter of I. F. Mstislavskii around 1575.[5] Somewhat more common was the marriage of non-royal members of the Tatar elite into the leading families of Muscovy. Among the best known of such cases was that of the Cherkessian princess, Mariia Temriukovna, who in the early 1560s settled in Muscovy with several of her kinsmen and married Ivan IV.[6] Also important were marriages between members of the Tatar elite who had resettled in Muscovite territory and those who remained in the Steppe.[7]

In addition to their political importance, all of these marriage ties are of interest to social historians, spanning as they did a considerable cultural gap between different religions, languages, and ways of life. Alas, the breadth of such a topic makes for a very complex set of issues, none of which can be adequately addressed in the scope of a single article.

Instead, this article examines a separate, rather more unsual set of "kinship" relations that existed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries between the

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[2] These relations are explored in detail by the author of the present work in: "The Juchids of Muscovy: A Study of Personal Ties between Émigré Tatar Dynasts and the Muscovite Grand Princes in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1994.

[3] M. E. Bychkova, *Rodoslovnye knigi XVI–XVII vv. kak istoricheskii istochnik* (Moscow, 1975).

[4] A. A. Zimin, ed., *Ioasafovskaia letopis'* (Moscow, 1957), 148.

[5] *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei*, 40 vols. to date (St. Petersburg-Moscow, 1846–), 34:192 [= *PSRL*].

[6] *PSRL* 13:312–13, 333. The Hungarian Turkologist, István Vásáry is preparing a study of the influx of Tatar aristocratic families into Muscovy.

[7] Such was the case when the Nogai leader, Iusuf, married his daughter to the powerful Chinggisid dynast Shah Ali, who was born and spent most of his life in Muscovy, *Prodolzhenie drevnei rossiiskoi vivliofiki* 11 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1786–1801), 8:144 [= *PDRV*].

Muscovite court and the Steppe elite. There are various labels one might apply to this curious category of ties: "foster kinship," "sworn kinship," "fictive kinship," etc. (the sources themselves, one should hasten to add, have no generic term for these ties). But for reasons that will soon be apparent, we shall refer to this category of ties as "metaphorical kinship."

Evidence of the recognition of metaphorical kinship ties can be found throughout the Muscovite-Tatar diplomatic correspondence of this period. However, as with so many other features of Muscovite-Steppe relations, they have attracted little scholarly attention. In order to explain what metaphorical kinship ties were, it is helpful to compare them to the bonds of marriage, which in many regards they resembled. Like marriage ties, metaphorical kinship ties were elective, not inherited. Like marriage, they were confirmed through a formal ceremony in which solemn oaths were sworn. And like marriage ties, they were employed to help give substance and definition to political relationships. Unlike the affinal ties of marriage, however, those of metaphorical kinship could be formed between members of the same sex as well as the opposite. And unlike marriage, metaphorical kinship pretended to be consanguineous; that is to say, those who acquired these ties did so by declaring each other their brother, father, or son, mother, sister, or daughter, etc.

Consider, for example, the following two diplomatic messages. The first is a note of 1474 from Ivan III to his new ally Khan Mengli Girei of the Crimea:

А в ярлыке твоем пишет [*sic*], жалуючи мене, братом собе и другом назвал еси.[8]

In your *iarlyk* it is written that you have shown me favor and named me your brother and friend.

The second is a letter sent to Ivan III some fifteen years later by the Nogai leader Musa:

Дед мой Едигей князь с твоим дедом в дружбе и братстве были, а отец мой с твоим отцем также в дружбе и в братстве были, а дядя мой Темир князь с тобою в дружбе и в братстве был. ЬЬ Ты бы пожаловал, яз хочу с тобою потомуж в дружбе быти, сыном или братом собе меня учинишь, как пожалуешь."[9]

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[8] G. F. Karpov, and G. F. Shtendman, eds., "Pamiatniki diplomaticheskikh snoshenii moskovskogo gosudarstva s Krymom, Nagaiami i Turtsieiu," *Sobranie Russkogo istoricheskogo Obshchestva* vols. 41, 95 (St. Petersburg, 1884, 1895), 41:1 [= *RIO*].

[9] *RIO* 41:89–90.

My grandfather, Edigei *Bek*, had a relationship of friendship and brotherhood with your grandfather. My father likewise had a relationship of friendship and brotherhood with your father. My uncle, Temir *Bek*, had a relationship of friendship and brotherhood with you. If you would grant it, I would likewise desire to have a relationship of friendship with you. Make me your son or brother, whichever you would grant.

In both of these letters, the terms "brother" and "son," were not, of course, being used in their literal, biological sense, but in a figurative, metaphorical one. What blood ties, if any, there were between Ivan and his Tatar correspondents were distant ones at most. Moreover, the context makes clear that the relationships of "brotherhood" and "sonhood" being spoken of were elective ones, relationships into which both parties chose to enter of their own volition. While one's descent did play a role, as Musa's letter clearly shows, one was not born into these relationships; one proposed or accepted them.

Given the clear figurative use of these terms, it might be asked, is it justified to speak here of a "kinship system" at all? Based on the two examples we have just seen, one might be tempted to dismiss the terms "brother," "brotherhood," and "son" as little more than diplomatic politesse of the sort that obliged Western European royalty to address one another as brother and sister, even when biologically they were not such.

To dismiss these terms as mere figures of speech, however, would be to overlook a subtler significance they held. Their use in the Muscovite-Steppe political discourse was not merely a hollow diplomatic convention. They constituted a meaningful system that both sides used with consistency and deliberateness. Herein lies their value to the historian. Rather than simply marking mutual respect, this metaphorical use of consanguineous kinship terms performed an important role in the process of forging cross-cultural political relations.

Whenever the grand prince acquired an alliance with a member of the Steppe elite, both sides seem to have felt it necessary to fix and explicitly articulate the relative political status of each individual to the other. This, naturally, forced the question of how each party regarded the other's relative political status. Did they regard themselves as equals? or did one recognize the superiority of the other? and if so, to how great a degree?

The answers to these questions were not necessarily self-evident. With the disintegration of centralized authority in Central Eurasia following the collapse of the Qipchaq Khanate, the regional balance of power became extremely fluid. The titles and positions a leader held within his or her respective polity, while important, by no means fixed one's status vis-à-vis

other regional leaders. A Muscovite grand prince was not, by dint of his leadership in Muscovy, necessarily recognized as the political superior or inferior to a Kazanian khan. Nor was, say, a Nogai *ulug bek* inherently greater or lesser than a Crimean khan, simply on the basis of his leadership of his tribal confederation.[10]

Status appears to have been far more circumstantial. It depended more on an individual's actual influence over key groupings in the Steppe at a given moment in time than on his or her nominal office. Ivan IV alluded to the circumstantial quality of power when he wrote to a Nogai *murza*: "You know quite well yourself that even khans of certain *iurt*s [have to] request brotherhood from us" (that is to say, they could not presume to be worthy of it, but neither could he say precisely which khans of which *iurt*s.)[11] Hence, when forging bilateral ties, individuals sought to fix their respective place within a complex, ever-shifting web of interpersonal ties. This fixing of relative status in a bilateral relationship served as one of the most important means by which a regional political hierarchy was established and maintained as the region began to reintegrate in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

This process of haggling over relative status is evident in the diplomatic materials cited above concerning Ivan III's relationships both with Mengli Girei and Musa. In the case of Musa, it was rather straightforward. The Nogai leader was willing to accept from Ivan either the status of "brother" or "son." He left it to Ivan's discretion.

Ivan's relationship with Mengli Girei was more complicated. Mengli Girei's father and predecessor on the Crimean throne, Hadji Girei, had formed an alliance (or "friendship") with Ivan. Just what mutual status they accorded one another is not clear, but apparently they were not "brothers." This is evident from a letter of safe passage Ivan III sent in 1490 to Sultan Devlesh, a nephew of Mengli Girei:

Дед твой Ази-Гиреи царь с нами был в дружбе, а дяди твои Нурдовлат царь и Менли-Гирей царь с нами в дружбе и в братстве. Нынеча слышели есмя, что в чюжом юрте стоишь, а конь твой потен; и мы, поминая к собе деда твоего дружбу и дядь твоих, Нурдовлатову цареву и Менли-Гирееву цареву дружбу и братство, тобе хотим дружбу свою чинити. Похочешь у нас опочива, и ты к нам поеди, а мы тобе в своей земли опочив учиним и добро свое, как даст Бог,

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[10] This is not to say that there was no regard for titles as an expression of status; see Halil Inalcik, "Power Relationships Between Russia, the Crimea and the Ottoman Empire as Reflected in Titulature," in *Passé Turco-Tatar, Présent Soviétique: études offertes à Alexandre Bennigsen* 175–214 (Paris, 1986).

[11] "*Vedomo tebe i samomu, kotorykh iurtov tsari i te u nas bratstvo vyprashivaiut*," *PDRV* 9:231 (from 1556).

хотим тобе чинити. А которые твои люди с тобою приедут, и мы тебя деля тех твоих людей хотим жаловати.[12]

Your grandfather Hadji Girei khan and I had a relationship of friendship. Your uncles Nur Devlet khan and Mengli Girei khan have relationships of friendship and brotherhood with me. I have recently heard that you are in a stranger's *iurt*, and that your horse is sweating [from fatigue]. And as I recall the friendship [I had with] your grandfather and the friendship and brotherhood I share with your uncles, I desire to extend my friendship to you [too]. Should you wish refuge here with me, then come to me, and I shall give you refuge and I shall extend my goodwill towards you, if God permits it. And toward any of your people who might come with you, I shall, for your sake, show them my favor.

If Hadji Girei had recognized Ivan as his "brother," this surely would have been mentioned along with the relationships of brotherhood Ivan enjoyed with two of Hadji Girei's sons. The omission of any mention of kinship in Ivan's recollection of his alliance with Hadji Girei leads one to suspect that Ivan had been obliged to accept a junior status, perhaps "younger brother" or even "son." Authorities in Moscow probably felt there was no advantage to be gained in future negotiations with Devlesh by recalling Ivan's earlier subordination to the Crimean khans.

If, as one suspects, Ivan had accepted a junior kinship status to Hadji Girei, then Mengli Girei's acknowledgement of Ivan as his "brother" in 1474 marked an elevation of the grand prince's status in the Crimea. This suspicion gains further support from two other documents. The first is from Ivan himself. Writing to a Muscovite agent soon after receiving Mengli Girei's *iarlyk*, Ivan declared:

А приказал еси ко мне царево жалование, что мя царь жалует о всем по тому, чего яз хочю. А Исуп ми молвил, что царь хочет мя жаловати и свыше в братстве и в дружбе с собою учинити также, как король с ним в братстве.[13]

You have informed me of the royal favor, that the khan is granting me everything the way I wanted. And Isup has told me that the khan wants to show further favor to me—to confirm me in brotherhood and friendship with himself, in the same manner that the king is in brotherhood with him.

The "king" being referred to here is the Polish-Lithuanian sovereign, who, over preceding decades, had enjoyed higher prestige in the Crimea than had

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[12] *RIO* 41:100.

[13] *RIO* 41:7. An alternative reading of the second sentence might be: "And Isup has told me that the khan wants to show me favor and to elevate me to brotherhood and friendship with him, as the king is in brotherhood with him."

Muscovite rulers. Some years later, Sigismund I, in a diplomatic overture to the new khan Muhammed Girei, would recall Moscow's earlier subordinate status:

Помнишь царь сам из старины которой князь великий московской царю брат был? А нынеча князь великий московской и тебе царю братом чинится. А наша старина с вами братство и дружба; и ты бы ныне меня учинил себе прямым братом и другом, а от московского бы еси отстал.[14]

O khan, you yourself remember, what Muscovite grand prince from the old days had been a brother to a khan? And now, khan, the Muscovite grand prince is making himself your brother. Our past has been [one of] brotherhood and friendship with you. And likewise now you should make me your true brother and friend, and foresake the Muscovite.

The intensity with which the topic of metaphorical kinship was discussed suggests strongly that it was not merely a hollow diplomatic convention; rather, it was charged with considerable political significance.

The hierarchy of consanguineous kinship provided a set of metaphors quite well suited to the task of fixing political status. To begin with, the system of biological kinship ties was one that both societies understood and recognized. Moreover, both Tatars and Muscovities accorded political importance to birth order and generation. Both khan and grand prince alike appreciated the fact that, in the political scheme of things, a father was superior to his son, and—to a lesser degree—an older brother was superior to a younger one. As we shall see, the hierarchy of metaphysical kinship ties could also be modified beyond the structure of normal biological ones in order to express political relationships that were nuanced or ambiguous.

The Rusian term *bratstvo* ("brotherhood") which was frequently applied to relationships between Muscovite and Tatar leaders was normally rendered by the Tatar term *qarïndašlïq*. This term, in turn, derived from the Tatar term "*qarïndaš*." Taken in its literal sense, the Tatar word means "womb-companion," and connotes a fraternal relationship between perfect peers. It stands in contrast to two other Tatar terms for brother: *aqa* (or *aga*) meaning "older brother" (R. *starshii brat*) and *ini* meaning "younger brother" (R. *mladshii brat*).

Birth order within both of these societies was politically significant. Take for example, an early chapter of the *Chingiz-name*, a Qipchaq-Turkic historical

[14] *RIO* 95:360 (from 1517).

narrative written in the early sixteenth century. Two sons of the late Juchi khan, Edjan, and his younger brother Sain (a.k.a. Batu) are debating which of them should succeed their father in the khanship. Sain shows the deference appropriate for a younger brother: "Atam ornuğa ağam sän. Häman atam turursän" ("You are my older brother, [who has] replaced my father. This means, you are my father").[15] When Edjen insists that Sain become khan (on the grounds that Jochi had always favored him) Sain protests: "Ol tegän nä söz bolur? Yosaqlî ağam turğandä manga nä oxšar ki xan bolğaymän" ("What are you saying! How would it befit me to become khan when I have an older brother according to *yasak* [i.e., customary law]?").[16]

The system of metaphorical kinship exploited this distinction between older brothers and younger brothers. In circumstances where two parties recognized one another as roughly on a par with one another, but not absolute peers, the metaphor of older brother-younger brother relationship could be invoked. Such, for example, was the relationship between Grand Prince Vasilii III and the Crimean sultan Bogatyr, as is evident by the latter's inscription to the former: "от брата твоего меншого Богатыр царевича."[17] In circumstances where the disparity in status was more clear cut, the metaphor of the father-son relationship could be used: "с твоим дедом, с великим князем, наш дед, князь великий, отчьство и сыновство меж ими бывало."[18]

The establishment of metaphorical ties of kinship was not limited to men alone. The sources contain several examples of metaphorical kinship between a woman and a man. Mengli Girei's senior wife, for example, Nur Sultan, was "daughter" to the Turkish sultan[19] and "sister" to Ivan III. Ivan and Nur Sultan frequently spoke of the *bratstvo* (here, "siblinghood") between themselves.[20]

At times, the customary set of kinship terms alone did not suffice to express the relative status of the two individuals. In such circumstances the two parties would combine two different kinship ties to create a hybrid tie not normally found in these societies. For example, Ivan III customarily referred

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[15] Utemish Hadji, *Chingiz-name*, edited by V. P. Iudin (Alma-Ata, 1992), 38a [= *Chingiz-name*].

[16] *Chingiz-name*, 38a.

[17] "From your younger brother Sultan Bogatyr," *RIO* 95:37.

[18] "Between your grandfather, the grand prince and our grandfather, the grand prince [i.e., the *ulug bek*], there were [relationships of] fatherhood and 'sonhood'," *Posol'skaia kniga po sviaziam Rossii s nogaiskoi ordoi, 1489–1508 gg.* (Moscow, 1984), *list* 58 (a letter from a Nogai *mirza* to Vasilii III, ca. 1508).

[19] *RIO* 41:109.

[20] For example, *RIO* 41:266.

to his protégé Muhammed Amin, sometime khan of Kazan′, as his "brother and son": "*И посадили есмя на том юрте на Казани своего брата и сына Магмет Аминя царя.*"[21] At about the same time, the Nogai noble Talach wrote to Ivan asking that the grand prince make him his "younger brother and son."[22] Several decades later, the mother of one of the young Ivan IV's Nogai allies declared the grand prince to be her "brother and son."[23] In the late 1520s, Vasilii III became "father and brother" to Islam Girei and remained so during the latter's brief reign as the Crimean khan.[24]

One gets the sense that such hybrid ties were invoked when the subtleties of a relationship were difficult to pin down. Such could be the case, for example, when vast differences in age were not reflected by similar disparities in power, or when one's titular status was not consonant with one's actual might.

Metaphorical kinship was not restricted exclusively to cross-cultural alliances. At least on occasion, they were employed to help define political alliances formed within these two societies, that is to say, among Tatars or among Muscovites. For example, before (according to the semi-fictional *Chingiz-name*) the celebrated Tatar Khan Toqtamïš had emerged as one of the great leaders of the Steppe, he sought refuge with Khan Kan-bai, a provincial ruler from a cadet branch of the Chinggisid line. Toqtamïš declared his protector to be his "father and brother."[25]

A treaty among several allied Muscovite princes during the 1440s also shows the fixing of metaphorical kinship ties among powerful Muscovite politicos. The treaty involved four princes, the father and son Dmitrii Iur′evich and Ivan Dmitrievich of Galich on the one side, and the two brothers Vasilii and Fedor Iur′evich of Suzdal′ on the other. There was no discussion of kinship between the father and son, or the two brothers: these had been clearly established by birth. The matter being negotiated was how the Galich princes and the Suzdal′ princes should regard one another. If one goes back far enough (to Iaroslav II), one can find an agnatic link between the two branches. That, however, is not what the two parties chose to do here. Rather, they agreed upon a set of provisional metaphorical kinship ties that satisfactorily expressed the relative political status of the two branches at that point in time (here the oath is being pledged by Vasilii and Fedor Iur′evich to Dmitrii Iur′evich):

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[21] "I placed on that *iurt*, in Kazan′, my brother and son Khan Muhammed Amin," *RIO* 41:83 (1487).

[22] "Меня собе меншим братом и сыном учинишь." *RIO* 41:83 (ca. 1489).

[23] "Нам братом и сыном стоиш." *PDRV* 8:14.

[24] Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov, *fond* 123, *kniga* 7, *list* 2.

[25] "Atam ağam," *Chingiz-name*, 58a.

Держати ты нас собе, меня, князя Василья Юриевича, собе сыном, а брата моего молоджего, князя Федора Юриевича, держати ти его собе братаничем. А сыну ти господине, своему, князю Ивану Дмитриевичю держати меня, князя Василья Юриевича, братом ровным. А меня ти, господине, князя Федора Юриевича, держати сыну своему князю Ивану, братом молодшим. А нам тебя своего господина держати, мне, князю Василью Юриевичю, господином и отцем, а сына твоего, князя Ивана Дмитриевича держати ми его собе братом ровным, а мне, князю Федору Юриевичю держати mi, тебя собе господином и дядею, а сына ми твоего господине, князя Ивана Дмитриевича держати ми его собе братом старейшем.[26]

You shall regard me, prince Vasilii Iur'evich, as your son. You shall regard my younger brother, prince Fedor Iur'evich, as your nephew. My lord, your son, prince Ivan Dmitr'evich, shall regard me, prince Vasilii Iur'evich, as his equal brother. My lord, prince Ivan shall regard me, prince Fedor Iur'evich, as his younger brother. I, prince Vasilii Iur'evich, will regard you as my lord and father, and your son, prince Ivan Dmitr'evich, as my equal brother. I, prince Fedor Iur'evich, will regard you as my lord and uncle, and, my lord, your son, prince Ivan Dmitr'evich, I shall regard as my older brother.

Since the practice of metaphorical kinship bonding was found both cross-culturally, between Muscovites and Tatars, and inner-culturally, among Muscovites and among Tatars, one is naturally tempted to posit an organic link among all these occurrences, and to speculate on where the practice might have originated. Was the practice indigenous to the Steppe and borrowed into East Slavic society at some early date? or vice versa? or did it arise as a result of efforts to fix status cross-culturally? Efforts to pursue such speculation, however, quickly run up against a wall of silence. The surviving sources on the early history of Slavic-Turkic relations are much too scant to permit any solid conclusions. One thing can, however, be concluded with confidence: the widespread phenomenon of metaphorical kinship provides yet further evidence of the profound degree to which blood ties shaped the politics of Central Eurasia in the Early Modern period.

Moscow

[26] L. V. Cherepnin, ed., *Dukhovnye i dogovornye gramoty velikikh i udel'nykh kniazei XIV–XVII vv.* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1950), 119.

Patrolling the Boundaries: Witchcraft Accusations and Household Strife in Seventeenth-Century Muscovy*

VALERIE KIVELSON

In 1676/1677 a dragoon of the Komaritskii region complained in the local governor's court that a fellow dragoon of the same village had threatened him, in the presence of witnesses, saying, "Mikitka, your wife Okulka will swell up. And you too will swell up because of me." As a result of those ominous words, Mikitka reported, "since that day, my little wife has been in pain, swollen up and covered with ulcers."[1] In his testimony at the governor's court, Mikitka conveyed a sense of violation and moral indignation, heightened by the fact that the alleged sorcerer, Emel'ka, was none other than his *kum*, the godfather of his child, a man with whom he had formed a spiritual bond at the baptismal font.[2] Worse yet, Emel'ka had uttered his curse while Mikitka and his wife were visiting his house as his guests. It would be hard to imagine a more heinous act of treachery than an attack on the wife of a guest and spiritual kinsman.

In Muscovite courts, the particular boundaries that witches and sorcerers were accused of transgressing very often were those circumscribing family, affinal, and extended household relations. The majority of witchcraft accusations targeted outsiders, but in a remarkable subgroup of cases, plaintiffs leveled witchcraft accusations against their own family members or members

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[1] "Pokhvalialsia pri liudekh: 'pukhnet de zhena tvoia Mikita, Okulka. Budesh de i ty ot menia pukhnut'.'" "I byv u nego v gostekh preshed domoi zhenishka moia s togo chisla skorbeet rozpukhla v iazvy." Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov (RGADA), fond 210, Novgorodskii stol, stolbets 272, listy 143, 144. Swelling and "withering" were commonly attributed to witchcraft. Swelling was most likely dropsy, congestive heart failure, while withering may well have been caused by cancers or tuberculosis.

[2] *Kum* refers to the relation forged at baptism by the godparenting relationship. It can refer to the godparent of one's child, the parent of one's godchild, or even to another person with whom one shares the role of godparent to a particular child. In this case, I have no way of telling which permutation of the relationship is the relevant one.

of a closely-knit extended family or household community. While accusations against servants were common in other parts of the Christian world, the prevalence of accusations against blood relatives is surprising. In Western Europe at the same time accusations rarely named blood relatives or even spouses, except when exacted under torture. There may well have been an element of self-preservation in refraining from calling family members witches in the West, since witchcraft was commonly thought to run in families through tainted blood. In such a context, publicizing the presence of a witch in one's own family would have been ill advised.[3] Muscovites, despite or rather because of their marked focus on familial and community organization, departed from this European norm and accused members of their own families and households with some regularity. The case of the dragoon's swollen wife exemplifies the points of vulnerability inherent in a society that placed high reliance on community solidarity. Intensely intimate, and frequently lethal interchanges among relatives and friends emerged from Muscovite notions of family and community. Perception of violation of community might provoke a person to apply the terrible label of "witch" or "sorcerer" to a *kum*, spouse, mother-in-law, nephew, brother, or servant. This article explores the dynamics underlying this anomalous pattern in witchcraft accusations. An appreciation of what soured relations among intimates to such a deadly degree will, in turn, allow us to outline a Muscovite understanding of community, its boundaries, and its enemies.

As understood by their contemporaries, Muscovite witches were defined above all by their use of hexes (*maleficium* in Latin, *porcha* in Russian), that is, by their use of supernatural means to inflict harm upon others. Muscovy did not develop any equivalent to the elaborate lore of satanic pacts and demonism that enveloped witchcraft belief in Western Europe at the time, and so the activities of witches and sorcerers remained much earthier, much more closely linked to ordinary criminality than in the West. The connection was so close, in fact, that the potions that witches were thought to use to bewitch their victims were often scarcely differentiated from poison, and their magical incantations easily blurred into more standard legal categories of abuse and threatening words. Constellations of charges clustering witchcraft together with ordinary criminality were not uncommon, as, for instance, in a lawsuit in

[3] For an interesting discussion of the intersection between kin and witchcraft accusations, see David Warren Sabean, *Power in the Blood: Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge, 1984), 107–108. On young children's accusations against their parents, see Ronald Seth, *Children Against Witches* (New York, 1969); and W. W., *A True and Just Record of the Information Examination and Confessions of All the Witches Taken in S. Oses in the Countie of Essex* (New York, 1981).

which a woman was charged with conspiracy, battery, fornication, and sorcery (*koldovan'e, koldovstvo*), or another where a man called his son a "destroyer and ruffian and brigand and witch (*razoritel' i grubitel' i vor i vedun*)."[4] Given this hazy line dividing magical from other criminal behavior, the particular sites in which accusers thought to lodge allegations of witchcraft reveal a great deal about the notions of moral community that held Muscovite society together. In defining particular infractions as magical rather than simply criminal, Muscovites marked and protected the moral norms of their community.

Moral communities and familial relationships, particularly relationships of kinship and marriage, lay at the heart of Muscovite perceptions of all aspects of their world. This held true not only in the realm of social organization, where these would be quite standard building blocks, but also in conceptions of the political and the religious spheres. Marriage and kinship among boyar clans provided the unifying logic of the Muscovite political system, as Edward Keenan and Nancy Kollmann have established. Adding a quite different angle to this literature on high politics, Daniel Rowland has emphasized the importance of imagery and rhetoric stressing piety and moral community in Muscovite semiotic codes.[5] If these studies have depicted the *positive* image of Muscovite political, moral, and social organization, the image of the witch and the discourse of sorcery present its negative, or inversion. Like the discourse of high politics and religion, the tropes in which witchcraft was discussed stressed marriage, kinship, and procreation and rested on assumptions about mutual obligation and moral community; however, witchcraft discourse cast these relationships in more problematic terms, revealing dimensions of ambiguity and danger within those relationships. Muscovites lodged charges of witchcraft not only in defense of family members presumed to be bewitched, but also *against* family members or members of other closely bonded communities, including not only kin but also masters and servants, hosts and guests. The family and household community as a contested site of mutual

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[4] RGADA fond 210, Sevskii stol, stlb. 215, listy 223–35 (1664–1667); Prikaznyi stol, stlb. 186, listy 984; 986–87.

[5] Edward L. Keenan, "Muscovite Political Folkways," *Russian Review* 45 (1986): 115–81; Nancy Shields Kollmann, *Kinship and Politics: The Making of the Muscovite Political System, 1345–1547*. (Stanford, 1987), and her "Ritual and Social Drama at the Muscovite Court." *Slavic Review* 45 (1986): 486–502; Daniel Rowland, "Did Muscovite Literary Ideology Place Limits on the Power of the Tsar (1540's–1660's)?" *Russian Review* 49 (1990): 125–55, and his "The Problem of Advice in Muscovite Tales about the Time of Troubles," *Russian History* 6, pt. 2 (1979): 259–83.

dependency and mutual suspicion underscores the centrality of those relationships.

Assaults within marriage, kinship groups, and the extended household were considered violations of vast proportions. To explain to themselves painful attacks on the primary organizing principles of their society and their world, Muscovites sometimes applied the labels of witch and sorcerer to those who upset the community order. Conversely, those accused of witchcraft frequently used the same logic to defend their actions, claiming that they had turned to magic to right wrongs inflicted upon them by others. In this regard, numerous court cases document that otherwise defenseless individuals, particularly female slaves and servants and widows, used charms to gain righteous revenge or restitution. Both the crime of sorcery and the response to it resulted from a shared sense of what was right in reciprocal relations of kin, community, or hierarchy.

Discussion of the motivations of the practitioners of magic, the putative witches and sorcerers, raises the perennial question of the "reality" of witchcraft. Did Muscovites actually practice witchcraft and consult witches and sorcerers? The answer seems quite unambiguous. Magic was a routine part of Muscovite life. In a society devoid of a professionalized medical establishment, all healing was necessarily carried out by folk healers, who used a combination of magical rituals, herbal cures, prayers and incantations.[6] Furthermore, tangible evidence of herbaries and books of spells demonstrate that people employed magical spells and rituals to avenge themselves on their enemies, gain sexual power over members of the opposite sex, drum up business, tell fortunes, find lost objects or missing people, or win the hearts of their beloved.[7] In contrast to the Western European trials, where it is quite clear that the charges of Satanic pacts, night flying, and attending black sabbaths that were leveled against tens of thousands of unfortunates were completely spurious, in the Muscovite case, many of the accusations may well have corresponded to actual practice.[8]

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[6] On the mingling of prayer and incantation, see Eve Levin, "*Dvoeverie* and Popular Religion," in Stephen K. Batalden, ed., *Seeking God: The Recovery of Religious Identity in Orthodox Russia, Ukraine, and Georgia* (DeKalb, Ill., 1993), 29–52.

[7] Elena Eleonskaia, "Zagovor i koldovstvo na Rusi v XVII i XVIII stoletiiakh," *Russkii arkhiv* 4 (1912): 611–24; A. M. Astakhova, "The Poetical Image and Elements of Philosophy in Russian Exorcisms," *VII Mezhdunarodnyi kongress antropologicheskikh i ètnograficheskikh nauk, 3–10 avgusta 1964 g.*, vol. 6 (Moscow, 1969), 268–69.

[8] This is not to deny that magic was commonly practiced in the West as well. A similar kind of down-to-earth magic was widespread in the West, but no evidence of witches' covens or Satanism has been found in the West.

Whether or not the testimony in any given case reflected actual events, however, is quite a different question, and one which cannot be resolved. A host of confounding factors ranging from malice to insanity to torture (discussed below) may have entered into forming the testimony of accusers and accused alike. Consequently, I have not attempted to sort out genuine from invented testimony, but rather I have accepted all testimony as representative of a cultural understanding of what comprised witchcraft and sorcery, of who made a likely witch, and of what would pass as a plausible story. Whether real, imagined, or fabricated, the testimony recorded in Muscovite courts reflects seventeenth-century notions of what constituted magic and where it was likely to strike.

Witchcraft beliefs and practices were by no means confined to the lower classes or rural masses. They united much if not all of Muscovite society in the seventeenth century. Court cases reveal that men and women of all social categories, ranks, and territorial affiliations made charges and were themselves charged with practicing magic. Grand princesses, boyars, cossacks, soldiers' wives, peasants, priests, monks, and townspeople all participated in witchcraft trials, assuming a variety of roles in court, from suspect, to witness, to victim. Witchcraft belief even extended beyond the Christian world to include Mordvinians, Cheremis', and other Muscovite pagans; however, here the focus will remain on Christian variants.[9] Witchcraft beliefs may be labeled "popular," therefore, with the understanding that "popular" denotes a comprehensive, society-wide belief system belonging to no particular segment of society.

Witchcraft litigation that grew out of disputes within families displays a particularly sharp animus, deriving from the sense of violation of moral responsibility and betrayal of trust. Cases that shattered the close and supposedly tight-knit solidarity of blood kin usually involved disputes over property and inheritance. The case of Iakov Logvinov, who accused his own nephew of witchcraft in 1629, serves as a case in point. Iakov submitted a petition asserting that he had been summoned home one day by his own blood nephew, Petr Tarotukhin. When he arrived at home, Petr Tarotukhin "began to threaten him, Iakov, with bewitchment by a root."[10] And Petr

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[9] See particularly interesting cases involving Mordvins and Cheremis': RGADA fond 210, Prikaznyi stol, stlb. 33; listy 617–38 (inquiry into summoning of spirits, healing, telling the future by Mordvin peasants); listy 708–19 (about a Mordvin and Cheremis' gathering involving sorcery (*volkhovstvo*, *vedovstvo*), horse sacrifice, and an all-out attack on Russian passers-by.

[10] RGADA fond 210, Prikaznyi stol, stlb. 36, list 144.

began to swear and to chase after his own brother Aleksandr Tarotukhin with a knife. And Aleksandr ran away from him from my little yard to his house, and after that Petr came to me in my house and started to brag about bewitching with a root. "I bewitched Andrei Terekhov's son Prokofii with a root," he said. "And I will [bewitch] his father Andrei too. And I will burn his, Andrei's, village." And I started to calm him, saying "Stop before you say something you regret," and he said to me, "You'll get something from me too, Uncle! I'd rather die than not get back at you! I'll beat you to death and burn you up." And he started to swear at my wife, who was sitting at the table, and to beat her on the cheeks.[11]

The family saga continued to unfold when the accused, Petr, gave his own very different version of the story at the local governor's office. He reported that he had gone to Iakov Logvinov's house "by his bidding [and] by kinship, because he is my uncle."[12] He categorically denied all of his uncle's charges and proceeded to explain the source of his uncle's malicious slander:

With that he slanders me, because he, Iakov Logvinov, gave my mother, that is, his sister, the widow Anna, in marriage to Andrei Terekhov with my father's property.[13]

Petr's uncle had thus given away much of Petr's patrimony as dowry to his mother's new husband, Terekhov, thereby depriving Petr and his brother of their expected and rightful inheritance. From Petr's point of view it was bad enough that his mother's new husband, Andrei Terekhov, received Logvinov's land, but, even worse, Terekhov had a son by a previous marriage, who might manage eventually to inherit that land from his father. According to the uncle's denunciation, Andrei and Prokofii Terekhov, Petr's new stepfather and stepbrother, were the people whom Petr had threatened to bewitch and burn out of house and home. Clearly Petr had good reason for his hostility to the Terekhovs and his uncle. To top it all off, the greedy uncle had also grabbed

[11] "Uchel tot Petr Tarotukhin brata svoego rodnogo Oleksandra Tarotukhina laet materny i s nazhom za nim goniat'. I Oleksandra de ot nego pobezhal s moego dvarishka k sebe. I posle de tago prishol tot Petr ka mne v yzbu i uchel pakhvaliattsa portit koren'em. "Isportil, de ia koren'em Ondreeva sna Terekhova Prakofia i ottsu de ego Ondreiu Terekhovu budet tozh. I drvniu de ego Ondreevu vyzhgu." I ia uchel ego unimat': "chto ty ne gorazdo govorish'!" I on mne skazal: "budet de i tabe u menia diadia tozh neshto, de, ia zhiv ne budu to shto de ia tebe ne doedu i ubiu dosmerti i ognem vyzhgu. I uchel zhenu moiu za stalom laet' materny i poshchekam bit'." Ibid., list 145.

[12] "K Iakovu Logvinovu na dvor ia priezzhal po evo velen'iu i po svoistvu potomu chto on Iakov mne diadia." Ibid., list 146.

[13] "Tem de on menia kleplet za to chto on Iakov Logvinov matere moiu a svoiu sestru vdovu Annu vydal zamuzh za Ondreia Terekhova z zhivotami ottsa moego." Ibid.

part of his late brother's *votchina* estate for himself and had by-passed some important administrative formalities through his connections with the town clerk. Uncle Iakov, thus, had real cause for a guilty conscience. This altercation, in other words, originated in a family dispute over property rights, but assumed an intensely bitter character because of the intimacy of the bonds between the rival parties and because of the sense of violation when the affronts came from close family members. The transgressive powers of witchcraft provided an explanation for such unthinkable family fissures.

Numerous cases reveal how family squabbles turned deadly when witchcraft charges were stirred into the pot. In Lukh a provincial servitor charged his brother with witchcraft, but the issue turned out to revolve around competition over the paternal inheritance.[14] A military servitor in Akhtyrki along the southern frontier called his son, among other unflattering names, "a witch (*vedun*) and fornicator" and charged him with insolence and with stealing his possessions and his peasants.[15] In 1686 a townsman of Veneva was accused of bewitching his nephew with a "sweet drink."[16] As evident from this partial listing, charges were not uncommon within families.

More common than accusations among blood kin were accusations exchanged among in-laws, illustrating the tensions inherent in the relationship created between two families by marriage. In 1640 Tito Osipov, a Mosal'sk cossack, charged Pavel Dolgoi, a fellow cossack, with threatening him with bewitchment, but Tito admitted up front that the real issue between them was that Pavel wanted to marry his son to a girl with whom Tito's son had contracted to marry: "By God's judgement, I, Tito, arranged to have my son marry cossack Ivan Minin's daughter! And therefore your wife and children threaten me, Tito, and my son and that girl, Ivan's daughter, with bewitchment."[17] The grudge between the two families had a long history, "because prior to this his, Pavel's, son Semen beat my little son half to death and robbed [him]," but only with the rivalry over the potential bride did the charges spill over from the mundane to the supernatural.[18] In Murom a widower charged his mother-in-law and her household slaves with witchcraft

14 RGADA fond 210, Prikaznyi stol, stlb. 861.

15 RGADA fond 210, Sevskii stol, stlb. 215, listy 223–35 (1664–67).

16 Nephew/uncle: RGADA fond 210, Prikaznyi stol, stlb. 872 (1683–1686).

17 "I bozhim sudom sosvatolsia de ia Tit za sna svoego u togo u Ivana Minina docheri prinialsia (?) tomu tomu pokhvaliaettsa de tvoia zhena i deti tvoi na menia na Tita i na sna moevo i na tu Ivanovu doch na devku porcheiu." RGADA fond 210, Vladimirskii stol, stlb. 60, list 263 (1640).

18 "potomu chto prezh sevo evo Pavlov syn Semen moevo synishka ubil do polusmerti i ograbil." Ibid., list 269.

when she tried to reclaim some of her daughter's dowry after the daughter's death.[19] A Zemliansk servitor brought charges against his daughter-in-law and her mother and sister-in-law, all priests' wives and widows, for poisoning his wife with enchanted grasses, inducing a painful death.[20] A gentrywoman of Murom admitted that she had attempted to cast spells on her husband and his parents, but she later retracted her confession.[21]

Court testimony in numerous cases reveals the centrality of marriage and the extended household community in the popular imagination about uses of magic. In a case in Velikie Luki in 1628, a peasant woman named Katerinka found herself facing witchcraft charges because her mistress, Prince Fedor Eletskoi's pregnant wife, had mysteriously sickened and miscarried. Katerinka's master had conducted a search and had found in her possession some suspicious items: a locked box containing something wrapped in a kerchief and three paper packets, wrapped and tied, containing crushed grasses, "but what those grasses are is unknown." In her initial testimony, Katerinka explained that "in the big paper was water-pepper and in the smallest paper packet, if it looks like powder, is *strekil'*, or in Russian, *vish*. And in the third paper packet was plain old grass."[22] Tied up in the kerchief she had some soap made of crushed ginger. Katerinka said that she had used these items as soaps and salves for her eyes and face: "And I kept that *strekil'* not for magic and I didn't put it in anyone's food, and I kept it to rub on my face for cleanliness."[23] These innocent explanations did not satisfy her interrogators, who subjected her to several rounds of torture, which, according to the tsar's command, was to be administered "*na krepko* (forcefully)." Suspicious ingredients, in conjunction with the princess's illness and miscarriage, were enough to engender witchcraft charges.

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[19] RGADA fond. 210, Prikaznyi stol, stlb. 861. For an exactly parallel case which did not produce witchcraft accusations, see RGADA fond 210, Belgorodskii stol, stlb. 83 (1636/1637).

[20] RGADA fond 210, Prikaznyi stol, stlb. 2346, 64 listy (1700–1701).

[21] N. Ia. Novombergskii, *Vrachebnoe stroenie v do-Petrovskoi Rusi* (Tomsk, 1907), no. 35.

[22] "Tovo zh chisla zhonka Katerinka rosprashivana a v rosprose v s'ezzhei izbe skazala chto u nee trava ee v bolshoi bumashki perets vodenoi a v samoi malenkoi bumashke kaby pesok vidittsa strekil', a po-ruski vish. A v tretei bumashki trava tak." RGADA fond 210, Prikaznyi stol, stlb. 46, list 250.

Elsewhere Katerinka explains that *strekil'* is the name "*po moskovskii*." The area had a large Mordvin population, some of whom were involved in this case. Katerinka herself was not Mordvin, but the local name of the root may have derived from the local language. Plants often had local names. I have not been able to identify *strekil'/vish*, but it is described as a black, shaggy root that grows in or near rivers.

[23] "Ia de strekil derzhala ne dlia porchi i v'estvakh tovo ne davyvala nikomu a derzhala de ia to dlia tovo tem de ia litso mazala sebe dlia chistoty." RGADA fond 210, Prikaznyi stol, stlb. 46, list 256.

In Katerinka's case, witchcraft charges were used to explain and to avenge transgressions of the reciprocal moral compact between community members. Katerinka confessed during torture:

> I sprinkled the salt that Baba Okulinka gave me in the princess's food, and I took that salt from the old woman because, you see, I am a widow. Many people have tried to arrange marriages for me, but the prince and princess refuse to give me out in marriage. And that old woman, Okulinka, told me, "When you give the princess that salt in her food, they will let you marry." And I took about a pinch of that salt from Baba Okulinka, and I gave her for that salt a headdress (*povoets*) worth about a *grivna*. And that salt all went into the princess's food, and I don't have any of that salt left. And I gave the princess that salt . . . because she had a grudge against me. But I never intended to bewitch the princess. And unfortunately, the illness started, and she miscarried her baby, but not from bewitchment.[24]

Katerinka had a legitimate gripe against her masters. When landlords assumed title to young, unmarried peasants, they assumed an obligation to arrange marriages for them. A standard memorandum transferring ownership of a peasant girl to a new landlord asserts, "and it is up to Semen [the new master] and his wife and their children, to give her out in marriage while keeping her within their household, or wherever outside the house they wish to give her."[25] The Church exerted pressure on landlords to arrange timely marriages for their peasants in order to prevent them from falling into sin outside of marriage.[26] Masters who refused to allow their peasants to marry failed to fulfill their moral obligations and were guilty of undermining the values and behavior of the community at large. Nonetheless, since neither Orthodoxy nor Muscovite law acknowledged any difference between "white" and "black" magic, and both were equally condemned, Katerinka's protestations would not have counted for much in court, no matter how just her grievance.

While Katerinka explained her resort to witchcraft as a response to her master and mistress's breach of their moral obligations, the reverse also held

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[24] "Sypala de ia kngine v'estvu sol chto mne dala baba Oklulinka a dlia de ia tovo u baby sol' vziala chto de ia vdova. Mnogie de menia svataiuttsa i kniaz de i knginia menia zamuzh ne otdaiut. A ta de baba Okulinka mne skazala, kak de ty tu sol' uchnesh kngine v'estve davat i oni de tebia i zamuzh otdadut. A soli de ia u baby Okulinki vziala sshchepot a dala de za tu sol' povoets v grivnu. I ta de sol vsia kngine v'estve izoshla a u menia toe soli ne ostalos nichevo. A davala de ia kngine tu sol dlia togo (chto b u kngini ruki otniat?), chto de ona na menia byla kruchinovata." Ibid., list 256.

[25] *Akty istoricheskie, sobrannye i izdannye Arkheograficheskoiu kommissieiu* (St. Petersburg, 1841–1842), no. 407.

[26] Eve Levin, *Sex and Society in the World of the Orthodox Slavs, 900–1700* (Ithaca, 1989), 101.

true: the prince and princess perceived their serf woman as herself a moral and social transgressor and so viewed her as a probable witch. Although Muscovite ideas of witches were not at all sexualized or sensualized in the way that Western notions were, sexual misconduct was often peripherally involved when witchcraft charges were exchanged. In this particular case, Katerinka confessed that "I had an affair with the cook Mikitka and, being concerned about that guilt, I wanted to run away with him, Mikitka, to Galich, to my old master."[27] Mikitka corroborated that they had been involved with each other and had planned to run away together to Galich, until their master had found out about their "fornication" and had begun to beat them. At that point, according to Mikitka, Katerinka had tried to protect herself from the beatings by shifting the blame to him. He claimed that she had fabricated the story about witchcraft, in which she originally accused *him* of bewitching the princess with *strekil'*. Having raised the specter of sorcery with her spurious story, Katerinka then found that her own shady sexual history made her the logical target of accusation. The prince's accusation and the peasant woman's confession thus grew out of a common conception of magic that intertwined with ideas about moral violation of community norms. The visions differed significantly, in that Katerinka depicted magic as a way of ameliorating her situation while the prince used it as a way of making sense of loss. The prince and his serf deployed the concept of witchcraft from opposite poles to uphold and enforce what they conceived as community norms, specifically norms of family life, marriage, and reproduction.[28]

The particular psychodynamics involved in this and other equally intense, explosive confrontations are hard, if not impossible, to trace. Western European scholars have developed two dominant psychological explanations for the origins of witchcraft accusation. Some have focused on the accused, assuming some degree of guilt, and have sought to explain why the accused might have muttered curses or dabbled in malefic magic. John Demos, Brian Levack, and others have suggested that the accused were actually committing (or trying to commit) hostile acts against people whom they perceived to be

[27] "Ia svalialas s povarom s Mikitkoiu i bliudias de toe viniu, khotela s nim s Mikitkoiu bezhat v Galich k staromu svoemu b'iarinu." RGADA fond 210, Prikaznyi stol, stlb. 46, list 255.

[28] Not only sexual but also political transgression could lead to suspicion of witchcraft. The same Katerinka and her lover claimed that they had planned to escape together to Galich. Their case was complicated, however, and their position compromised still further by the suspicion that they had not intended to stop at Galich but had planned to cross the border into Lithuania. They never budged from their insistence that they had no intention of going "to the Lithuanian side," but as in many other similar cases, that hint of treason, of defecting from God, Tsar, and Orthodoxy to the heretical West further underscored their infractions against the community.

unfairly oppressing them. In their powerlessness, poor old women resorted to magic and curses as the only means at their disposal to right perceived wrongs. Black magic, then, allowed the defenseless to avenge or to liberate themselves. Alan Macfarlane, Keith Thomas, and others have focused, rather differently, on the psychology of the accusers, suggesting that the accusers were projecting their own guilty consciences onto the accused. In Protestant England, with the dismantling of the monasteries and the decline of Catholic charity, networks of social support for the needy collapsed. When individuals refused to give alms to the poor, they felt their own failure to uphold the older charitable ideals. Feeling guilty, they then interpreted the beggars' justifiable resentment of their ungenerous behavior as curses and magical threats, particularly if they later fell ill or found their cows drying up. In this way moral transgressors could shift the blame to the victims of their callousness. Either or both of these psychological mechanisms may well have been at work in Muscovite cases, perhaps both at once.

It is important to remember, however, that in Muscovy, as in Western European countries of the same era (excluding England), torture played an integral role in eliciting and shaping witchcraft confessions, and even when physical torture was not directly applied, the frighteningly uneven relations of power, the formality of courtroom procedures, and the investigators' insistently leading questions produced and molded many confessions. Torture played a large role in shaping the confessions forced out of the household slaves and peasants in Katerinka's case. Each witness as well as each suspect was asked leading questions and encouraged to reply through application or threat of torture. The interrogators asked the standard list of questions. For instance, they fired these questions at the woman accused of providing Katerinka with enchanted salt:

> You, Okulinka, what bewitched salt did you give Prince Fedor's woman Katerinka, and what did you say over that salt? And how long ago did you plan this? And from whom did you learn? And have you bewitched many other people with this or other witchcraft?[29]

Many Muscovite "witches" vehemently denied involvement with the black arts until several applications of hot pincers had loosened their tongues and encouraged them to elaborate upon the details of their sorcery and to implicate

[29] "Ty, Okulinka, kakuiu nagovornuiu sol' kniazh Fedorovy zhonki Katerinke davala i chto ty nad toiu sol'iu govorila? I skol davno ty tem promyshliaesh'? I u kovo uchilas? I mnogikh li ty tem i inym kakim vedovstvom inykh liudei portila?" RGADA fond 210, Prikaznyi stol, stlb. 46, list 257.

others as collaborators and teachers. Broken under torture, people might accuse anyone, even their own wives and children. Once accusations had been lodged and tortured deployed, further allegations multiplied geometrically. The gradually escalating testimony of Tereshka Malakurov, a townsperson and healer of Lukh, illustrates the same hideous process at work. When first accused and questioned, Tereshka admitted that he worked as a healer, but denied any knowledge or practice of sorcery. He stood firm throughout his first round in the torture chamber, but a second session of beating, burning hot pincers, and slow water torture convinced him to name a certain horse doctor, conveniently dead and hence safe from prosecution, as the master who had taught him all of his dark secrets. Tereshka elaborated on his evil deeds, confessing that he had bewitched people with spells involving enchanted salt sprinkled over a black dog at crossroads, causing potential clients to fall ill and then to pay him for his healing services. Several more encounters with the torturers led Tereshka to confess that his wife, Olenka, had become his partner in witchcraft (*vedovstvo*). After extensive torture and fully elaborated confessions, Olenka and Tereshka were both executed on July 27, 1658.[30] As this case exemplifies, not all charges against kin and affines arose spontaneously in Muscovy, and the effects of torture must be taken into account when assessing particular confessions and allegations.

In spite of the role of torture in shaping confessions, and sometimes accusations as well, Muscovite court testimony appears to reveal a good deal about popular belief. Accusations of witchcraft generally arose spontaneously, on the initiative of individuals or communities who felt themselves under magical assault. Cases thus originated through public instigation, and in their initial form accusations represented the beliefs and fears of the accusers, not of the coercive state authorities. Accusers may have shaped their denunciations in such a way as to engage the authorities' sympathy and credulity, but the accusers themselves had free rein in shaping the actual accusations and could finger the specific targets of their suspicions. Even after a case reached the courts, the leading questions that the interrogators directed at the accused and other witnesses did not propose particular candidates for accusation. Those were left to the imagination of the subject. Nor did the interrogators' questions assume particular forms or sites of bewitchment; those were left to the victim to devise. Confessions and accusations alike very commonly imagined sorcery at the junction where expectations of family and community support and trust confronted manifestations of betrayal. To some extent then, although

[30] RGADA fond 210, Prikaznyi stol, no. 300, listy 1–89ob.

testimony cannot be considered a transparent or unmediated reflection of individuals' beliefs, it does tap a vein of popular conceptions about boundaries and transgression.

In a culture where the relationship of marriage was so crucial and potentially so fraught with danger, and where pregnancy and procreation were so mysterious and unstable, these were areas in which magic was understood as most likely to be at work. Katerinka's accusers, the prince and princess, were particularly apt to think that witchcraft was afoot because the princess's illness terminated her pregnancy. In general, the wedding ceremony was a highly vulnerable moment for Muscovite couples, who customarily engaged a sorcerer to officiate alongside the priest, in order to fend off the evil forces that were likely to curse their marriage beds. A peasant carpenter was imprisoned in Aleksino for having used three cloves of garlic to "unchain" a pair of newlyweds whose sexual activity had been blocked by bewitchment.[31] In another case, an entire district became so fearful of a local witch with a reputation for causing impotence at weddings that couples routinely traveled to the next province to marry. The prevalence of charges of causing impotence in married men further underscores the close association between the mysteries of reproduction in marriage and the unknown world of magic and witchcraft.[32] Violations and interruptions of marriage and reproduction, thus, called to mind the possibility of magical interference.

Betrayal of trust lies at the heart of a large subset of cases which centered on the providing of and tampering with food, and in which witchcraft was poorly differentiated from poisoning. David Warren Sabean, in his discussion of a witchcraft case in early modern Germany, points out the centrality of symbolic moments of sharing food in defining a community based on trust. "In community lie dangers, the more so as one is often unprepared for attack. Food/poison, therefore, offers the metaphors for sharing/treachery inherent in community."[33] Sabean presents the interruption of shared meals as a metaphor for the issues of exclusion and suspicion that could produce witchcraft accusations. Poisoning or enchanting food signified the severance of a basic trust and a disruption of the social order necessary for the community's well-being.

Some of these food-related cases involved wives who poisoned their husbands' meals with potions. Most prominently, on a far higher social plane

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[31] RGADA fond 210, Belgorodskii stol, stlb. 1202, listy 387–88 (1653–1654).

[32] N. Ia. Novombergskii, *Koldovstvo v moskovskoi Rusi XVII veka* (St. Petersburg, 1906), no. 10. See also RGADA fond 210, Prikaznyi stol, no. 300, list 17.

[33] Sabean, *Power in the Blood*, 110.

than the other cases discussed so far, Ivan III's second wife, Sofia, fell under suspicion of dabbling in witchcraft in 1497. The charge was that she had planned to poison her husband by use of a magical potion:

> And at that time the grand prince put his wife, Grand Princess Sofia, in disgrace because women had come to her with a potion. Having investigated these evil women, the Grand Prince ordered them executed, drowned in the river in Moscow at night.[34]

Sofia's putative offense was particularly odious because it desecrated the bond of trust that marriage required. The everyday but nonetheless significant act of sharing food henceforth would be dangerous, "and from that time he began to live with her [Sofia] in great vigilance."[35] Under the circumstances, one can scarcely blame him for keeping up his guard.

Marriage and family were not the only likely sites of culinary magic. Witchcraft charges arose within a more inclusive community, defined around the preparation and serving of food. Among masters and servants, hosts and guests, and even tavern keepers and their customers, allegations about potions and food figured prominently.[36] Customers in a tavern sued the tavern keeper for bewitching their drinks. One provincial servitor sued another for bewitching his son's beer when his son was over at his house visiting.[37] A visitor sued his host for serving bewitched food, and reversing the roles, a hostess charged that an ungrateful guest who had partaken of her husband's wine in their house had stolen her kerchief and used it to bewitch her.[38] In all of these cases, the trust which normally allowed for exchange of food and hospitality was abused. The charge of witchcraft underscored the perfidy implicit in the act of poisoning and for that reason the two charges often accompanied one another.

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[34] *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* [*PSRL*], vol. 6, *Sofiiskaia pervaia letopis'* (St. Petersburg, 1853), 279.

[35] Ibid. Translation in part from John L. I. Fennell, *Ivan the Great of Moscow* (London, 1961), 337.

[36] Here the translation of the word "portit'" becomes a bit tricky. Literally it means "to spoil," and it is used in documents from the time to discuss the "spoiling" of crops, grain supplies, city walls, gunpowder, and so on. It is also often used clearly with the sense of "bewitch," as in cases of what we would call spirit possession. Its meaning can be ambiguous in charges that someone attempted to "portit'" someone else with a root. Does it mean "poison" or "bewitch" or "magically afflict"? Usually other parts of the document make it clear that the latter is intended.

[37] RGADA fond 210, Prikaznyi stol, stlb. 567, listy 1–4, 190–93, 278–83 (1647–1658).

[38] RGADA fond 210, Prikaznyi stol, no. 300.

The relationship most plagued by bewitched meals was that between master and household serfs or slaves. This is understandable, in that serfs presumably prepared and served meals in landlords' houses all the time. In the case of the *strekil'* plant discussed above, Katerinka supposedly added grasses and enchanted salt to the pregnant princess's food. Her lover, Mikitka, who worked as a cook in the prince's and princess's kitchen, stood accused of slipping the black, shaggy *strekil'* root into the meals he prepared for them. According to Katerinka's testimony, she came upon Mikitka crumbling the root into the prince's food.

And I asked him, "Why are you crumbling that root?" And he said to me, "What's it to you?" And that root was black, and Efimka's son Grishka gave it to him, Mikitka, in my presence at Prince Fedor's house, in the storeroom. And at that same time, on St. Nicholas' Day, that Efimko and his son Grishka were at Prince Fedor's place.[39]

The degree to which the household serfs and slaves formed a part of a single community with their masters emerges quite clearly from the court transcript. Katerinka explained that she had received the suspicious materials from the princess herself and from those close to her. As her testimony demonstrates, Katerinka was distinctly part of the princess's household and family life.

"That pepper," she said, "Prince Fedor's wife, the princess, granted to me in celebration of childbirth when Prince Fedor was in Elets.... And," she said, "the poor peasant woman Maritsa, Nechaiko's wife, brought a pot of *strekil'* to the house in Luki to the princess this summer. And I," she said, "took that *strekil'* at that time from that Marítsa and I rubbed my face with that *strekil'*."[40]

Pursuing the line of Katerinka's narrative, the court investigators called in the poor peasant woman (*bobylikha*) Maritsa, who was questioned during a confrontation with Katerinka.

The woman (*zhonka*) Ofimitsa came to me from Prince Fedor Eletskoi's household and told me the princess's words, that I should tell my husband that he

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[39] "I ia de u nevo vsprosila, 'Dlia ty chevo koren' kroshish?' I on mne skazal 'Na chto tebe?' I tot de koren soboiu chorn a daval de evo pri mne emu Mikitki sn" Efimkov Grishka u kniazia Fedora a v podklete. A v te pory na Nikolin' dn' tot Efimko i sn evo Grishka byli u kniazia Fedora na dvore." RGADA fond 210, Prikaznyi stol, stlb. 46, listy 256–57.

[40] "A tot de mne perets pozhalovala kniazh Fedorova knginia k rodinam kak kniaz Fedor byl na Eletse.... A strekiliu de prinesla vo dvor ko kngini na Lukakh nneshnego leta bobylikha Maritsa Nechaikova zhena stavets. I ia de togo strekiliu v te pory vziala u toi Maritsy i te de strekilem litso mazala." Ibid., listy 251–52.

should go down to the river to find *strekil'*. And she told me that *strekil'* grows in water on rocks and on logs, like moss. And my husband went to the river and gathered that *strekil'* in the river. And having put that *strekil'* in a pot, I brought [it] to Prince Fedor's house, and the princess's nanny Anna took that *strekil'* from me and she gave me for that *strekil'* 2 *den'gi*. And I saw the princess herself. And at that time that *zhonka* Katerinka took that *strekil'* from me, taking not too much, just three or four spoonfuls.[41]

According to this passage, the princess's household extended to include her household serf, Katerinka, her *mamka* (nanny), as well as some of the peasants of the village. A variety of peasants had free access to the prince's kitchen and storeroom, wandering easily in and out, bringing supplies from other towns, running errands, chatting, and fetching roots from the river. With his charges of maleficium, the prince set out to avenge his serfs' betrayal of this open domestic community, a community viable only if social hierarchy and mutual obligation were maintained.

We have very little context in which to situate this insight into relations between masters and household serfs or slaves. Literary sources from later eras often depict master-serf relations as paternalistic and intimate, but little survives to document the nature of those relations in the Muscovite period. Witchcraft accusations suggest that relations were indeed intimate, and that masters and slaves held idealized notions about the mutual trust and obligations that should characterize their interactions. When those reciprocal expectations were violated, which presumably happened very commonly, sorcery accusations might occasionally arise. Although certainly only a tiny fraction of cases of disloyalty or lack of deference on the part of serfs and slaves reached the courts embellished with witchcraft charges, when they did, they exhibited the same intensity and sense of betrayal that characterized charges within families. The linkage between disobedient servants and witchcraft surfaced not only in lawsuits but also in more literary sources of the era. The *Domostroi*, the famous sixteenth-century household handbook, cautioned masters against the conniving and dishonest ways of their servants, and also, if more peripherally, warned of the dangers of servants who enticed

[41] "Prikhodila de ko mne so kniazh Fedorova dvora Eletskogo zhonka Ofimitsa i govorila de mne knginym slovom, chtob ia govorila muzhu svoemu, chtob on skhodil na reku poiskal strekiliu. A skazala de mne, chto tot strekil rostet v vode na kameni i na kolodakh, chto mokh. I muzh de moi na reku khodil i togo strekiliu v reke dobyl. I ia de togo strekiliu nakladachi stavets otnesla na kniazh Fedorov dvor i priniala de u menia tot strekil kngina mamka Anna. A dala de kngine ona mne za tot strekil dve dengi. A samoi de ia kngine videla da v tekh de pory togo strekiliu vziala u menia ta zhonka Katerinka ne so mnogo loshki s tri ili s chetyre." Ibid., list 252.

their mistresses to bring "evil old women" or "wizards with roots" into the household.[42]

While servants always owed proper service and deference to their masters and might provoke witchcraft accusations by defiance, masters too shouldered particular obligations relative to their servants. The *Domostroi* again articulated these expectations, spelling out how masters should set a good example before their retainers and should reward their servants and support them adequately. "Each person should acquire additional slaves only after thinking about how he will feed, clothe, and maintain them so that they will live in peace of mind, fearing God and knowing good governance."[43] As noted above, masters had to arrange suitable marriages for their serfs and slaves or risk assuming responsibility for driving their dependents to commit mortal sin. Destitute of most other means of exacting retribution, serfs and slaves might attempt to avenge transgressions of these rules of reciprocity by employing (or thinking of employing) witchcraft. Where the English aristocracy may have been constrained by the standards of *noblesse oblige*, the Muscovite serf-owner had to watch out for the moral watchdogs of his estate: witches.

In 1648, in a case very similar to Katerinka's, a cossack captain (*golova*) in Sevsk, Il'ia Afonas'ev syn Olebaev, accused one of his serving women, Oksinitsa, of bewitching him and his wife. In the same testimony, Il'ia offhandedly denied counter-charges that he had tortured the unfortunate woman. He testified that the *zhonka* had sent various criminals to beat him and his wife, and worse still, when he interrogated the woman,

> she told him that she, Oksiutka, had plotted with Zamiatii Levont'ev's man, Fedka Akinshin, [to commit] criminal violence. And that same *zhonka* of his said that she had bewitched him, Il'ia, and his wife so that their children would not remain alive, and she had gotten, he said, enchanted water and grasses and roots in Sevsk from the musketeer's widow Daritsa Chiuchkina. And that same Daritsa was taken to Sevsk to the governor's office, and roots and grasses were taken from the woman.... But his, Il'ia's, woman Oksiutka... wasn't taken. And he, Il'ia, took that woman Oksiutka with him to Moscow. And from that bewitchment, he said, he, Il'ia, and his wife are dying from disease, and the children that are born to him, Il'ia, they too soon die from that bewitchment."

[42] Carolyn Johnston Pouncy, ed. and trans., *The Domostroi: Rules for Russian Households in the Time of Ivan the Terrible* (Ithaca, 1994), 109–110. In her dissertation Pouncy points out the conceptual linkage of women as the mistresses of households full of servants and of their proclivity to magic. See "The Domostroi as a Source for Muscovite History" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 1985), 80. Thanks to Nancy Kollmann for pointing this out.

[43] Pouncy, *Domostroi*, 124.

In addition to charging Oksinitsa with conspiracy, assault, and witchcraft, Il'ia proceeded to besmirch her character, attesting that she had run away from Voronezh "from a living husband."[44]

Under interrogation, Oksinitsa admitted to employing magic, but explained that Il'ia had been beating her constantly. When she had complained to Daritsa, a musketeer's wife, Daritsa had given her some kind of grass and root and had told her "to put that root and grass into the food of Il'ia Olebaev and his wife, so that Il'ia and his wife would be kind to her, Oksiutka. And she put that grass and root in Il'ia Olebaev's and his wife's food, and at that time two children of Il'ia Olebaev died, a year-old daughter and a son died the day after his birth."[45] Under torture, Oksinitsa added that she had been carrying on an illicit affair with Fedka Akinshin, the man whom she had convinced to beat up her master.[46] Five years later, Oksinitsa petitioned for release from her long, "bitter imprisonment." She asserted that she had been a free woman, the former wife of a cossack, and had been living with Olebaev voluntarily, until he denied her freedom and began to beat her and torture her ceaselessly. She denied any involvement with witchcraft or roots. The tsar ordered his staff to look into the matter.[47]

In this particular case, everyone concerned appears to have consulted the powerful Daritsa and made use of her services, underscoring the extent to which a uniform witchcraft belief crossed class and social standing in Muscovy. According to Daritsa's own testimony, not only Oksiutka had consulted her. Oksiutka's lover Fedka had come to her for a charm that would make women love him (*dlia togo chtob evo Fedku zhonki liubili*), while Il'ia

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[44] "I zhonka emu Oksiutka skazala zgovorilas de ona Oksiutka z Zamiatinym chlvkom Levont'eva s Fedkoiu Akinshinym dlia bezzakonnovo vorovstva. Da ta zh zhonka evo skazala chto ona evo Il'iu i zhenu evo portila chto b detei u nikh zhivykh ne bylo i imala de vodu nagovarivannuiu i travu i korene v Sevsku zh u streletskoi zhonki u vdovy Daritsy Chiuchkiny. I ta de streletskaia zhonka Daritsa v Sevsku v prikaznuiu izbu vziata i korene i trava u zhonki vyniato.... A u nevo de u Ili zhonku evo Oksiutku... ne vziali, i on Il'ia tu zhonku Oksiutku privez s soboiu k Moskve a ot toe de porchi on Il'ia i zhena evo bolezn'iu konchaiutsa. I deti kotorye u nevo Ili razhaiuttsa, i te ot porchi skoro pomiraiut. A ta zhonka Oksiutka u nevo Ili beglaia s Voronezha ot zhiva muzha." RGADA fond 210, Prikaznyi stol, stlb. 186, listy 984; 986–87.

[45] "I dala de ei Oksiutke v Sevsku streletskaia zhonka Daritsa Chiuchkina travu i korenia i velela ei Oksiutke toe travu i korenia klasti Il'e Olebaevu i zhene evo v estvu, chtob do nee Oksiutki Il'ia i zhena evo byli dobry i ona de Oksiutka tu travu i korenia Il'e Olebaevu i zhene evo v estvu klala i u Il'i de Olebaeva v to vremia umerlo dvoe detei: doch godu a sn" umer na zavtreia rozheniia svoevo." Ibid., listy 988–89.

[46] *Ibid., list 989. For another case of "fornication and witchcraft," see* RGADA *fond* 210, Moskovskii stol, stlb. 294, listy 336–41 (1653–1656).

[47] RGADA fond 210, Prikaznyi stol, stlb. 186, listy 985–86.

Olebaev himself had asked her help in divining the location of his runaway serfs.[48] In the most charged relationship, however, that between Il'ia and Oksiutka, the case again bears the characteristic traits of mutual perceptions of misbehavior and guilt underlying witchcraft accusations among members of an extended household. Olebaev had failed to protect the free woman who had taken refuge in his household, and on the contrary, had beaten and enslaved her. This situation contains all of the ingredients for Keith Thomas's scenario of guilt projected outward onto the unfortunate victim, often a resentful or spiteful one, in the form of a witchcraft accusation. Oksinitsa was evidently not prepared to take oppression passively and had fought back in various ways. When her insubordination was pieced together with other bits of the puzzle—her abandoned marriage, her illicit affair, and the tragic deaths of the Olebaev children—a charge of witchcraft became the obvious solution to Olebaev's misfortunes and troubled conscience.

In many other cases as well, female serfs and slaves resorted to (or were suspected of resorting to) spells to rid themselves of their masters, mistresses, and their masters' agents or to ameliorate their situations.[49] Whether these women actually did resort to magic to avenge perceived violations of their rightful relationship to their masters, or whether the charges were fanciful projections of the master's guilty feelings, they confirm that a shared moral conception (with various permutations and sharply differing perspectives) shaped Muscovite expectations of how community relations within the extended household should properly be structured.

Muscovite courts adjudicated a vast number of cases in which family members sued each other over property or for misbehavior or for physical assault without any allusion to sorcery. It is hard to understand why one situation summoned forth that virulent accusation and others did not. Why, for instance, did the widow Ul'iana Fedoseeva of Shuia, who sued her brother-in-law for burning down her house in the early seventeenth century, not consider charging him with sorcery as well as arson?[50] Similarly, following the patterns in witchcraft accusations already observed, State Secretary Grigorii Piatovo could well have added witchcraft to his charge against his nephew of

48 Ibid., listy 998–99.

49 Other examples of women cursing their masters and mistresses: Lev V. Cherepnin, "Iz istorii drevnerusskogo koldovstva XVII v.," *Etnografiia*, no. 2 (1929), 97, 99; Novombergskii, *Koldovstvo*, no. 24–26; RGADA fond 210, Prikaznyi stol, stlb. 300, list 10; RGADA fond 210, Prikaznyi stol, stlb. 1225, listy 6–7.

50 RGADA, fond 210, Vladimirskii stol, stlb. 60, list 65 (1636–1641). Another widow complained in the 1620s that her brothers-in-law had seized her estate: Prikaznyi stol, stlb. 15, listy 356–57.

drunkenness and terrible mismanagement of his estate, but he did not.[51] Closely paralleling the Tarotukhin case discussed above, a lawsuit in the 1620s pitted a son against his mother, who had transferred his inheritance first to her second husband, and ultimately to her third, and yet in this case, no mention of sorcery entered the judicial record.[52] In other cases, charges of sorcery arose, but with a gratuitous feel, as if thrown in as an afterthought, for good measure. The charge of sorcery, for instance, remains completely undeveloped in a case where one brother sued another over the division of their patrimony, adding off-handedly that the brother was also a witch. In another case a widower accused his mother-in-law, along with her son, her grandson, and her stepdaughter, of robbing him "by force" and leaving nothing behind. After this tangible crime, he added, they now "threaten me with death and murder" by use of roots.[53]

What turned a family squabble over inheritance or a case of suspected poisoning or any other ordinary criminal assault into a sorcery case remains a mystery, although certain prerequisites appear to have been necessary to allow the charges to escalate to such an extent within a family. When the perceived offence violated fundamental assumptions about personal relationships, solidarities, and communities, witchcraft offered a possible explanation for such intolerable conduct. Of course, not all crimes within families were understood as magical. To some degree, the irretrievable affective aspects of personal relationships may have determined whether or not commonplace offenses took on the coloring of witchcraft. For instance, the widow who sued her brother-in-law for burning her estate may have expected nothing better from him, while the uncle who brought his nephew to court on sorcery charges may have felt a deeply personal sense of betrayal.[54]

The intensity and insidiousness of attacks within intimate settings provides a partial explanation for the differences between cases in which litigants invoked witchcraft against their assailants and those in which charges stopped at simple criminality, but the explanation is far from complete. In most cases of appalling violence or offense committed by individuals against those near and dear to them, sorcery charges were never raised. It appears fruitless to attempt to pinpoint the elusive factors that must have effected such distinctions; however, we may better understand the frequent and easy elision

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[51] RGADA fond 210, Vladimirskii stol, stlb. 84, listy 1–4, 13–16, 32, 54–55, 63–72, 79–80, 84, 97–100 (1637–1639).

[52] RGADA fond 210, Prikaznyi stol, stlb. 15, listy 726–28, 755.

[53] RGADA fond 210, Belgorodskii stol, stlb. 83 (1636).

[54] On emotion and witchcraft, see Lyndal Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe* (New York and London, 1994).

of such seemingly different categories of sorcery and criminality in the Muscovite imagination by turning to the peculiarities of the Muscovite definition of witchcraft and the legal structure in which these cases were prosecuted. The state itself clearly articulated its concern with maintaining community order and establishing boundaries in a series of decrees prohibiting the practice of witchcraft and establishing penalties. The decrees described witches and sorcerers in two very different ways, reflecting the dual violation, of both social order and community morality, implicit in the cases discussed above. On the one hand, decrees issued by an anxious Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich categorized witchcraft as a violation of law and order, not as a religious crime, and classified sorcerers as a variant of bandit or brigand. Tsar Aleksei ordered a special investigator sent to Murom, Kineshma, Suzdal', and Iur'ev Pol'skii to catch "thieves, robbers, brigands and witches (*veduny*)."[55] Magic in these cases appears to have occupied a cultural context quite removed from the Church.

On the other hand, witchcraft was not just another secular crime. Its particular menace lay in its threat to the moral order. In contrast to the decrees that categorized witchcraft as a secular offense, other edicts listed it among distinctly moral-religious offenses. Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich expostulated against the generally impious behavior reported to him in the capital and in the provinces, including consulting witches, healers and fortune-tellers, singing drunken, indecent songs during mass and on holidays, heating baths and washing clothes on Sundays, listening to "devilish" strolling minstrels with their domras and pipes and performing bears, shaving beards, and swinging on swings.[56] This moral side of witchcraft accusations did not, however, remove it far from the previous category of what might be labeled secular crimes, such as banditry, drunkenness, or assault. Sorcery and healing were lumped together with other improprieties and disruptions of seemly conduct, not with heresy, Satanism, or other more extreme inversions of Christian belief. As in many Western European countries secular courts held jurisdiction over witchcraft cases, but unlike most of their Western European counterparts, Muscovite sorcery charges remained on a very earthly, human turf, rarely ascending (or descending) into questions of theology or demonology. Disruption of family, household, and community resonated on the two levels addressed by Tsar Aleksei's decrees and by Muscovite witchcraft beliefs in general, signifying both criminal disorder and moral perversion. The

[55] RGADA fond 210, Moskovskii stol, stlb. 485, listy 28–33, 639–51, 692–95, 768–78.

[56] RGADA fond 210, Belgorodskii stol, stlb. 298, listy 377–80 (1648); RGADA fond 210, Novgorodskii stol, stlb. 96 (1649).

elastic charge of witchcraft encompassed both of these dimensions of offense. In the popular imagination, offenses against family and household could thus invoke fears of sorcery, or, at other times, could just as easily be interpreted as more ordinary misbehavior.

In the Muscovite construction of community and its boundaries, family and the extended patriarchal household served as a central enough locus of social organization that they could readily become the object of emotionally charged and high-stakes accusations. Those who ruptured the fundamental trust between social superiors and inferiors or within solidarity groups might come under suspicion of engaging in other, equally malicious and unnatural practices as well. Witchcraft accusations provided one way to police the borders of that community, by targeting those who were seen as breaking taboos of family and community solidarity and of social hierarchy. The state courts treated witchcraft cases just as they would any other infraction against order and community. Violators were punished as criminals, not as heretics. In an interesting twist, many of those convicted of witchcraft were sentenced to perpetual exile in the militarized borderlands, where they were registered in military units, granted plots of land to sustain their service, and set up in homes with their families. Their only obligation, as soldiers of the tsar, was to patrol the literal boundaries of the Orthodox community of Muscovy.[57]

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[57] For instance, RGADA fond 210, Novgorodskii stol, stlb. 150; stlb. 210 (1689), listy 161, 284, 929.

Murder in the Hoover Archives

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The only seventeenth-century manuscript owned by the Hoover Institution Archives at Stanford University is a murder case. It is a scroll, composed of eighteen sheets of paper glued together top to bottom and tightly rolled up.[1] The manuscript was apparently acquired in Russia by the American scholar Frank Golder, probably between 1921 and 1923 when he was commissioned by Herbert Hoover to collect materials for Hoover's new archive dedicated to "war, revolution and peace." Acquiring medieval manuscripts was not part of Golder's charge and where and from whom he acquired this document is not known.[2] But that he did so was in keeping with his fascination for collecting. In October 1921 he wrote home from Moscow, anticipating criticism for spending good money on "rare editions, beautiful bindings, heirlooms of great value": "In a century from now when I am dead of a broken heart caused by [his superiors'] reproaches, the scholars of the year 2000 will thank me."[3] Indeed, we do. Aside from its curiosity value, this manuscript is a wonderful example of judicial concepts and practice in late seventeenth-century Muscovy.

The manuscript is written in several clear chancery hands, quite easy to read despite a water-damage stain on the left side. There are no ownership inscriptions or archival labels, other than a later pencil numbering of the separate items included in the case. The documents included date from

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[1] Hoover Institution Archives, Frank Golder Collection, box 31 (xerox copy), 32 (original).

[2] A notation on fol. 18v in an eighteenth-century hand ("from the Boborykin court case") may associate the document with a family archive. Although the Hoover Archive has no record of this manuscript's acquisition, various of Golder's letters mention the possibility of acquiring historical collections with manuscripts. Often his intents were not realized. For example, in February 1923 Golder mentions intending to purchase a collection including "some eighty-five manuscripts" (Wojciech Zalewski, *Collectors and Collections of Slavica at Stanford University* [Stanford, CA 1985], 29), but later correspondence (February 12, April 2) indicates that he did not (communication, B. Patenaude). On his collecting activities in Russia and his observations on the current political scene, see Zalewski, *Collectors*, chap. 3 and Terence Emmons and Betrand M. Patenaude, comps., eds. and intro., *War, Revolution, and Peace in Russia: The Passages of Frank Golder, 1914–1927* (Stanford, CA 1992).

[3] Ibid., 93–94. Thanks to Elena Danielson of the Hoover Institution for pointing out this passage.

September 1683 through March 1684.[4] As indicated by its first line, "copy from the case" (*spisok s dela*), the manuscript is a summary of a litigation. It includes the initial petitions of the aggrieved plaintiff (the landlord of the murdered man) (fols. 2–3), examination of the body (fol. 4), testimony of the accused defendants before and after torture (fols. 4–5), exchanges between Moscow and regional governors regarding transfer of the case and the arrested defendants (fols. 6–8), petitions by the landlord of the defendants for a speedy resolution (fol. 9), a repetition of the initial petitions and interrogations (fols. 10–14), transcripts of a second round of defendants' testimony before and during torture (fols. 14–15v, 17), a petition by the landlord of the defendants for the release of one defendant (fol. 16), and the judgment by Tsars Ioann and Peter (fol. 18).

As in all murder cases, there is quite a tale to tell here. On September 15, 1683, *stol'nik* Ivan Ivanov syn Boborykin had his men haul to the local governor in Kostroma, Boris Markovich Chirikov, the dead body of his peasant Kupriashka Kuzmin. With them they brought two men accused of killing Kuzmin. The victim had been the elder (*starosta*) of Boborykin's village near Kostroma and had been sent on September 12 to the market at Sereda Upina with thirty rubles to buy horses and other goods. In his petition to the tsars, Boborykin claimed that the two accused men had lain in wait for Kuzmin to steal the money and that, when they attacked him, they beat him "with deathly blows" and stabbed him with a knife, from which attack he died. Boborykin asked that the body and the men be examined, specifying that torture be used in the interrogation.

Governor Chirikov immediately had the corpse examined, yielding the following graphic description: "below the navel on the belly the body was cut with a knife and the intestines were spilling out." He then questioned the two defendants, each of whom identified himself as a household servant (*dvorovoi chelovek*) of Aleksei Matveev syn Luzhin, from Luzhin's village of Lopatino in Kostroma province (*uezd*). The first, Kupriashka Andreev, testified that on September 12 he had been at the market in Sereda Upina with Kupriashka Kuzmin and that he did wait on the road for Kuzmin with a knife, and did stab him to death. But he declared that he did not steal the thirty rubles. The

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[4] Watermarks confirm the dates: two marks occur in the eighteen sheets, a foolscap with no attached letters and an Arms of Amsterdam, also with no identifying initials. The foolscap is very similar to Edward Heawood, *Watermarks, Mainly from the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Hilversum, 1950), no. 2009 (1680) and *[K. Ia.] Tromonin's Watermark Album*, ed. J. S. G. Simmons (Hilversum, 1965), nos. 384–85 (1676–1682). The Arms is extremely similar to Heawood, no. 365 (1685) and very close to Heawood, nos. 433 (1681) and 367 (1683). It is also similar to A. A. Geraklitov, *Filigrani XVII veka na bumage rukopisnykh i pechatnykh dokumentov russkogo proiskhozhdeniia* (Moscow, 1963), no. 52 (1680).

second defendant, Ostashka Vasil'ev syn Karmanov, testified that he too was present at the market with the two Kupriashkas and that he knew that Andreev had stabbed Kuzmin to death after having awaited him. But Karmanov testified that he himself did not participate in any planning of the murder and that he knew nothing about the money. Andreev was then sent to torture and under torture on September 19 he reiterated his testimony, adding that he had stabbed Kuzmin "in self-defense" because Kuzmin was beating him up. And he noted that he had had no prior intent to kill Kuzmin and that there were no witnesses with him at the time of the slaying.

Meanwhile the defendants' landlord Luzhin had petitioned to the tsar at the time of the murder, protesting that the case should not be heard in Kostroma since he, Luzhin, had "a long-standing enmity" (*staraia nedruzhba*) with the Kostroma governor Chirikov. Moscow promptly responded, ordering on September 24 that the written record of the case be sent to the Felony Chancery (*Razboinyi prikaz*) to be judged by boyar Aleksei Petrovich Saltykov "and colleagues," and that the defendants should be sent to the governor in Dmitrov, Aleksei Pekin.[5]

Not surprisingly, in his petition Luzhin reported a different version of what had transpired. He alleged that his man Andreev was drinking at the tavern in Sereda Upina with a party of Boborykin's men that included the victim and, when the men had become drunk, they all began to fight. His man Andreev then walked out and set off on foot for home, but the Boborykin men caught up with him on horseback, beat him, and ripped off his clothes. Only then, defending himself, Andreev slew Kuzmin. Then the Boborykin men beat him, tied him up, and went off to find Luzhin's bailiff (*prikashchik*) at the Sereda Upina marketplace. There they seized him as well and took the two men to Boborykin's village of L'govo. From there Boborykin sent them to Kostroma by September 15.

The case and the defendants languished in Dmitrov from late September through October, causing Luzhin to petition "in the first days of November" that his men should not be held indefinitely. Luzhin asked that a resolution be reached "according to the great sovereigns' order (*ukaz*) and the Conciliar

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[5] The Felony Chancery was renamed the *Sysknoi prikaz* in November 1683, and underwent various name changes before stabilizing, more or less, at *Prikaz sysknykh del: Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii* (hereafter *PSZ*), 1: 45 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1830), 2, no. 1052, 567; Peter Brown, "Early Modern Russian Bureaucracy. The Evolution of the Chancellery System from Ivan III to Peter the Great, 1478–1717," 2 vols., Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1978, 2: 600, 604; I. Ia. Gurliand, "Prikaz sysknykh del," *Sbornik statei po istorii prava, posv. M. F. Vladimirskomu-Budanovu* (Kyiv, 1904), 108.

Lawcode and the *gradskie zakony* and New Articles."[6] This apparently did the trick, since on November 3 the Dmitrov governor Pekin commenced a second interrogation of Andreev and Karmanov. Under interrogation Andreev affirmed what his master had said, and expanded on it. Here is his version of the events:

> And in his testimony he said that in this year 1683 (7192) on September 12 he Kupriashka was in the village of Sereda Upina in Kostroma province at the market and he Kupriashka went to the tavern to drink wine with people of *stol'nik* Ivan Ivanov syn Boborykin, with Iakushko Ustinov, Mikitka Filipov and with the peasant of the hamlet Maslov, Kupriashka Kuzmin. And after he had drunk wine with them, they all left the tavern and they met up with him Kupriashka a second time by the tavern and the men of *stol'nik* Ivan Ivanov syn Boborykin, Iakushko Ustinov, Mikitka Filipov and the peasant Kupriashka Kuzmin, began to beat him Kupriashka because he, Kupriashka, having bought some wine, did not give them any. And at that time he Kupriashka walked away from them and the tavern and they began to insult him. And he Kupriashka headed home and *stol'nik* Ivan Ivanov syn Boborykin's men Iakushko and Mitka and Vedenka Mikitin and the peasant Kupriashka, four men, chased him in the village of Sereda Upina in the alley and they began to hit him with whips and trample him. And having beat him they took his fur coat and he, Kupriashka, unable to withstand their beating, stabbed the peasant Kupriashka Kuzmin with a knife in self-defense. And when they were beating him, neither Ostashka Vasil'ev syn Karmanov nor any others were there. Only he Kupriashka was with them alone. And they were four men. And no one, Ostashka or any other, conspired with him Kupriashka; he Kupriashka stabbed the peasant Kupriashka Kuzmin without prior intent, in self-defense, seeing that he was being beaten to death (fols. 14–15).

The other defendant, Karmanov, then said that he had no idea whether Andreev stabbed Kuzmin "with intent or in self-defense," because he was not there. By that time he had ridden off to the market, where he was seized by Boborykin's men.

Sometime thereafter Luzhin petitioned that his bailiff Karmanov had been arrested "for no reason (*naprasno*)" and that he had never had a criminal record. He asked that Karmanov be released to his custody (*na rospisku*) and that a judgment regarding Andreev be made according to the "*gradskie zakony*" (the words "Conciliar Lawcode" and "Newly Issued Articles" are crossed out) (fol. 16).

The Felony Chancery in Moscow took a while to consider these requests,

[6] Three codes used at the time: the Conciliar Lawcode (*Sobornoe ulozhenie*) of 1649 (see n. 11); Byzantine secular laws (the *Ecloga* and *Procheiros nomos*) included in Russian *Rudder* books (*kormchie knigi*); the "Newly Issued Articles on Theft, Robbery and Murder of 1669" (see n. 12).

and on January 17 ordered Pekin to release Karmanov to Luzhin's custody and to interrogate Andreev a third time, under torture. On January 22, Pekin did so. As he reported to boyar Petr Vasil'evich Sheremetev and his colleagues, Andreev received "25 blows" and under that torture he testified that, unable to withstand the beating he was getting from Kuzmin, he killed Kuzmin in self-defense with no prior intent or conspiracy with others. This report arrived in Moscow on February 27.

The case concludes on March 10, 1684, with the tsars' resolution: "[because] under torture he Kupriashka said he killed Kupriashka Kuzmin by stabbing, without intent, defending himself, unable to withstand the blows from Kupriashka, ... by our order Kupriashka Andreev is ordered released without punishment because that murder of Ivan Boborykin's peasant, Kupriashka Kuzmin, happened out of the blue (*samomu ot sebia*)" (fol. 18).

Bizarre though some details may seem, this case is remarkable in that it consistently reflects Muscovite legal culture in the late seventeenth century. The era witnessed some change in juridical norms and judicial procedure, representing not so much steady evolutionary progress towards "modern" law as pragmatic reliance on procedures and norms that suited community values, resources, and customs. In the area of judicial procedure, for example, two approaches were used—the accusatory (*sud*) and the investigatory (*sysk*, *rozysk*) processes. The former procedure is initiated by litigants and can be settled before judgment. In it the judge functions as a mediator between sides who present their own arguments and witnesses. Investigatory suits, by contrast, can be initiated by state authorities as well and cannot be settled before judgment. Here the judge plays the role of active investigator, aggressively seeking out evidence, initially by deposition of the accused and then by various types of inquiry, including the community inquest (*poval'nyi obysk*), a survey of a large body of witnesses in the community where the crime occurred concerning the crime and the accused. Although some scholarship would like to see one form replacing the other in a linear progression, that was not the case.[7] Accusatory procedures were generally

[7] The older literature stresses evolution towards "modern" legal concepts and practice: V. I. Sergeevich, *Lektsii i issledovaniia po drevnei istorii russkogo prava*, 4th ed. (St. Petersburg, 1910), 600–25; V. N. Latkin, *Lektsii po istorii russkogo prava* (St. Petersburg, 1912), 217–30, 485–500; M. F. Vladimirskii-Budanov, *Obzor istorii russkogo prava*, 6th ed. (St. Petersburg-Kyiv, 1909), 634–43. More recent work exposes contradictions between seemingly "modern" and "medieval" customs: George G. Weickhardt, "Due Process and Equal Justice in the Muscovite Codes," *Russian Review* 51 (1992): 463–80; Susan Zayer Rupp, "A Discussion of Legal Procedure in Muscovy and Petrine Russia," unpubl. graduate seminar paper (1989). Rupp's essay helped launch me into this research, and I am grateful for her insights.

associated with civil suits and investigatory processes with criminal, but the distinction was not uniform and over time accusatory suits absorbed some of the techniques of investigatory suits.[8] At the turn of the century some contradictory efforts were made to standardize procedure: the accusatory form was abolished in February 1697 because of abuses but in November 1723 it was reinstated, with *rozysk* abolished.[9] Meanwhile both procedures endured in practice.

For standards of evidence as well, a trend towards preferring evidence that was considered more objective (such as eyewitness testimony and written documentation) can be observed, but it did not fully supplant what we could nowadays consider more subjective forms (such as torture, oaths, and character reference). In medieval judicial procedure, not only in Russia, torture was regarded as a form of "ordeal" by which God's will was expressed. In Russia, testimony received without benefit of torture was not considered decisive.[10] Other ordeals were also used in Muscovy. While judicial duels fell into disuse by the sixteenth century, taking oaths on the cross remained a significant and binding source of evidence.[11] Similarly in Muscovite law, inquests traditionally sought out character reference; community testimony to a defendant's criminal character could determine guilt and the severity of punishment. Although the 1669 articles tried to limit inquest testimony to eyewitness evidence, a decree abolishing the community inquest (*poval'nyi obysk*) in March 1688 acknowledges that they were often abused to pursue "neighborhood quarrels" (*sosedskie ssory*).[12] Although the designers of the 1669 law preferred more objective forms of evidence, its practitioners did not so readily embrace these norms.

While to modern eyes some of these procedures and norms might seem contradictory or redundant, they suited the values of the community, the

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[8] Vladimirskii-Budanov, *Obzor*, 634, 640.

[9] 1697: *PSZ* 3, no. 1572, pp. 278–79. The investigatory technique was at the heart of the military code of 1716, but whether it applied to civilian litigation is questioned: Vladimirskii-Budanov, *Obzor*, 640–42; Rupp, "A Discussion," pp. 27–36. 1723: *PSZ* 7, no. 4344, pp. 147–50.

[10] J. L. H. Keep, "Bandits and the Law in Muscovy," *Slavonic and East European Review* 35 (1956): 211; Weickhardt, "Due Process," 472–75.

[11] On judicial duels, see Horace W. Dewey, "Trial by Combat in Muscovite Russia," *Oxford Slavonic Papers* 9 (1960): 21–31. On oath-taking, see H. W. Dewey and A. M. Kleimola, "Promise and Perfidy in Old Russian Cross-Kissing," *Canadian Slavic Studies* 2, no. 3 (1968): 327–41. Also see Chapter 14 in the Conciliar Lawcode devoted to oaths: Richard Hellie, trans. and ed., *The Muscovite Law Code (Ulozhenie) of 1649.* Part 1 *Text and Translation* (Irvine, CA 1988), 97–100.

[12] Newly Issued Articles of 1669, art. 28: *Pamiatniki russkogo prava*, 8 vols. (Moscow, 1952–63), 7: 406–408. 1688: *PSZ* 2, no. 1294, p. 921. See Latkin on the confusion in the purpose of witness testimony, and on inquests: *Lektsii*, 224, 227–28.

limitations of resources or traditional practices. Our murder case shows many of these characteristics of Muscovite law. Fundamentally handled by the investigative procedure, the case did not require a community inquest because the accused readily admitted that he had killed Kuzmin. Investigation then turned to determining the circumstances of the killing, specifically whether Andreev had acted intentionally or without premeditation. By law a premeditated murder was punished with death: "If someone kills someone with intent, and it is established about that conclusively that he killed with intent: punish such a killer with death."[13] But an unintended homicide was treated more leniently:

> If someone's peasant kills someone else's peasant; and that killer testifies against himself under torture that he killed him while drunk, and not with intent: beat that killer with the knout and, putting him on a cash bond, give him to that service landholder whose peasant was killed with [his] wife, and with [his] children, and with [his] movable property, in the stead of that peasant who was killed.[14]

And self-defense absolved the killer of guilt: "if [someone] ... kills someone in self-defense because that person ... had himself begun the fight earlier, ... do not inflict any punishment on that person because he acted out of self-defense."[15] Thus the judges' questioning focused on issues that would mitigate Andreev's guilt or indicate prior intent, specifically drunkenness, fighting, and self-defense on the one hand, and conspiracy on the other.

The case turned on these issues. Boborykin's initial complaint, for example, set up the presumption of the most guilt by arguing that Andreev had lain in wait for Kuzmin: "Aleksei Matveev syn Luzhin's men Ostashka Vasil'ev and Kupriashka Andreev awaited him outside the market outside the village Sereda, with criminal intent, and having awaited him, behind the houses among the barns they began on the road to beat my elder with death-dealing blows..." (fol. 2). This recalls a specific clause of the 1669 lawcode: "If someone in a drunken state has fought with someone, and on the same day, having awaited him on the road, murders him: execute that killer."[16] But

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[13] Hellie, trans., *The Muscovite Law Code*, chap. 21, art. 72. See also Newly Issued Articles of 1669, art. 79: *PRP* 7: 423.

[14] Hellie, trans., *The Muscovite Law Code*, chap. 21, art. 73; for similar articles involving different social groups, see chap. 21, arts. 69 and 71. See also Newly Issued Articles of 1669, art. 77: *PRP* 7: 423.

[15] Hellie, trans., *The Muscovite Law Code*, chap. 10, art. 105. The issue of self-defense is not dealt with directly or generally in the Conciliar Lawcode, but is mentioned only in very specific cases (see also chap. 10, arts. 200–201, 283). It is not mentioned in the 1669 criminal code.

[16] Newly Issued Articles of 1669, art. 81: *PRP* 7: 424.

Andreev, after a first taciturn admission of guilt in the homicide, warmed to the theme of self-defense in his subsequent three testimonies (two under torture). Similarly, the second accused man, Karmanov, consistently argued that there had been no prior planning and that he was not even present at the killing.

The two judges apparently found Andreev's consistent testimony under torture to be so convincing that they did not pursue further investigation to verify the details of his account, such as interviewing the men alleged to have been beating him to death until he mortally stabbed Kuzmin. To our minds, testimony given under torture would seem the least credible because most coerced: note here Andreev and Karmanov's initial admissions that Andreev had indeed lain in wait for Kuzmin. So supreme was the judges' faith in testimony won under torture that this discrepancy was not followed up; neither was it ever determined what had happened to Boborykin's thirty rubles.

Another explanation for the judges' willingness to believe the testimony of the defendant and his landlord over the allegations of the dead man's landlord is that the judges might have accorded Luzhin preferential treatment. Note, for example, that Karmanov was released into his owner's custody based on his own allegations of innocence (here no torture was used) and his landlord's character reference for him. Although both were fairly obscure provincial *pomeshchiki*, perhaps Luzhin had more powerful in-laws or patrons than Boborykin.[17]

It would not be surprising if personal connections played a role here. The potential of abuse in a judicial system whose judges were drawn from an elite structured by kinship, friendship, and patronage[18] weighed constantly on the minds of Muscovite lawmakers. One could argue that the primary concern of the 1497 and 1550 Law Codes and the immense Chapter 10 on judicial procedure in the Conciliar Lawcode was to establish norms of behavior and punishments for corrupt judicial personnel. The very first articles of Chapter 10 of the 1649 Law Code speak plainly about these concerns:

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[17] Luzhin is cited in September 1684, accompanying Tsar Ioann on pilgrimage, while Boborykin's service is more straightforwardly military. Luzhin: *Dvortsovye razriady*, 4 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1850–1855), 4: col. 306. Boborykin: *ibid.* 3: cols. 524, 568; 4: col. 947.

[18] See Valerie A. Kivelson, *Autocracy in the Provinces: The Muscovite Gentry and Political Culture in the Seventeenth Century* (Stanford, CA, 1996), chap. 2–5 and Robert O. Crummey, *Aristocrats and Servitors: The Boyar Elite in Russia, 1613–1689* (Princeton, 1983), chaps. 3–4.

> No one on his own initiative shall out of friendship or out of enmity add anything to or remove anything from judicial records. No one shall favor a friend or wreak vengeance on an enemy in any matter. No one shall favor anyone in any matter for any reason (art. 1).
>
> If a judge is an enemy of the plaintiff and a friend, or relative, of the defendant, and the plaintiff proceeds to petition the sovereign about that ...: that judge against whom there is such a petition shall not try that plaintiff and defendant (art. 3).[19]

Our case offers good examples of the government's responsiveness to the potential of abuse and favoritism by officials, when Moscow responded promptly to Luzhin's complaint that the initial presiding judge and he had a "long-standing enmity." And note the court's responsiveness to Luzhin's complaint that the trial was dragging on without progress. Late seventeenth-century laws addressed the issue of speeding up trials and specifically enjoined judges from holding prisoners beyond their appropriate time and for other maltreatment.[20]

Our trial conforms to contemporary norms in several other ways as well. The case was, for example, judged by the local governor, instead of the criminal law officers (*gubnoi starosta* and *syshchik*) who were accorded jurisdiction in the 1649 and 1669 lawcodes.[21] This anomaly is explained by the fact that the case occurred in the brief window of time between November 1679 and February 1684 when these local offices were abolished in favor of central administration. Their abolition proved too ambitious. Once reinstated they remained the principal criminal investigating arms until March 1702.[22] A

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[19] Hellie, trans., *The Muscovite Law Code*, chap. 10, arts. 1, 3. The first articles of the 1497 and 1550 Lawcodes also condemn favoritism by judicial officers: *Rossiiskoe zakonodatel'stvo X–XX vv. v deviati tomakh*, 8 vols. to date (Moscow, 1984–), 2: 54, 97. For English translation, see H. W. Dewey, comp., trans. and ed., *Muscovite Judicial Texts, 1488–1556*, Michigan Slavic Materials no. 7 (Ann Arbor, 1966), 9, 47. Dewey stresses that a major goal of the Lawcodes was to prevent judicial corruption: "The 1550 *Sudebnik* as an Instrument of Reform," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 10, no. 2 (1962): 161–80.

[20] See the range of legislation cited in Lindsey Hughes, *Sophia, Regent of Russia, 1657–1704* (New Haven, 1990), 112. Also see the theme of delay in the 1649 law code: Hellie, trans., *The Muscovite Law Code*, chap. 10, arts. 4, 15–17, 24, 114–15, etc. The Conciliar Law Code enjoined governors from delaying the release of exonerated prisoners: Hellie, trans., *The Muscovite Law Code*, chap. 21, art. 104.

[21] Hellie, trans., *The Muscovite Law Code*, chap. 21, arts. 1–3; Newly Issued Articles of 1669, arts. 1–2: *PRP* 7: 396.

[22] 1679: *PSZ* 2, no. 779, pp. 219–20. 1684: *PSZ* 2, no. 1062, p. 576. 1702: *PSZ* 4, no. 1900, pp. 189–90. For discussions of these changes, see Hans-Joachim Torke, *Die staatsbedingte Gesellschaft im Moskauer Reich* (Leiden, 1974), 44–88; Keep, "Bandits," 222.

flip-flop that might seem incomplete modernization was a rational response to inadequate resources.[23]

Similarly, the suit reflects the delicate balance of authority between landlords and the state with regard to their peasants. On the one hand, the law required that those who knew of a homicide should bring it to proper authorities or else be suspected themselves in the crime. Victims of a criminal act were specifically enjoined from prosecuting it themselves.[24] Thus Boborykin brought Kuzmin's body and the accused to the proper authorities. But the landlords clearly had an interest in the suit and actually prosecuted it on behalf of their men. As the law quoted above indicates, for Boborykin conviction of Andreev would compensate him for the murdered man with a family of productive serfs that Luzhin, the losing defendant's lord, would have to forfeit to him.

Thus, this suit shows the tensions and dilemmas that make the study of early modern societies so compelling. Here, on the one hand, stood the lawmakers, who were tending toward more objective evidentiary standards and toward court proceedings in which community opinion held no sway. On the other hand stands a community and judicial apparatus whose sense of the truth gave credence to community opinion and reputation. Here was "rule by law," to the extent that procedures and sanctions followed published law, even while the oversights we have noted left room for subjectivity.[25] And here was an overall setting of poverty and limited resources, particularly human resources, which limited the possibilities of change in legal culture. Although printing was available and the 1649 and subsequent lawcodes were, for example, widely disseminated in printed editions, the limited levels of literacy and popular education prevented uniform application of sweeping reforms. Thus, Muscovy had a judicial system and legal culture that fit community norms and needs. To modern eyes Muscovite legal culture may seem eclectic and internally contradictory, but the contradiction stems from our expectations, not contemporary circumstances.

We moderns would expect that our case would demonstrate a typical early modern evolutionary path from medieval to modern, from subjective to

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[23] On insufficient manpower, see Rupp, "A Discussion," 31–32.

[24] Hellie, trans., *The Muscovite Law Code*, chap. 21, arts. 48, 88.

[25] These tensions recall the debate between Richard Pipes and George Weickhardt over whether Muscovy enjoyed "rule by law": George Weickhardt, "PrePetrine Property Law," *Slavic Review* 52, no. 4 (1993): 663–79; Richard Pipes and George Weickhardt, "Was There Private Property in Muscovite Russia?" *Slavic Review* 53, no. 2 (1994): 524–30, 531–38 respectively. See Richard Hellie's argument that Muscovy enjoyed a "high degree of 'legality'": "Early Modern Russian Law: The *Ulozhenie* of 1649," *Russian History* 15, nos. 2–4 (1988): 179.

objective, or from patrimonial to rational. But this little homicide case that strayed to California—like the thousands that reside closer to home in archives in the Russian Federation—does not. And not surprisingly. Evolutionary schemes are for good reason in disfavor in the social sciences these days.[26] In fields as diverse as legal history, anthropology, and sociology, as well as history, scholars of early modern Europe find coexisting elements that traditionally were pegged to one or the other side of a great divide: "medieval" clientelism coexisting with "modern" centralized bureaucracy;[27] "irrational" evidentiary standards such as torture enduring into the quintessentially "rational" Enlightenment era and beyond. Only because of presumed theoretical polarities (e.g., *Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft*) do these seem contradictions; historical societies knew no such constraints. They combined in messy complexity wide diversities of structures and ideas; they changed in response to happenstance and contingency as much as to planned reforms. Such contingency and complexity force us to historicize our evidence and to find a different kind of systematicity where modern-day expectations see contradictions. And that is what makes doing history so endlessly fascinating, as Ned Keenan has taught us. The fun of doing history—and the responsiblity of doing it—lies in grappling with received models and trying to understand premodern societies as contemporaries understood their lives. An unattainable goal, perhaps, but well worth the effort.

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[26] For a theoretical critique of evolutionary perspectives, see Robert W. Gordon, "Critical Legal Histories," *Stanford Law Review* 36 (1984): 57–125. For a discussion of the complexities of the absolutizing process, see Nicholas Henshall, *The Myth of Absolutism: Change and Continuity in Early Modern European Monarchy* (London, 1992).

[27] Recent scholarship on early modern French politics, for example, has been making this case. J. Russell Major sums it up and traces the demise of the old paradigm in *From Renaissance Monarchy to Absolute Monarchy* (Baltimore and London, 1994); he discusses his idea of the early modern "transition from feudalism to clientelism" in "Bastard Feudalism and the Kiss...," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17, no. 3 (1987): 509–35.

What the Rus′ Primary Chronicle Tells Us about the Origin of the Slavs and of Slavic Writing

HORACE G. LUNT

I

The first East Slavic chronicle, the Повѣсть временъ и лѣтъ, begins with a question, "From where has the Land of Rus′ come?" The opening pages make it clear that the term русьскаꙗ землꙗ here denotes primarily a group of people, a nation. The text briskly (though confusedly) demonstrates that all Slavs are related and that the inhabitants of Rus′, despite labels such as Poljane or Kriviči, are predominantly Slavs. It is taken for granted as matter-of-fact background information that all mankind is descended from one of the three sons of Noah and that it was Japheth who was allotted the north and west; the self-evident corollary that the Slavs belonged among the sons of Japheth is stated immediately.

The term *Slavs* appears in the third and fifth columns of the *PVL* text (3.8, 5.22), and then six times in an account of Slavic history that breaks off at 6.24, interrupted by an aside about local peoples in Rus′, to be resumed in column 11.[1] These eight examples deserve special attention.

The narrative begins with the division of the earth among Noah's three sons, listing the lands that went to Shem in the east and to Ham in the south (col. 1–2). Enumeration of Japheth's regions starts with Media and Albania (roughly modern Azerbaidjan) in the east, and moves through Asia Minor westward to Arcadia and "Epirus, Illyricum, *Slavs*, Lychnitis, Adriake, the Adriatic sea" (3.8–10).[2] Since the other items are geographical names, the ethnonym stands out. Now, it is well known that the wording of this passage—with the signal exception of the term *Slavs*—comes from the Slavonic version of the Chronicle of George the Monk (hereafter GM), with

[1] *PVL* references are identified according to column and line in *PSRL* I. I cite the Hypatian copy unless otherwise indicated by reference to the individual copies: L[aurentian], T[roickij], R[adziwiłł], A[cademy], H[ypatian], X[lebnikov].

[2] The form here is, exceptionally, Словѣне, an innovation adapted to the typical ethnonyms in **jan-* (like Поляне, Деревляне, Римляне). It is notable that the **-ěn-* never (in *PVL*, rarely elsewhere, and only after 1300) is spelled with "ѧ" or "ꙗ" as is the OCS ethnonymic suffix in such words as егуптѣне, Rusian египтѧне. The nominative plural in older texts was clearly Словѣни, which occurs eleven times in L (against four -e). The total early evidence is consistent with a possessive formation, **Slověn-j-*, 'belonging to Slověnъ', see Lunt 1985, 1996b.

interpolations (not otherwise attested in Slavonic) from the Chronicle of Malalas.[3] The order of items is arbitrary. Old Arcadia was well to the south, on the Gulf of Corinth, while Epirus and Illyria were on the Adriatic. Lychnitis is Ohrid, an important trading city on a large inland lake, about a hundred kilometers by the Via Egnatia from two ports on the Adriatic (now in Albania).[4] GM has Ἰλλυρίς, but the Slavonic has Илоурии: since the case is presumably nominative, this looks like "Illyrians." Be that as it may, the ^PVL^ points to Илюрикъ (H; Люрикъ T) or Илурикъ (RAHX), clearly enough standing for *Illyricum,* a Roman province that stretched from Noricum (approximately modern Austria) to Salonika, but was repeatedly divided and redefined; during the ninth century it was a major bone of contention between eastern and western civil and ecclesiastical authorities. GM's list of Japheth's territories is one of many that were known to Byzantine historians, and there are comparable lists of the descendants of the sons of Japheth. Both sets go back ultimately to a third-century work by Hippolytus of Rome, who undertook to explicate the ethnographic information of Genesis 10 (spiced with elements suggested by the apocryphal *Book of Jubilees*).

GM's enumeration of Japheth's lands goes on with islands and rivers, to which the ^PVL^ adds the major rivers of Rus'[5] and the chief peoples who inhabit the land (which extends west to cover most of Europe). A brief account of the building of the tower of Babel and its destruction mentions the division of mankind into seventy-two "tongues" and their dispersal over the earth, with a

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[3] The names are sometimes distorted in the Slavonic GM (Istrin 1920 58–59), but can be reconstructed from the Greek original; the *PVL* often garbles the forms even more. For example, *Epirus,* Ἠπειρῶτις, in 3.8 becomes Ипиротиѩ in GM (with a reasonably adapted ending), but all six of the *PVL* witnesses are poor: Ипирониа RA, Ипириноєриїѩ (with ри erased) H, Ипироноѩ X, ѥАпироньѩ L, Ипифаниа T. For the Greek text from Book I of Malalas, see Istrin 1897 11.

[4] The lake and city were known as *Lychnis* (Gen *Lychnidos*), or *Lychnidós* (with many variant forms) in Byzantine texts. An alternative name, *Achrís* (G. *Achrídos*), is known from the 11th century, and occurs in the *Life* of Clement of Ohrid, written c1200; the Slavic equivalent, Охридъ, is not attested until later. (The short *Life* of Clement, written in Greek about 1230 and probably translated at once, speaks of "Lychnidos, city of the Illyrians, вь Лихнидонѣ граде илиричьскому... now Achris according to the language of the Moesians [Moesia was north of Macedonia], нн̃ѣ Охридь именует се по мѵсiiскому езыку." Dujčev 168, 169.) In GM, Λυχνίτις has become Лоухитиа in Slavonic, taken over as Лухития in *PVL* (but modified to Лухитая in L, Лухотьа in R, and Лурития in the Troickij copy). Lixačev's commentary, strangely, deems this item to be unidentified (1950, vol. 2, 209).

[5] The Danube and Don were in a passage from Malalas that is obscure, and the *PVL* text has been rearranged, producing geographical nonsense. The familiar names Dnepr, Desna, Pripet', Dvina, Volxov, and Volga give a dash of reality, which, however, is diminished when the Caucasian mountains are glossed as "Hungarian."

reminder that the sons of Japheth took the west and the northern countries.[6] It concludes (5.20–22), "Of these seventy-two tongues, one came to be the Slavic tongue, of the tribe of Japheth, (those) called *Norci,* who are Slavs."[7] These clauses do not fit together easily. The relationship of the Slavic tongue to the original seventy-two is not clear, and the Norci appear for the first and last time. This rather odd sentence seems, then, to imply that the Norci are a sub-tribe of Slavs.

Just what early readers were able to understand from this *PVL* account is debatable, but the intentions of the editors can be inferred from other echoes of Hippolytus that are known from early Slavic. Hippolytus's so-called Χρονόγραφος is not a narrative, but rather a series of lists of rulers and other important persons, often with chronological information such as length of reign. The sons of Noah, the three fathers of all humankind, are defined in terms of their geographical allotments, their sons and grandsons with their geographical locations and the names of the peoples descended from them. Though Shem, Ham, Japheth, and the seventy-two tribes recur, the details are rearranged in bewilderingly different ways.[8] Thus a list of forty-*seven* nations in Japheth's allotment (Bauer's item 80), including Ἰλυριοί, Μακεδόνες, and Ἕλληνες (as sub-items 23–25), corresponds rather poorly to his forty-*one* regions (χῶραι) enumerated in another (#84), which underlies the wording in GM that was used by a Rus' editor for the *PVL*: Ἐπειρώτης, Ἰλλυρίς, ἡ

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[6] Terminology for classifying socially and/or politically organized groups was variable, but for the purposes of this paper it suffices to point out that the exact role of kinship, language, geography, and political organization in the determination of the Hebrew terms in Genesis 10 has little to do with the translations into Greek and then Slavonic—translators made arbitrary selections from the store of terms they knew. The fact that early Slavic **językъ* meant both *language* and *ethnos* makes it difficult to interpret a number of important passages in the *PVL*. Greek γλῶσσα (like Hebrew *lašon*) means 'tongue; language', and God divided "each according to his *tongue* in their *tribes* (or *clans,* φυλή) and in their *nations* (or *peoples,* ἔθνος)," Gen 10:5, or "*tribes* according to their *tongues* in their *countries* (χῶρα) and in their peoples" 10:20, 31. In these verses in Slavonic, *tongue* is ꙗзыкъ, *people/nation* is страна, *country* is село, while *tribe* is рождение in 5, but племя in 20 and 31. Elsewhere (e.g., Gen 12:2, and usually in the New Testament) ѧзыкъ represents ἔθνος. Φυλή is usually колѣно in NT texts, but колѣно also renders ἔθνος or γένος 'kind'.

[7] Отъ сихъ же 70 и 2 ꙗзыку бысть ꙗзыкъ словѣнескъ, отъ племени Афетова, нарицаеми Норци иже суть Словѣне. I am normalizing the text on the basis of H, X, and A; L and R have independent corruptions. Note that отъ + Gen pl in definitions may mean "one (some) of."

[8] Adolf Bauer divides the Greek text into 241 sections, most of them not more than one sentence long, but a few are lists with numbered subdivisions.

Λυχνίτις, Ἀδριανή, ἀφ' ἧς τὸ Ἀδρικὸν πέλαγος.[9] There was no word for "Slav-land" and the ethnonym was substituted.[10]

(The Палея толковая, essentially a retelling of the early parts of the Old Testament, also draws heavily on lists derived from Hippolytus. Reporting Noah's death, the Paleja quotes Gen 10:28, then adds a brief account of each son's lands. Where in GM (and *PVL*) Japheth's territory continues from Media and Caucasian Albania with over twenty-five regions, of which *Illyricum* is the twenty-fourth and, in *PVL* 3.8, *Slověne* the twenty-fifth, the Paleja has merely Мидиа, Аиваниа [!], словенескъ ıазык (col. 114). The crucial point is made—the "Slavic tongue" is of the heritage of Japheth.)

In still another list (item 199), Hippolytus names the seventy-two nations God dispersed when he destroyed the tower. Later historians felt it necessary to fit peoples they knew—in the fourth or ninth or twelfth century—into the groups identified in Genesis, and thus the question of just which names to put in their lists continually produced variant answers. Hippolytus has provided data naming those descended from the sons and grandsons of Noah, with fifteen γλῶσσαι for Japheth (items 53–72). There we find, for example, Ἰωύαν ἀφ' οὗ Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἴωνες, Μοσὸχ ἀφ' οὗ οἱ Ἰλύριοι, Χαταὶν, ἀφ' οὗ οἱ Μακέδονες, Κίττιοι, ἀφ' οὗ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Λατῖνοι ('Jovan, from whom [came] the Hellenes and Ionians,[11] Mosoch, from whom the Illyrians, Khatain, from whom the Macedonians, Kittoi, from whom the Romans and Latins'). The principle of alternate names is applied also in item 200, a list of the nations (ἔθνη) classified by languages (κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας γλῶσσας αὐτῶν). It offers, among others, Δάρδανοι, Σαρμάται, Γερμανοί, Παννόνιοι οἱ καὶ

[9] Subitems 29–32 in Bauer's presentation; the previous context differs from the *PVL*, but differences in order (as well as number of items, not to mention spelling) are frequent with Hippolytus. The details are of little interest for this discussion.

[10] Slavs and non-Slavs agree on the over-all identity of these people over a large area, but in the lack of an over-all "tribal" or recognizable political organization, the territory was not given a unifying name. The term *Sklavinia* or *Sklavania* in 8th–10th c. Greek and Latin sources means territory controlled by a named sub-group of Slavs, and often occurs in the plural. Землıа словѣньскаıа seems to include people as well as land, but it is infrequent and seems to denote local groups rather than the whole ethnos.

[11] A variant of this list in Syncellos (91) has οἱ καὶ Ἴωνες 'who are *also* [known as]'—the relationship of the two ethnonyms is perceived differently. Within the Greek tradition, alternate names become confused with different names of branching descendant lines, further complicated by scribal spelling errors and willful substitutions. As the content and order of items shift, the tally may end up more or less than the ideal fifteen (for Japhetic tribes) or seventy-two (for all tribes). The earliest Slavic translators were faced with contradictory data when they tried to consolidate information for their own purposes.

Παίονες, Νωρικοί, Δελμάται, Ρωμαῖοι οἱ καὶ Λατῖνοι καὶ Κιτιαῖοι (p. 102).[12] Dardanians belong with Paeonians in what is now the north of the Republic of Macedonia, while Pannonia is ordinarily located well to the northwest, adjacent to Noricum and Dalmatia.[13] What is important for our purposes is the identifications: they show, first, that the equations are not necessarily correct (Pannonians are not Paeonians), and, second, that the order in equations does not have to indicate age (the Kittim of Gen 10:4 were called on to justify the Romans = Latins as legitimate heirs of Japheth).[14]

The Толковая Палея offers a numbered list of the fifteen ıазыци descended from Japheth that was abstracted from Hippolytus's list by deletion of the name of the ancestor. Thus number 4 is Ѥлинии иже суть Иносъ,[15] and 15 is Руми иже зовуть сѧ Греци.[16] The order is slightly perturbed (312 for the first three peoples) and there are puzzles, and serious distortions, along with one surprising interpolation: *Норица, иже суть Словѣни.*[17] The first word surely was originally ***Норици,*** which is an equivalent of Νορικοί, and allows us to posit Норици in the *PVL*.[18] We can therefore paraphrase *PVL*

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[12] The order of sub-items in the Greek manuscript (10th c.) is extremely disturbed, and the two Latin versions do not contain exactly the same names. Bauer numbers the names according to his hypothetical reconstruction of the original list.

[13] Old Illyricum included Noricum, but the newer Pannonia and Dalmatia still were considered parts of Illyricum. Accounting for Sarmatians and Germans is far beyond the scope of this paper.

[14] Essentially the same list, but with recalcitrant variations, recurs in widely differing contexts in several Byzantine sources. For example, in a *Book of Reminders,* Ὑπομνηστικὸν βίβλιον, by Joseppus (Migne PG, 106, col 32) it is an answer to the question, "How many, and which nations are from the three sons children of Noah, Shem, Ham, Japheth?" Here the Pannonians and Paeonians are explicitly two separately-numbered items; the Romans are *not further identified. The grand total is sixty-seven, not seventy-two.*

[15] Иносъ stands for Ионесъ, implying a list where Greek forms are merely transliterated, so the plural Ἴωνες remains intact, instead of the usual adaptation of Greek stem plus Slavic desinence, Иони. A list of this type in the *Izbornik of 1073* indeed has Иωуанъ отъ негоже Ионес (138d21).

[16] Руми is surely a popular form reflecting Ῥωμαῖοι with the sense "subjects of the (Eastern) Roman Empire"—i.e. Greeks—rather than true Римлıане associated with Rome.

[17] Notice that all copies have the older desinence, Словѣн**и**. In this sentence Lav has one of its exceptional spellings with -ѣне for Np; see note 2 above. (The 1477 copy treats the suffix like that in OCS -ѣн-е, producing a hybrid, Словѧни.)

[18] Here is the list, from the 1409 copy (col. 237–38), with selected variants (including from the 1477 copy) and the presumed equivalent from Hippolytus and related lists:

отъ Афета же си суть рожшии сѧ ıазыци иже в столпотворениѥ раздѣлены быша

1. Мидои (3. Μῆδοι), 2. Каподокии (1. Καππάδοκες), 3. Галати иже суть Келтѣи (Кельтии) (2. Κελτοὶ καὶ Γαλάται), 4. Ѥлинии (Елини) иже суть Иносъ (4. οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἴωνες), 5. Фетаталои (5. οἱ Θετταλοί), 6. Алаоукои (Алаоукокои, амоукои), (6. οἱ Ἰλύριοι {Αλολεῖς. Bauer 208 p. 106, are Eolians}) 7. Фракѣии (7. οἱ Θρᾷκες), 8. Македони (8. οἱ Μακεδόνες), 9. Єрмате (Сармате) (9. Σαρμάται), 10. Родиои (10. οἱ Ῥόδιοι), 11. Армени (11. οἱ Αρμένιοι), 12. Сикилои (12. οἱ Σικελοί), 13. Норица иже суть Словѣни, 14. Аверъ

5.20–22, "One of the seventy-two tongues, one descended from Japheth, is the Norici, also known as Slavs."[19] The attested wording is obscure, but surely some Slav—unfortunately no evidence points to when or where—was aiming at this kind of mixed definition that shuffles the markers of language, ethnos, and territory in a way that is perfectly normal in Byzantine writers.[20]

II

This definition of Slavs as Norici is followed by this information (5:23–6.23):

After many seasons,[21] the Slavs had settled along the Danube where is now the Hungarian and the Bulgarian land. And some of those Slavs scattered about the land and named themselves for the place in which they settled. Thus some came and settled on the river called Morava, and they called themselves Moravians, while others named themselves Czechs. Now, these also are Slavs: the White Croats and the Serbs and the Carinthians. For when the Volokhs came against the Danube Slavs and settled among them and oppressed them, those Slavs came and settled on the Vistula and were called Ljakhs. And some of these Ljakhs were called Polianians, and the other Ljakhs were called Ljutichians, others Mazovians, others Pomoranians. So also these same Slavs came and settled along the Dnieper and were called Polianians, and the others Derevlians, because they settled in the forests,[22] while the others settled between the Pripet′ and the Dvina and were called

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иже суть Обези (ѿ бе^{3}дны!) (14 Ἴβηρες καὶ Τυρηνοί), 15 Руми иже зовуть сѧ Греци (15 Κίττιοι, ἀφ' οὗ 'Ρωμαῖοι οἱ καὶ Λατῖνοι).

Item 9 shows a common confusion of C and Є (plus omission of "a"). Items 6 and 14 have "A" for expected initial И, whereby variants of 6 perhaps imply original Ἰλλυρικοί rather than Ἰλύριοι (although they also suggest Αἰολεῖς, Eolians). The Обези of 14 are otherwise unknown (and one scribe had visions of the abyss). Still another Slavonic version of this list is preserved in the *Izbornik* of 1073.

[19] An unwary reader of dictionaries might be inclined to interpret норци as Slovenian *norci* 'fools', but this is one of many cases where no *PVL* copy is correct: emendation to Норици is required. (The Slovenian is based on a borrowing from dial. Ger. *norr* [standard *Narr*] 'fool'.)

[20] Šaxmatov (1940, 75), finding that in Syncellus the ethnonym 'Ρηγῖνες stands in 13th place, concluded that Норици is its replacement. However, *Regines* do not appear in Hippolytus, and substitutions in later lists are many and varied, e.g. 1073 138d28 the Ригенесъ [NB retention of Gk desinence -ες] are in ninth place. There is no way to demonstrate the kind of direct relationship Šaxmatov would like to establish. The patchwork of excerpts from different Byzantine sources that make up long passages in Slavonic chronicles on the whole indicates that some translated works have not survived in Slavic form and at the same time suggests that the earliest, Bulgarian, layer included bits from other works that probably were not translated in full.

[21] This plural phrase, по мнозѣхъ же временехъ, does not occur elsewhere in the *PVL*.

[22] This explicit linking of the ethnonym with *derevo* 'tree' surely expresses the author's belief, but it is possible that the name had some other, possibly non-Slavic, origin.

Dregovichians.[23] Others settled on the [Western] Dvina and were called Polochanians because of the little river that flows into the Dvina, Polota by name—from it the Polochanians got their name. Slavs settled around Lake Ilmen, too, and they called themselves by their own name Slavs, and they built a town and called it Novgorod. And others settled along the Desna and along the Sem' and the Sula, and they were called Sěverians. And in this way the Slavic tongue spread. Therefore the writing too was called Slavic.

The first lines establish that in a remote but unspecified period the Slavs had settled along the Danube, then spread out and assumed individual names from the topography of their new homes, e.g., those on the Morava became *Moravljane*. The naming principle is immediately ignored and the next group mentioned is the Czechs. We may assume that the author intended a list that started in the west and moved east to his own people, commenting on the sources of local names as he went. Unfortunately the text as it stands is somewhat disjointed and perhaps faulty. Ignoring the syntax, we find the Czechs immediately associated[24] with the White Croats (Хървате бѣлии)[25] and the Sorbs (Сьрбь), both otherwise known to have been north of the Czechs on or near the upper Elbe, and with the Carinthians, Xorutane—the closest Slavic neighbors to the south, beyond a Germanic region that was part of the East Frankish kingdom.[26] Then a second cluster of names is preceded by a reason for migration—invasion of the Danube Slavs by *Volokhs*,[27] people speaking Latin or a Romance language. The connectives and pronominal references are unsatisfactory. The phrase Словѣни же ови (LH, они RA; X om.) seems to involve a specific reference to *those* Slavs at some distance rather than *these* just-mentioned Danubian Slavs. However, since the

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[23] The repeated definite form друзии is translated *the others* both times, although it may merely mean 'some'. It is not clear just what groupings were envisaged by the author.

[24] The transitional words are *а се ти же Словени. Тиже* commonly means 'the same'; this sense does not fit here. This then is an afterthought—"and here [while I'm thinking about it] these [groups] too [are] Slavs"—inserted to make the list more complete.

[25] Perhaps the epithet *white* denotes 'western' in the steppe terminology that goes back ultimately to Chinese. In any case, Porphyrogenitus locates White Croats next to Serbs and to Francia (Φραγγία, i.e. the East Frankish kingdom) whose king is Otto (I, 936–73), DAI 30/71–74, 31/3–5.

[26] The initial *x* in Хорутане is unexpected. The Slavs of *Carinthia* (now *Kärnten* in Austria and *Koroška* in Slovenia) were *Carantini* in ninth-century Latin documents. The stem was **korǫt-* in pre-Slovene dialects; the appropriate Rusian would be **korut-an-*. Though Old Bavarian might account for initial *x* (cf. Vasmer, sub Хорутане) it fails to explain the second vowel, and in any case a non-Slavic pronunciation is improbable in the transmission of this ethnonym from west to east. Haphazard instances of *x* for *k* in names are known, e.g., 1073 139a23 Схоуте but 138d18 Скуѳе correct for Σκύθαι 'Scythians'; Lav 91.26 Серукъ for Серухъ (Gen 11:21–23, Σερουχ, Heb. Serug).

[27] НХ Волохомъ, LA Волхомъ, R Волотомъ.

pronoun овъ otherwise in the *PVL* occurs only in contexts denoting alternatives (some ... others [... still others]), perhaps we should translate, 'and certain Slavs'. In short, the previous home of those who moved to the Vistula region is not clearly specified by this passage.

Whatever their origins, the Ljakhs were subdivided into Poljane, Lutiči or Ljutiči,[28] Mazovšane, and Pomorjane.[29] The next pronominal reference is obscure: *такоже и ти Словѣне пришедше сѣдоша* 'Likewise these Slavs too came and settled along the Dněpr and called themselves Poljane.' *These* Slavs *too*? The original Danube Slavs, or the Ljakhs, or part of them? The implied relationship between the Poljane who had been Ljakhs and the Poljane who presumably chose their name after settling on the Dnieper remains nebulous. The sentence about the Slavs (Словѣни же) who settled near Lake Ilmen uses the same perfective verb, прозваша ся, that five times in the preceding lines (alternating with the synonym нарекоша ся) clearly denotes a change of name, but the "reflexive" form is ambiguous: either they "named themselves, began to call themselves" or unspecified others "named them, called them." But whoever is envisaged as providing the name, it seems odd that this group remained *Slověni*. The summation returns to the term *Slavic tongue*—a reminder of the assertion that it was one of the original seventy-two nations established after the destruction of the Tower of Babel.

The last words, however, *тѣмже и грамота прозва ся Словѣньскаıа,* seem disconnected with the context: "Therefore the writing too was named Slavic." Scholars generally agree that it somehow belongs with a later passage (separated by some 440 lines of text) that constitutes most of the entry for 898, an account of the invention of Slavic writing by Constantine-Cyril. Yet the term грамота may be a faint echo of Hippolytus, for among his lists are nations who have their own writing, γράμματα (Bauer, items 81–82, 134–35).

III

The intervening text concludes the undated introduction and provides thirteen entries for the years 852–897. The central topic is the Poljane along the Dnieper, with special attention to Kyiv, although the presentation is

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[28] LRA Лутичи, X Лютичи, H Лютицѣ. Adam of Bremen's *History of the Bishops of Hamburg* (c1080) mentions *Leutici* (also known as *Wilzi*) between the Elbe and Oder.

[29] The Mazovians of east central Poland recur in the *PVL* (sub 1040, 1047) and later Rusian history. The more distant Pomoranians, between the lower Oder and Vistula (cf. Adam of Bremen), appear only here.

disjointed, repetitive, and not always consistent. Three points are stressed: (1) the separate individuality of these Poljane,[30] (2) their kinship with other named Slavic groups[31] and—in much fuzzier focus—ultimate connections to a distant past settlement of Slavs on the Danube,[32] and (3) the contrast of Poljane and other Slověni to the non-Slav neighbors in territories from Kyiv to Novgorod.

Slavs on the Danube in the past are mentioned twice.

> While the Slavic tongue—as we said—was living on the Danube, there came from the Scythians, i.e., from the Khazars, called Bulgarians, (people) who settled along the Danube and became oppressors of the Slavs. After this the White Ugri came and inherited the land of the Slavs, driving out the Volokhs who had previously taken the land of the Slavs. (11.15–23)

Scythian is a vague term Greek writers used for any nomadic people to the north. The *Khazars* had established a powerful state on the Volga that in the tenth century extended to the Dnieper region.[33] They were not identical with the "Proto-Bulgars" who settled on the Danube about 679 and eventually merged with the Slavs they dominated. These Bulgars were, however, allied with the Avars who had occupied the Danubian Basin from the late 500s, and the "White Ugri" of the sentence above introduce us to a short account of how the Объри oppressed the Slavs, in particular the *Dulěbi*, then perished utterly (11.23–12.18).[34] The rest of the introduction is chiefly concerned with the Poljane, and the first dated material deals with Byzantine and Bulgarian affairs and with the establishment of the Varangians and the exploits of Oleg.

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[30] 7: 1: "The Poliane were living separately (особѣ) on these hills." 9:5: "The Poliane were living separately and ruling their own clans" even before the three brothers, Kyj, Šček, and Xoriv, with their sister Lebeď, founded Kyiv.

[31] 12.14: "The Poliane were living separately, as we said, being of the clan of the Slavs (отъ рода словѣньска), and they called themselves (нарекоша ся) Poliane." Again, the formally "reflexive" naming-verbs allow the possibility that the name was given by outsiders; "they were named [by unspecified others] Poliane."

[32] Prince Kyj, having visited Constantinople, tried to settle on the Danube, but the local inhabitants—"Danubians" Дунаици—did not allow it (не даша ему 10.10). It is not explicit that these neighbors were Slavs.

[33] According to the last item of the undated introduction (16–17), the Poljane of the Kyiv region paid tribute to the Khazars. A gloss defining Scythians as Khazars occurs twice in the Slavonic GM (36.16, 318.23), the latter in a badly garbled passage concerning an invasion of the west, including the Danube.

[34] GM combined two sources in discussing the Avars; one used the specific Ἄβαροι (translated as *Obri*) and the other the generic *Turks*, rendered *Ugri* (a form derived ultimately from the Gk spelling Ὄγγροι). The *PVL* adaptation does not make it clear that the two terms refer to a single group.

IV

The entry for 898 starts with a new incursion from the east, an event that probably is to be dated 893. The Hungarians hurry past Kyiv to the middle Danube, then the region south of the lower Danube, and finally Bohemia:

(1) The Ugri went past Kyiv by way of the hill that is now called Ugor′skoe. And coming to the Dnieper they set up their tents. For they were nomads, as the Polovcians are now. Coming from the east they hastened through the big mountains which came to be called the Ugrian mountains.
(2) And they began to harry against the people who lived there, Volokhs and Slavs.[35] For earlier the Slavs had been settled there, and the Volokhs took the land of the Slavs.[36] And then the Ugri drove out the Volokhs and inherited the land. And they settled with the Slavs, subjugating them, and from then on it was called the land of the Ugri.
(3) And the Ugri began to harry against the Greeks, and they captured the land of Thrace and Macedonia all the way up to Salonika.
(4) And they began to harry against Morava and the Czechs.
(5) There was one Slavic tongue, the Slavs who were settled along the Danube, whom the Hungarians took, and the Morava and the Czechs and the Ljaxs and the Polianians who are now called Rus′. For it was for them that the books were first translated in Morava,[37] which were called Slavic writing,[38] which is the writing in Rus′ and among the Danube Bulgars.

Section (2) presents a familiar sequence: (a) Slavs settled [place unspecified, "there"], (b) Volokhs invade and settle, (c) Ugri invade and settle. Item (a)—now specifically "along the Danube"—and (c) recur in section (5). The extremely vague information in section (3) is based on George the Monk. What is important is that mention of Macedonia and Salonika seems to lead directly to Morava, which leads to the Czechs (section 4) and provides an opening for tying together the farflung groups who are *Slověni* and use the Slavic writing or writings (грамота). *Morava* is a slippery term: in (4) and the first sentence of (5) it seems to be a collective referring to a people; in the

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[35] HX omit the two names.

[36] H has "of the Volhynians" (землю волыньскую instead of словѣньскую).

[37] Симъ бо пьрвое преложены книгы Моравѣ ѧже прозва сѧ ... (normalized text). I take Моравѣ as a locative without preposition (probably then a city), an old construction that is generally tolerated in L, often in H, but usually "corrected" by the addition of a preposition in the others. Here it has survived in all five witnesses because it can be parsed as dative, referring to the people: "For them—the Moravians—the books...."

[38] The term грамота probably includes the alphabet and the written texts; the *plurale tantum* кънигы has the same meanings.

next sentence it denotes, in my opinion, a place. I will take up this question below.

The *PVL* implies that the Slavs began to exist during the building of the Tower of Babel, as the grandsons of Noah separated into tribes. Then they are on the Danube, and Volokhs appear to oppress them (6.6–7; 25.17–18). The supplemental association of Slavs with either Noricum or Illyricum does not contradict a Danube origin, and *PVL* goes on to imply that the Slavs in the west, east, and north spread from the Danube. Historians, on the contrary, tell us that at some point, not much earlier than 500 C.E., the Slavs appeared in the north and east and settled along the Danube from the Black Sea to a point probably within modern Germany. The crux of the problem is the *Volokhs*; everyone finds them inappropriate in these contexts.

Volokh or *Vlakh* is well attested in medieval and modern Slavic as an appellation for disparate groups who speak Latin or a Romance dialect (Rumanian, Dalmatian, Italian).

The Roman Empire occupied the right bank of the Danube in its entirety by 200, and for a century extended into Dacia on the left or northern bank. Therefore, the sequence should be Romans (Volokhs?) followed by Slavs. We may conjecture that the *PVL* simply rearranged matters to make a plausible story, or that the term *Volokh* has a special significance here. Or should we declare that the authors of the *PVL* made a mistake, twice?

Some romantics among Slavic scholars have wished to believe that the *PVL* records the true Slavic folk memory of the ultimate homeland.[39] Oleg Trubačev, for example, posits Slavs along the Danube (in modern Czech and Slovak zones) from ca. 2000 to ca. 500 B.C.E., when they are displaced northward by the Celts. Slavic **Wolx-* was borrowed from a Germanic term meaning 'foreigner, speaker of Celtic or Romance dialect'; therefore the *PVL* passages refer to Celts.[40] This solution rests squarely on the hypothesis that

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[39] In contrast, a putatively empirical model of ethnic population movement (developed by a physical anthropologist) that omits the "human element" (defined as "great leaders, important decisions, ambitions, accidents, apathy, luck, and all the rest of what people believe in") finds Magyar to be a Mesolithic speech and Hungary to be the center from which "all the other Uralic speakers expanded *out of*" (Krantz 1988 11). That the Magyars arrived as late as 896 is precluded by the strict applications of the model's rules; "a population replacement, or even a language change, by [a northern Asian] tribe within a well-populated agricultural region like Hungary at that time is clearly impossible" (72). In short, Krantz ignores written history in favor of his own hypotheses.

[40] The origin is the Latin name of a Celtic tribe in Gaul, *Volcae*, and in the west it retained Celtic associations, e.g., Eng. *Wales, Welsh.* From the earliest German, however, it meant 'Roman, of Roman origin.' Šafarik in the 1830s proposed to read *Celt* in these passages, but subsequent generations pointed out that Celts were not in suitable regions after about 200 B.C.E.

the Slavs were an identifiable entity many centuries before plausible historical evidence for such a group is available, i.e., before 500, and somehow they were not noticed by Romans or Greeks.[41] Trubačev puts his faith in ethereal theorizing based on guesswork about the etymologies of miscellaneous place-names and allusions in heterogeneous sources to ethnonyms. I prefer a more pragmatic approach.[42] Folk memory did not furnish the authors of the *PVL* with single versions of the story of the founders of Kyiv (Kyj and his siblings) or the baptism of Volodimer. Why should we expect it to have preserved even more ancient events? At best, the authors of the *PVL* reflect the yearning for the delights of the Danube lands expressed by the frustrated efforts of Kyj (cf. n. 32 above) and later Svjatoslav (sub 969) to settle there. More probably they reflect the fact that they found the name first in the historians they knew in connection with the Danube frontier.

Unless the *PVL* is simply wrong, *Volokhs* here belong in the seventh–ninth century, a period whose major events are delineated in Carolingian and Byzantine sources. According to these primary sources, the major aggressor on the Danube was the Franks—Roman Catholics who wrote Latin. Some scholars conclude that this is the basis of the notion that found its way into the *PVL* (see Gyóni).

It seems to me that the whole account of Slavic origins was fashioned from heterogeneous written sources supplemented by some contemporary knowledge, the pieces being arranged to make a story that satisfied the authors of the *PVL*. One of the bits, I suggest, was a Byzantine source something like the memoranda underlying the variant versions of the history of the Croats in chapters 29 and 30 of Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus's *De Admininistrando Imperii* (*DAI*). Ch. 29 speaks of the *Romani* (Ῥωμᾶνοι) of Dalmatia, who possessed a territory that extended to the Danube. And once they became curious about who lived on the other side, and "they crossed it and came upon unarmed Slavic nations (ἔθνη Σκλαβήνικα), who were also called Avar" (29/15–17). They easily overcame them and took booty and prisoners. And

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[41] Trubačev's extensive ruminations on the prehistory of Slavic language and society operate with a protean Slavic *ethnos* that has no beginning or end, speaking a language that endures for millennia. For his (bizarre) views on the irrevelance of defining a beginning for Slavic, see 1991, esp. 55–56; on Celts and the *PVL*, see 41–42.

[42] Trubačev expresses astonishment that I could call the early Slavic language recorded in etymological dictionaries 'entirely hypothetical' (1991 137; cf. Lunt 1985a 422). In this passage and *passim* he makes it clear that he is unable to distinguish between facts and ideas, between empirical evidence and guesses. His burning wish to demonstrate the eternal exclusivity of the Slavs (along with the preeminence of the Russians) has put him in the front ranks of contemporary nationalist myth-creators.

the Romani made it a habit to make raids every year,[43] so "the Slavs, who were also called Avars," (29/33) devised a plan and defeated the Romani and took the major city of Salona and eventually drove the Romani from most of Dalmatia. This version plainly equates Slavs with Avars. Chapter 30 also does so, but indirectly. The topic is "the taking of Dalmatia" (30/6), "how it was taken by the nations of the Slavs" (παρὰ τῶν Σκλαβικῶν ἐθνῶν, 30/7), but in the rest of the episode only Avars appear.[44] Surely the story was known to some Slavs and some Byzantines about 950, and I suggest further that somehow it became available in written Slavic, presumably in the Bulgarian Empire.

V

The *PVL* narrative now (26.5–29.2) looks at the origins of Slavic writing—a concise account that includes citations from the Slavonic Life of Methodius (printed in italics here):[45]

(6) Now as the Slavs were living in baptism, and their princes too,[46] Rostislav and Svjatopolk and Kocel sent to Emperor Michael,[47] saying, "Our land has been baptized, and we have no teacher who could admonish us and teach us and interpret the holy books. For we do not understand either the Greek language or the Latin. And some teach us this way and others teach us that way. Therefore, we

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[43] In terms of the *PVL*, then, they were oppressing the Slavs.

[44] Chapter 30 gives a more elaborate account of the strategem whereby the Slavs captured a Roman military unit, dressed themselves in Roman uniforms, and marched right into Salona before the inhabitants realized who they were. Chapter 30 does not mention *Romani*. In chapter 29 it is stressed that the inhabitants of the few coastal cities that did not fall (e.g., Ragusa, Spalato) "are called Romani to this day" (29.52). Otherwise the term Ῥωμαῖοι is used for subjects of the Empire, usually Greek.

[45] The oldest known copy of the Life, along with an *Encomium* to Cyril and Methodius, is in the *Uspenskij Sbornik*, a twelfth-century MS that surely was copied from older Rusian and Bulgarian sources.

[46] This prefatory clause is in the dative absolute, including the phrase и княземъ ихъ, producing a curious distance from the three names. Šaxmatov "restores" the nominative кънязи "according to the sense" (1916 26).

[47] In the *Life of Constantine* (hereafter *ŽK*; known in copies no older than 1400), only Rostislav of Morava, with unnamed princes and Моравляне "Moravans" appealed to the Emperor (probably in 862). In the *Life of Methodius* (*ŽM*), however, Rastislav's nephew and successor Свѧтопълкъ—Svjatopolk in later ESl—is included. Коцьль, Kocel of Pannonia (whose realm was centered around Lake Balaton, now in Hungary, with territories extending west into Slovenia and Austria) entered the picture later (868?). Rostislav (spelled Rastislav in South Slavic) was blinded and deposed in 870, Kocel died after 874, and Svjatopolk in 894.

do not understand the sense of the letters or their force. Do send us a teacher who can explain the words of the books and their sense."[48]

(7) Hearing this, Emperor Michael called together all the philosophers and explained all that the Slavic princes had said. And the philosophers said, "There is a man in Salonika named Leo. He has sons who understand the Slavic language, two clever sons of his are even philosophers." Hearing this, the emperor sent to Leo in Salonika for them, saying, "Send us your sons Methodius and Constantine." Hearing this, Leo sent them quickly and they came to the emperor.[49] And he said to them, "See, the land of the Slavs has sent to me asking for a teacher for themselves, who would be able to interpret the holy books for them. For they desire this."

(8) And they were persuaded by the emperor. And they sent them to the land of the Slavs to Rostislav and Svjatopolk and Kocel. And when they arrived, they began to put together the letters of the alphabet in Slavic.[50] And they translated the Apostol and the Gospel.[51] And the Slavs were glad that they heard the greatness of God in their own language. And after this they translated the Psalter and the Octoich[52] and the rest of the books. And certain men began *to deride the Slavic books, saying, "It is not fitting for any tongue to have its own letters, except for the Hebrews and the Greeks and the Latins, according to Pilate's writing, which he wrote on the cross of the Lord."*

(9) Now when the pope of Rome heard this, he rebuked those who were murmuring against the Slavic books, saying,[53] *"Let the word of scripture be fulfilled, that 'All tongues shall speak forth the greatness of God, as the Holy Spirit gave them to answer.'[54] And if anyone[55] derides the Slavic writing, let him be excluded[56] from*

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[48] The form учителѧ was interpreted as plural (i.e. OCS -лѧ) in LTHX (иже ... могуть) but singular (i.e. OCS -лıа) in RA (иже можеть), which thus agree with the *Life of Methodius.* In the Life of Constantine, the request is for a *bishop and* teacher. Historians tend to overlook this discrepancy and construct their interpretations on one or the other.

[49] The story is abridged (no mention of the Saracen mission [*ŽK*] or the Khazar mission [*ŽK*, *ŽM*] or the relics of St. Clement [*ŽK*]) and rearranged (in *ŽK*, Constantine is summoned to Constantinople long before he is given any duties at all).

[50] Both *ŽM* and *ŽK* portray Constantine as inventing the alphabet and starting to translate before they set out for Morava. The *Encomium,* however, rather vaguely assigns the new writing to both brothers, apparently after their move to "the western regions" (*Usp.* 113c1–8).

[51] That is, the lectionaries: the book of readings from Acts and the Epistles, the Greek Ἀπόστολος, and the Gospel lectionary, Εὐαγγέλιον.

[52] The Octoich, containing certain hymns for each day, to be sung according to a complex schedule, was an indispensible book by 1100, but before 900 it was only beginning to evolve. In any case, it is not mentioned in other Cyrillo-Methodian sources.

[53] The italicized text is, according to *ŽM*, from the letter Pope Hadrian II addressed to Rostislav, Svjatopolk, and Kocel (Usp. sb. 106b26–c18).

[54] Compare Ps 85:9.

[55] *ŽM* has an expanded definition (Usp. sb. 106c2–8): 'any one of the teachers assembled for you, flattering you and perverting you to heresy, begins to turn you in another direction'.

the church until he corrects himself. For they are wolves and not sheep, whom it is fitting to know by their fruit and to guard against them.[57] *But you, children* of God,[58] *heed the teaching of God and do not reject the admonition of the church,* as Methodius your teacher has admonished you."

(10) And Constantine returned and went to teach the Bulgarian tongue, while Methodius remained in Morava.[59] And after this Kocel established Methodius as bishop in Pannonia,[60] *on the throne of St. Andronicus the apostle, one of the Seventy,* a disciple of the holy apostle Paul.

(11) And Methodius *sat down two priests*[61] *who were very rapid scribes and translated all the books completely*[62] *from Greek into Slavic in six months, beginning in March, to the 26th of October.*[63] *And having finished, he gave worthy praise and glory to God who gave such grace* to Bishop Methodius, the successor of Andronicus.

(12) Therefore the teacher of the Slavic tongue is Andronicus the apostle. For also the apostle Paul travelled to Morava and taught there. For there is Illyricum,[64] which the apostle Paul reached. For there the Slavs were at first.

(13) Therefore Paul is the teacher also of the Slavic tongue, from which tongue we Rus' are too; therefore Paul is teacher also to us Rus', because he taught the Slavic tongue and established Andronicus as bishop and his successor for the Slavic nation.

(14) And the Slavic tongue and the Rus' is one, for from the Varangians they were called Rus', while at first they were Slavs. Even though they were called Polianians, still they were Slavic in speech. And they came to be called Polianians because they were settled in the field,[65] but the Slavic tongue is one.

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[56] The Life of Methodius has here 'not only from communion, but'—не тъкмо въсуда, нъ ι—a phrase not understood by the editors of Usp. and perhaps not by the scribe, who wrote нъı, when нъ и would have been appropriate.

[57] Cf. Mt 7:15–16.

[58] *ŽM* 'beloved children'.

[59] This is at odds with all other sources. A plausible sequence is that the brothers went to Kocel's realm in Pannonia for a time, then via Venice to Rome (868?), where Constantine became ill. He took monastic vows and the monastic name Cyril not long before he died, February 14, 869. Methodius, consecrated as Archbishop of Pannonia and Legate to all Slavs by the Pope, was detained by Bavarian bishops for two and a half years before he was able to join Kocel in Pannonia. He died on April 6, 885.

[60] LRAHX въ Пании, T omits; *ŽM* (Usp. sb. 106c) въ Панонии. *ŽM* says that Kocel requested the Pope to send Methodius back to him as a teacher, but of course it was the Pope who appointed Methodius as archbishop.

[61] *PVL* .в. попа; Usp. sb. .в. попъı, to be read with the Glagolitic value of the numeral, три попы 'three priests'—a statement that makes the rapid translation even more plausible.

[62] LM adds 'except for *The Maccabees*'.

[63] The period should be *eight* months (counting both March and October); here again we assume that the Glagolitic numeral '8' was transliterated as "s," which has the Cyrillic value of '6'.

[64] At this point, 28.14 in *PSRL* I, the oldest manuscript, the Laurentian, has lost many pages. L's text resumes with the "empty year" 923, at 43.9. The translation is therefore based on the evidence of the four younger manuscripts, HX and RA.

[65] Въ поли, possibly here 'unforested land'.

Notice the paucity of specific locations; the princes are associated with baptized Slavs, and Constantine and Methodius are sent (section 8) "to the land of the Slavs" (въ словѣньскую землю), but not until (10) is there a hint of a place called *Morava.*[66] It is associated with *Pannonia,* and then in (12) it somehow goes with *Illyricum.*[67] St. Paul refers vaguely to Illyricum in Romans 15:19, and the connection is reinforced by yet another of Hippolytus's lists, one that records where each apostle preached and where he died. Паулъ жє лѣтъмь по въшьствии господьни вълѣзє въ апостольство и начьнъ отъ Иєроусалима доидє до Илирѵка, Италиѧ, и Испаниѧ проповѣдаꙗ иєуаггєлиє (*Izbornik* of 1073, 262a23), "And Paul, in the year following the Lord's ascension, entered the apostolate and starting from Jerusalem he went to Illyricum, Italy, and Spain."

What is the relationship of *Morava* to *Pannonia*? For scholars in the 1990s, the answer must be that the first term is of uncertain value, while the second is reasonably specific. Pannonia in ninth-century Latin texts was roughly modern southwest Hungary, bounded on the north and east by the Danube.[68] There are two major rivers called Morava, one a north tributary flowing into the Danube just above Bratislava (*March* in German, *Marus* in Latin), the other a south tributary that enters the Danube nearly five hundred kilometers downstream, east of Belgrade (*Margus* in Latin). The March/Marus was in the high middle ages a major route from Italy and Austria to the headwaters of the Oder and Vistula; the Margus was an ancient route from the Danube basin to Salonika and the Aegean or to central Bulgaria and Constantinople. In the

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[66] *PVL* оста в Моравѣ. In *ŽK* the initial period of the mission (cf. n. 39 above) is defined, четыредесѧть мѣсѧць створи въ Моравѣ 'he completed forty months in Morava'. Imre Boba has insisted that the preposition indicates the name of a city, since Czech uses *na* Moravě to specify location in the province or territory *Morava* that is centered on the *Morava* river. (The archaic prepositionless locative in (5) is stronger evidence, see n. 37.) Serbian, however, distinguishes *na Moravi* 'on the Morava' (the river in eastern Serbia) from *u Moravi* 'in (the region called) Morava'. Evidence for ninth-century dialectal usage is inadequate to resolve the question.

[67] The text is slightly odd (28.13):

LTA	в Моравы бо ходилъ
RX	в Моравы бо доходилъ
Hyp	Моравы бо доходилъ.

In LTA, the first phrase might be interpreted as "among (the people called) Moravi," with the unprefixed verb indicating repetition of his visits. RX changed the verb in accord with the next statement, while H revised the whole clause to make a standard sentence, with genitive Моравы —now clearly the name of a place—as object of доходилъ: Andronicus *reached* Morava. Similarly the next statement (28.14): *Ту бо есть Илюрикъ, егоже доходилъ апостолъ Павелъ*. Here clearly St. Paul is presented as going *as far as, all the way to* Illyricum.

[68] After 900 it is the normal term for Hungary.

ninth century, the *Moravi* (or *Marvani,* or *Sclavi marahenses* with many spelling variants),[69] were a persistent military problem for the East Frankish kingdom, from about 846 when a certain Rastiz became prominent as an anti-Frank leader, and even more after his nephew Zwentibald (with many spelling variants) took power among the Moravi in 870—these two are the Rastislav and Sventopulk or Svjatopolk of Slavic sources. Received opinion sees these two as leaders of a powerful and extensive kingdom or even empire, "Great Moravia," based somehow in Czech Morava and/or the neighboring western Slovak lands. A rereading of the Latin, Greek, and Slavic sources led to the "heretical" conclusion that "Moravia" was somewhere *south* of the Danube. A quarter century of wrangling among scholars has failed to produce a consensus, and the traditional northern "Moravia" has generally prevailed because of the quantity and volume of polemic, combined with the inertia of non-specialists who are reluctant to rethink what they learned as students. My own view at present is that there is no evidence to place Rastislav/Rastiz in Czech or Slovak territory, and therefore Constantine too cannot have worked in that area. Sventopulk, however, was lord of most of Slovak and Bohemian territory after 890, and Methodius may well have been involved with problems north of the Danube at the end of his life (ca. 880–885).[70]

The question to examine here is what the authors and early readers of *PVL* understood. Sections 10–14 of this passage depend on symbols, not true geographical locations. Methodius is associated with Morava and Pannonia (10). Pannonia explicitly ties him with Andronicus, traditionally the first bishop there, which links him with St. Paul.[71] Paul travelled as far as Illyricum. *PVL* has come full circle, for it already has mentioned Illyricum and Slavs together (3.8, see above). If Paul taught there, he taught the Slavs. And the final step is easy: since St. Paul taught the Slavs, he taught us, the Poljane, that is to say the Rus'.[72]

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[69] Slavonic has Моравлıане as a rule, but Rusian can use Морава as a collective (like Дерева for Деревлıане), see above, section IV and note 37.

[70] Imre Boba's controversial 1971 book aroused a storm of discussion, much of it quite irrevelant. Antitraditional views are offered by Charles R. Bowlus (1995), who concentrates on the military aspects of Frankish campaigns, and Martin Eggers (1995), who essays a more comprehensive view. They agree in important ways, but their disagreements are also significant. I suspect that the extraordinarily scant sources do not suffice to answer some fundamental questions (cf. also Lunt 1994, 1996).

[71] "The Seventy" apostles are the disciples of the twelve original apostles chosen by Jesus; a list attributed to Hippolytus is in the *Izbornik* of 1073, where #20 is Андроникъ єпископъ Панониа (262d6–7).

[72] The equations are scattered but their ultimate intent is unmistakeable. Beside the remarks in section 5 (including Поляне ѧже нӹнѣ зовомая Русь, 26.1) and 14 (hardly a model

The significance of the message is clear: the Rus′ of Kyiv and Novgorod spring from one of the Japhetic tribes (Norici, i.e., Slavs), and thus are close kin of other Slavs (on the Danube, in Bohemia, Poland, and elsewhere) and related to other Japhetic groups (Varangians, etc.). They have their own writings, shared with other Slavs, and they are Christians (with a direct apostolic line through Methodius to Andronicus and Paul and thus to Jesus himself).[73]

The form and coherence of the message is another matter. Russian scholars were disturbed by many details and hypothesized that much of the information had to be from a written West Slavic (probably Czech) source, dubbed *Сказание о преложении словенских книг.*[74] I see no compelling need for such a source. *PVL*'s abridgement of the story of Constantine and Methodius purposefully strips away everything but the basic statement of the creation of letters and translation of texts plus the apostolic succession. The chief deviation—the assertion that Constantine went to teach the Bulgars—would rather imply a Bulgarian source. The possibility that the brothers were working in a zone not far from Belgrade (rather than a northern region not far from modern Bratislava) requires us to reexamine other evidence. We may assume that the first generations of educated Christian Bulgarian and Bulgaro-Slav cultural workers (including Tsar Symeon) knew Greek well and that there was communication among travellers (clerics, merchants, military men) to Dalmatia and Rome. In any case, there may be confusion because of the early tenth-century author Konstantin "of Preslav," who recorded his name in acrostics (Georgi Popov, 1985).

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of lucidity), cf. 23.25, sub 882, бѣша у него Варязи и Словѣни и прочи и прозваша ся Русью.

[73] A second apostolic line is implied by the tale of St. Andrew, who travelled from the Black Sea to the Novgorodian Slověni and west by sea around Europe to Rome (7.25–9.4). In a fourteenth-century Greek paraphrase of the *PVL*, this is made explicit: "The rays of the Divine light shone on Russia from the walls of Byzantium, where the apostol Andrew enthroned the first bishop, Stachys (of the 70) and thus entrusted to his successors in the spirit of foreknowledge the extensive country in which Andrew himself proclaimed Christ (in Sinope and Crimea) and from there fashioned the unbreakable bond of the Russian church with the Hellenic church in Byzantium ... and the Bulgars, Moravi (Serbs and Vlakhs) living on the Danube and the Slavs of Illyria were illuminated by holy baptism about the middle of the 9th century ... two brothers, Cyril and Methodius, educated men, translated the Old and New Testaments and the holy books and all of Divine Scripture."

Lambros 133. (The significance of the parentheses is uncertain; they may be additions by Lambros.) In the *Izbornik* of 1073, Стахоусъ єпископъ Византиꙗ is #23 in the list of the Seventy, 262d11.

[74] It was "reconstructed" in some detail by Šaxmatov, extensively modified by Nikol′skij, and further discussed by Jakobson. A detailed analysis is given by Gyóni.

Does the *PVL* help locate the Morava where Constantine was made welcome by Rastislav? Twice Morava and Czechs are juxtaposed (6.5, 25.24); does this not guarantee that the northern Morava (March, Marus) is meant? I believe it does not, for the whole construction of these passages is too loose; it verges on incoherence. The authors seem to have had no clear view of the geography or the social groups. They rightly linked the river Morava to Macedonia and Salonika, the region (and/or people) Morava[75] to the introduction of Slavic writing, and Morava to Czechs. The syntactical coherence of these passages is far from rigorous. The initial move from the middle and lower Danube to the river Morava has no explicit subject, some number of Slavs being implied by the context. The next clause, "while others called themselves Czechs," has the long pronominal друзии as subject. Unfortunately neither OCS nor *PVL* usages allow us to see a strict distinction of "definite" versus "indefinite" (*[some] others* vs. *the others*). We cannot insist that the passage deals with a group that migrated to the Morava whereupon one part stayed, with a new name, and "the others" moved on and took another, quite arbitrary, name. Sventopulk's Morava after 890 did indeed include the March valley, and the Moravians of that region continued to be known to Germanic and Slavic neighbors long after the Magyar occupation had erased the memory of former Slavic groups in Hungary. For the *PVL*, *Morava* is purely a symbolic link in the cultural chain from Jaroslav's Kyivan Rus' back to St. Paul; the geography is insignificant.[76]

The origin of the Slavs is, then, God's definition of one of the fifteen tongues or peoples descended from Japheth at the time He destroyed the Tower of Babel and scattered the nations across the face of the earth. It is notable that no intermediate ancestor is named (neither a son of Japheth nor perhaps a putative Slověn to justify the unitary designation of the "Slavic tongue"), and that most subgroups of Slavs did not engage the full attention of the authors of the *PVL*. The initial list (cols. 5–6) has sixteen names, but only Moravian, Derevlian, and Polochanian are given etymologies. The Poljane who are also Ljakhs and the Poljane on the Dnieper are never explicitly defined, and only at the very end of the account of writing and religion is their name analyzed (section 14 sub 898): they lived "in the field," въ поли. Why was this not explained when they are first mentioned, immediately before the putative "forest-dwellers," the Derevljane? Assuming

[75] Note that in section (5) *Morava* quite clearly is a collective noun denoting the people. Yet Rastislav, Kocel, and Svjatoslav speak for, and are referred to as, the *Slavic* land, землꙗ словѣньскаꙗ (sections 6, 7, 8).

[76] See Eggers, particularly his introduction, for the development of the historiographical myth that goes back to the tenth century.

that поле means *unforested land, steppe,* just where was it?[77] The specific details—named ancestors, splits and mergers among groups, social organization, way of life, political interaction—are not worth recording.

Slavic writing, too, is the result of God's providence. It was provided by God's chosen instrument, Constantine (with the aid of other holy men, notably Methodius), in the chosen place, Morava-Pannonia-Illyricum, hallowed from the beginning by Paul and Andronicus. It was given to a group called Morava or Moravljane and spread to the Poljane-Rus′ of Kyiv and the Danube Slavs. Just why and how this came about is again of no importance. The brief account allows room for the papal denunciation of enemies of the Slavic books, but nothing is said of writing among the Ljakhs. The basic message has been written down; it is enough.

The authors of the *PVL* were operating with a shallow genealogical memory supplemented by written Byzantine sources when they penned the background to eleventh-century history. They could justify the legitimacy of Jaroslav Volodimerovič (died 1054) by an unbroken lineage through his grandfather Svjatoslav Igorevič (died ca. 972), to Igor's father Rjurik (died 879), as well as his Christian heritage through his father and his own piety and good works (praised sub 1037).[78] Just how these specific rulers—and their subjects—are connected to the indistinct Poljane and Varangian peoples and the even vaguer Slavs of the Danube was surely beyond their competence. In all probability, however, it was beyond their intent. They had satisfied the limited curiosity that Kyivans of the 1090s had about their origins.

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[77] Etymologists have noted that *polje* in some dialects could mean 'unproductive, undesirable land' or 'flat land'. It is possible that the ethnonym arose as a derisive term on the basis of one or both of these senses.

[78] The fourth-generation ancestor, Rjurik, is manifestly very remote in memory, and the *PVL* dates even for the tenth century are unreliable. The criteria for defining Rus′ as a group remain hazy, but kinship ties are significant for the rulers.

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Послания Геннадия Новгородского и вопрос о «конце мира» в XУ веке

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В идейных спорах конца XУ в., связанных с еретическими движениями и борьбой против них, особое место занимала эсхатологическая тема— вопрос об ожидавшимся и не состоявшемся «скончании века». «Скончание века», по мнению византийских и русских книжников, должно было произойти в 1492 г.—в 7000 г. от Сотворения мира (до 7000 г. была доведена и Пасхалия). Ряд сочинений на эту тему был написан в годы, близкие к 1492 г. Это послания новгородского архиепископа Геннадия епископу Сарскому и Подонскому Прохору и бывшему архиепископу Ростовскому Иоасафу конца 80-х гг. XУ в. и его же (дошедшее в отрывке) послание неизвестному адресату, написанное вскоре после 1492 г. Вскоре после 1492 г. были написаны и «Сказания» о «скончании седьмой тысячи лет», направленные против еретиков, ставивших под сомнение учение святых отцов, поскольку те предсказывали «всемирный конец» в 7000 г. Уже после окончания «еретической бури», в начале XУI в., эти «Сказания» были включены в «Книгу на новгородских еретиков» («Просветитель») Иосифа Волоцкого с нередкими для нее анахронистическими добавлениями (новгородскому еретику Алексею приписывались слова, что «семь тысущь лет прошло, а конца несть», хотя Алексей скончался до 1492 г.).

Послания Геннадия, как и другие сочинения врагов ереси, написанные еще до собора 1504 г., покончившего с ересью, представляют особый интерес для исследователя истории ранне-реформационных движений. Разумеется, сочинения эти отнюдь не были объективными и беспристрастными: целью их было обличение еретиков, и сам Геннадий в послании епископам 1490 г. советовал не вести с ними никаких прений о вере—«токмо для того учинити собор, что их казнити—жечи да вешати!» Но послания, написанные до падения ереси, все же должны были считаться с подлинными учениями еретиков, ибо Геннадий вынужден был опровергать их. Приписывая еретикам «жидовския мудръствования», Геннадий утверждал однако: «Да что ни есть ересей месалианских, то все они мудрьствуют, только то жидовским десятословиемъ (т.е. десятью заповедями Моисея—Я.Л.) людей

прелщают, яко чествующе мнятся».[1] В «Сказаниях» о «скончании седьмой тысящи» автор писал, что еретики, хуля «писания святых отец», признают «пророческая и еуванrельская и апостольская и вся Божественная писания».[2] Иначе изображаются взгляды еретиков в «Сказании о новоявившейся ереси» (вступление к «Просветителю»)—там еретики объявляются прямыми прозелитами «жидовства». Вместо глухого упоминания Геннадия (в ответ на подозрения его в сношениях с Литвой) о том, что «литовские оканные дела» в Новгороде пошли не от него, а с того времени, когда в Новгороде в 1471 г. был «князь Михайло Оленкович, а с ним был жидовин еретик», у Иосифа Волоцкого появился подробный рассказ о «жидовине Схарии» и его сообщниках, прельстивших новгородских попов. Из перечня новгородских еретиков, осужденных собором 1490 г., Иосиф исключил имя названного там «ересям начальника» Захара—видимо, потому, что Захар (по свидетельству Геннадия) продолжал давнюю традицию стригольничества и его трудно было бы изобразить прозелитом «жидовства». Цель тенденциозных переделок известий более ранних источников была с полной откровенностью объяснена Иосифом Волоцким при осуждении еретиков в 1504 г.: если осужденные вольнодумцы были только еретиками, то по церковным канонам они не подлежали казни; иное дело «отступники», «иже Христа отвергъшися»—они должны были быть сожжены, даже если они покаялись.[3]

На чем же основывались споры о «конце мира», отразившиеся в посланиях Геннадия? Новгородский владыка не излагал аргументации своих противников. В послании Иоасафу 1489 г. он утверждал лишь, что еретики питают особые надежды на то, что мир в 1492 не «скончается»—«и мы, деи, тогды будем надобны». В попытках решить вопрос о судьбе мира по скончании «седьмой тысячи» Геннадий привлекал различные памятники—в их числе и переведенный с еврейского языка астрономический трактат «Шестокрыл», где приводились данные иудейского лунного календаря, согласно которому от Сотворения мира шел лишь 5228 год.[4]

Опираясь в своих исследованиях ереси на «Просветитель» и считая еретиков «жидовствующими», исследователи обычно относили слова

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[1] Н. А. Казакова и Я. С. Лурье, *Антифеодальные еретические движения на Руси XIУ–нач. XУI в.* (М.;Л., 1955) (далее: Источники). С. 316–17, 381.
[2] Источники. С. 413.
[3] Источники. С. 375, 378–80, 383, 385, 468–69, 472, 506–507.
[4] Источники. С. 318–19.

Геннадия в послании Иоасафу: «Ино нынешнее жидова еретическое предание дръжать, псалмы Давыдовы или пророчьства испревращали...» к современным ему новгородским еретикам и связывали их с указанием Геннадия, в другой, начальной, части того же послания, о том, что покаявшийся еретик Наум принес ему псалмы, «по чему они себе правили по-жидовски». Принесенные Наумом псалмы они отождествляли с сохранившейся в двух сборниках книгописца Ефросина «Книгой глаголемой Псалтырь», переведенной по поручению Ивана III и митрополита Филиппа (1466-1473 гг.) «Федором Новокрещенным». Этому Федору исследователи приписывали также полемическое противоиудейское Послание, написанное «Феодором жидовином», обратившимся в христианство в 1448-1461 гг. Исследователи полагали, что перевод Феодором Псалтири был актом «литовско-иудейской пропаганды в Новгороде», что и Псалтырь и Послание его были «ловко прикрытым идеологическим ходом—с целью отвести глаза»—«Федор уже более, чем за 10 лет до появления ереси, действовал в ее пользу, и когда дело ереси стало крепнуть, явился в ряду тех ее деятелей, которые помогли ее организации».[5]

Возражая против отнесения слов Геннадия об «испревращении» псалмов к новгородским еретикам, автор настоящей статьи обратил внимание на то, что в этой части своего послания Иоасафу новгородский владыка говорит не о еретиках ХУ в., а о современных ему евреях, которые «псалмы Давыдовы или пророчества испревращали по тому, как имъ еретики предали—Акила, и Симмах, и Феодотионъ». Речь шла здесь о «еретическом предании переводчиков Библии на греческий язык II-III вв. н.э. Акилы (Аквилы), Симмаха и Феодотиона (Теодотиона), а отнюдь не о современных Геннадию новгородцах. Нет оснований также для того, чтобы считать, что к «Шестокрылу» Геннадий обращался потому, что этот памятник был предметом пропаганды еретиков.[6]

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[5] Ср., например: Н. С. Тихонравов, *Сочинения.* (М., 1898). Т. I. С. 227–28; А. И. Соболевский, *Переводная литература Московской Руси ХУІ–ХУІІ вв.* (СПб., 1903). С. 398; М. Н. Сперанский, Псалтырь жидовствующих в переводе Федора еврея // ЧОИДР. 1907. Кн. II. Отд. II. С. 13, 18 и 38–40; А.С. Орлов, *Курс лекций по древнерусской литературе.* (Л., 1939). С. 218; А. И. Клибанов, «Написание о грамоте» (Опыт исследования просветительно-реформационного памятника конца ХУ первой трети ХУІ в.) // *Вопросы истории религии и атеизма.* М., 1956. Т. 3. С. 368.

[6] Я. С. Лурье, *Идеологическая борьба в русской публицистике конца ХУ – начала ХУІ в.* М.;Л., 1960. С. 190– 192; J. S. Luria. "Unresolved Issues in the History of the Ideological Movements of the Late Fifteenth Century," in: *Medieval Russian Culture,* ed. H. Birnbaum and M. S. Flier (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1984), 154–57; *Памятники литературы древней Руси. Вторая половина ХУ в.* (М., 1982). С. 681–82.

Это мнение вызвало в последнее время возражения в научной литературе.

Иную трактовку послания Геннадия и всего вообще характера ереси предложил К. Цукерман. Исследования Цукермана было посвящено в основном «Псалтыри» Феодора; сопоставив эту «Псалтырь» с ее еврейскими источниками, автор убедительно показал, что Феодор тщательно устранял из нее специфические элементы иудаизма и делал их «полностью совместимыми со своими новоизобретенными христианскими воззрениями». Тем самым доказывалась несостоятельность предлагавшихся ранее «шпионских» версий, изображавших Феодора секретным агентом еврейской организации, крещение которого было с самого начала уловкой, или же отступником от христианства, предавшим свою новую и создавшим (находясь в Москве!) молитвенник для последующего употребления Схарией «и его сообщаниками в Новгороде». Но рассказ «Просветителя» о Схарии К. Цукерман признал достоверным. То обстоятельство, что Геннадий не упоминал ни имени этого совратителя новгородцев, ни красочных подробностей, приведенных Иосифом, исследователь склонен объяснять тем, что во время написания своих посланий Геннадий еще не знал этих фактов, которые могли быть сообщены покаявшимся еретиком Денисом на соборе 1490 г.[7] Но эта догадка, в сущности, ни на чем на основана: в дошедшем до нас фрагменте покаяния Дениса он признается только в заблуждении «от пути истиннаго невоздержанием языка», а в соборном приговоре указывается, что обвиненный святителями, «он же, оправдая себе, да на Геннадия архиепископа Новгородского речи хулные глаголаше»; ни о каких признаниях Дениса там не упоминается».[8]

Обращение Геннадия в его посланиях к иудейскому летосчислению К. Цукерман объяснял тем, что на это летосчисление опирались новгородские еретики, чтобы «прельщать христианство». Доказательством этого, по мнению исследователя, служит то, что в своем экскурсе о «Шестокрыле», говоря о переводах Библии на греческий язык, Геннадий упоминал и «сия псалмы»: «Фраза «сия псалмы» может относиться» только к еретическим псалмам, упомянутым в начале того же самого письма». Спор о Конце мира

[7] Constantine Zuckerman, "The 'Psalter' of Feodor and the Heresy of the 'Judaizers' in the Last Quarter of the Fifteenth Century," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 9 no. 1–2 (June 1987): 78, 82, 93.

[8] Источники. С. 384, 388.

Цукерман считал, таким образом, связанным со спором о том, какое летосчисление правильнее— иудейское или греко-православное.[9]

Сходной точки зрения придерживаются и другие исследователи. Вопрос о «Шестокрыле» и его предполагаемом использовании еретиками затронули А.И. Плигузов и И.А. Тихонюк в статье, посвященной Посланию Дмитрия Траханиота Геннадию о «седьмой тысяще». Дмитрий Траханиот, грек-дипломат, прибывший на Русь в свите Софии Палеолог, разбирал в своем Послании тот же вопрос, который волновал Геннадия в конце 80-х гг. XУ в.: о Конце мира, ожидавшемся в 7000 году. Но ни о «Шестокрыле», ни о еретиках Траханиот ничего не писал,—его занимал лишь вопрос о значении семитысячного года в судьбах человечества. По предположению исследователей, «Шестокрыл» был «получен новгородским владыкой, очевидно, от того же Наума», от которого он получил еретические псалмы. Хотя «Шестокрыл» авторы не склонны были «отнести к специфической литературе «жидовская мудръствующих», но все же полагали, что упомянутые Геннадием в послании Прохору Сарскому «тетради», изъятые у Наума, должны были содержать «расчет лет» и таблицы, основанные на «Шестокрыле», согласно которым 1487 г. считался 5228 годом (по иудейскому летосчислению).[10]

Но если Цукерман, Плигузов и Тихонюк считали, что еретики отвергали принятую в XУ в. дату Конца мира, следуя иудейскому летосчислению, то А.А. Беляков и Е.В. Белякова в недавно опубликованной статье пришли к неожиданному заключению, что и само мнение о Конце мира в 7000 г. «скорее всего, возникло в среде новгородско-московских еретиков-жидовствующих и было заостренно полемическим». Основная идея статьи Беляковых сводится к тому, что «в конце седьмой тысячи держащиеся ортодоксальной традиции ждали не конца света, а воцарения антихриста». Для обоснования этой идеи авторы прибегают к довольно сложной аргументации, ссылаясь на библейские и святоотеческие тексты, в которых, по их мнению, отражался первоначальный иудейско-христианский «линейный» взгляд на историю, имеющую начало и конец. Эта первоначальная «линейная модель истории» была вытеснена в западном христианстве, а с конца XУ в. и на Руси иной, «циклической, органически чуждой изначальному иудейско-христианскому пониманию истории, ее смысла и

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[9] Constantine Zuckerman, "The 'Psalter' of Feodor," 80, n. 10.

[10] А. И. Плигузов, И. А. Тихонюк, Послание Дмитрия Траханиота новгородскому архиепископу Геннадию Гонзову о седмеричности счисления лет // *Естественнонаучные представления Древней Руси.* (М., 1988). С. 53–55.

содержания».[11] Рассуждения авторов имеют не исторический, а скорее своеобразный «экзегетический» характер—и при таком понимании тема эта выходит за рамки изучения русских источников ХУ в.

Но почему все-таки идею Конца мира в 7000 г. Беляковы связывают с новгородскими еретиками? Единственным аргументом от источников является в этом случае убеждение, заимствованное у их предшественников, что в «тетрадях» попа Наума содержался расчет по иудейскому каленадарю, согласно которому «7000-й год соответствовал 5228-му». Если в работе Плигузова и Тихонюка это мнение было лишь предположением («очевидно»), то Беляковы излагают его как бесспорный факт, и основывают на этом сложное построение, согласно которому «несколько провокационная» позиция еретиков побуждала обличителей ереси накануне 1492 г. обсуждать вопрос о Конце мира, а после 1492 г. разрабатывать «новую эсхатологическую концепцию, отличную от ортодоксально христианской и относящую второе пришествие и конец мира в неопределенное будущее».[12]

К посланиям Геннадия и разбираемым в них вопросам обращался и Ч. Де Микелис в недавно опубликованной монографии о ереси в Новгороде. Новгородских еретиков ХУ в. Микелис считает не «жидовствующими», а вальденсами, связывая их с еретическими движениями в центральной Европе—в Чехии, Венгрии и Молдавии. С автором настоящей статьи он склонен согласиться в том, что у нас нет данных об использовании «Шестокрыла» и иудейского лунного календаря. Однако мнение, что в этой части послания Геннадия, где речь идет о «Шестокрыле», полемика ведется не с новгородскими еретиками, а с иудеями, Де Микелис отверг, найдя его «логически и синтаксически не обоснованным».[13]

Для решения вопроса о смысле и сущности полемики между еретиками и их обличителями о «конце мира», нужно вновь обратиться к источникам. Сочинения еретиков на эту тему не сохранились; источниками служат писания их противников.

До нас дошло (полностью или в отрывках) несколько посланий Геннадия о «конце мира». Наиболее ранним из них следует, видимо, считать отрывок, сохранившийся в сборнике конца ХУ в. РГБ, Музейное собр. № 3271, л. 6-7 об., посвященный «Шестокрылу». Он

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[11] А. А. Беляков, Е.В. Белякова, О пересмотре эсхатологической концепции на Руси в конце ХУ в. // *Архив русской истории.* (М., 1992). Вып. 1.

[12] А. А. Беляков, Е. В. Белякова, О пересмотре эсхатологической концепции. С. 23, 30.

[13] C. G. De Michelis, *La valdesia di Novgorod. "Giudaizzanti" e prima reforma* (Torino, 1993), 78–79.

начинается словами: «А что числа поставлены в Шестокрыле 276 девятьнадетиц...» Текст этого отрывка совпадает с окончанием Послания Геннадия епископу Прохору Сарскому в двух рукописях ХУI в.—в митрополичьем формулярнике ГИМ, Синод. 562 и в сборнике Нифонта Кормилицына РГБ, Я.ХВII.64—и может поэтому считаться частью послания Прохору. Однако это отождествление не бесспорно, ибо сходные пассажи читаются, как мы увидим, и в других сочинениях того же иерарха. Послание Прохору 1487 г. начинается с упоминания о еретиках и о «покаянии» еретика Наума, на чьих показаниях и были, очевидно, основаны первоначальные сведения новгородского владыки о ереси. Далее следует описание действий еретиков и затем уже—текст, который читается в Муз. 3271— о «Шестокрыле».[14]

Наиболее подробно Геннадий сообщал о еретиках и о своих сомнениях по поводу Конца мира в Послании бывшему архиепископу Ростовскому Иоасафу 1489 г. В послании развивается несколько разных, лишь частично связанных между собой сюжетов. Как и в Послании Прохору, Геннадий ссылается на показания Наума как на источник своих сведений о ереси, затем упоминает первый «обыск» по делу еретиков, произведенный по приказу великого князя и не удовлетворивший новгородского владыку—«ныне вы положили то дело ни за что». Далее новгородский владыка переходит к совсем другой теме— к отставке Иоасафа, о которой он очень сожалеет. Затем следует просьба запросить двух авторитетных монахов—Паисия Ярославова и Нила Сорского, в связи с ожидавшимся в 7000 г. Концом мира—по словам Геннадия этого года с надеждой ожидал впервые упомянутый в послании еретик Алексей. Именно вопрос о Конце мира и побудил Геннадия обратиться к «Шестокрылу». После этого в Послании Иоасафу следует тот же текст о «Шестокрыле», что и в Послании Прохору (и в отрывке Муз. 3271), но разбитый на три фрагмента. После первого из них («Да и Шестокрыл есми учил ... Ино то прелесть великая!») помещена цитата из книги Еноха (читающаяся в Послании Прохору вне текста о «Шестокрыле»), после второго («И яз нашел в писании ... ино тех где вмещати?»)—ссылка на другой памятник—«Зерцало», за которым следует третий фрагмент («А что Шестокрыл они себе изучив ... жидова от них тому навыкли»). Далее помещено рассуждение о различных переводах Библии с еврейского языка на греческий, о счете лет «у латыны» и у «татаровей», и опять просьба обратиться к Паисию и Нилу с вопросом, имеются ли в северных монастырях книги, которые «у еретиков все есть» (список

[14] Источники. С 309–312.

этих книг Геннадий приводит). В конце Геннадий вновь возвращается к вопросу об отставке Иоасафа.[15]

Последнее из посланий Геннадия о ереси—сохранившееся в отрывке обращение к неизвестному адресату, дошедшее в сборнике Муз. 3271 перед уже упомянутым текстом о «Шестокрыле». Можно было бы даже думать, что оба отрывка в этой рукописи—текст о «Шестокрыле» и Послание неизвестному—являются частью одного послания. Но этому, по-видимому, противоречит то обстоятельство, что уже упомянутая цитата из Еноха («Преж даже вся не быша, постави Бог века тварного...») читается в обоих отрывках—едва ли она могла быть помещена в одном послании дважды. Послание неизвестному было написано уже после 1492 г., когда «нашей седмыя тысящи лета прошли», но еретик Алексей, по словам Геннадия, «не дождал» этого времени, ибо уже умер.[16]

После 1492 г. были написаны и «Сказания» о «скончании седмой тысящи», включенные впоследствии в «Просветитель».[17]

Какой же смысл имели ссылки на «Шестокрыл» в посланиях Геннадия—чем определялось его обращение к этому памятнику? Заметим прежде всего, что рассуждения о «Шестокрыле» занимают в посланиях Прохору и Иоасафу своеобразное место—они являются как бы особым самостоятельным текстом, переходящим из одного послания в другое; в списке Муз. 3271 текст этот даже помещен отдельно. И это— не единственный самостоятельный текст внутри Послания. Такое же особое место занимает и рассуждение о переводах Библии, следующее за последним фрагментом текста о «Шестокрыле».

С кем Геннадий вел полемику в этих рассуждениях? Местоимение «они», «их»—двусмысленно, под ним в разных местах послания подразумевались и новгородские еретики и «нынешнее жидова»—современные ему иудеи. Указание, что «нынешнее жидова еретическое предание дрьжать, псалмы Давыдовы или пророчьства испревращали, как им еретицы предали—Акила, и Симмах, и Феодотион» явно относится к иудеям и к древней переводческой традиции, воспринятой ими, а вовсе не к еретикам ХУ в. К ним же, очевидно, относится евангельская цитата: «Ни сами входяще, ни хотящих внити оставляюще» (Лк. 11,52), помещенная после упоминания о «гневе Божием» на иудеев. Совершенно неправомерна поэтому «амальгама» двух цитат из двух разных высказываний Геннадия, дважды помещенная

[15] Источники. С. 315–20.
[16] Источники. С. 388–91.
[17] Источники. С. 391–414.

в статье Беляковых: «Скончается седмая тысяча, и мы тогда будем надобны... Лета христианского летописца скратишася, а наша пребывают».[18] Первая цитата в контексте послания передает слова еретиков (попа Алексея); вторая (из рассуждения о «Шестокрыле»)—слова иудеев.

Слова Геннадия в рассуждении о переводах Библии «сия псалмы» показались К. Цукерману неопровержимым доказательством того, что здесь говорится о тех же еретических «псалмах», полученным Геннадием от Наума, о которых шла речь в начале его послания, и что спор о «Шестокрыле»—спор с новгородскими еретиками. Но иследователю следовало бы обратить внимание на то, что слова «они же сия псалмы, сиречь псалтырю, истолковавше», относились у Геннадия не к отвергаемой им еретической или иудаистической традиции, а к переводу 72 толковников, вполне ортодоксальному и почитаемому новгородским архиепископом: «Они же... все божественное писание и сия псалмы, сиречь псалтырю, истлъковавше, и все в тлъковании съгласиша, яко же дивитися Птоломею». Смысл этих слов становится понятным благодаря наблюдению А. А. Алексеева, установившего, что весь текст о переводах Библии («Егда же Филаделфь Птоломей ... развращение изложи»)[19] является у Геннадия заимствованием из толкования на псалмы Никиты Ираклийского. «Сия псалмы» Никита Ираклийский упоминал (в связи с Септуагинтой) именно потому, что предметом его толкования была Псалтирь.[20]

Нет никаких оснований предполагать, что «Шестокрыл» был получен Геннадием от еретика Наума. В начале послания Иоасафу новгородский владыка писал, что покаявшийся еретик Наум «псалмы ко мне принес, по чему они себе правили по-жидовскы». Аналогичная фраза читается и в начале его Послания Прохору: «...что поп Наум сказывал, да и тетради, по чему они молились по-жидовски». Уже Цукерман справедливо заключил что в обоих посланиях речь шла о той же самой полученной от Наума Псалтыри.[21] Что это была за Псалтырь? Вполне возможно, что речь шла о Псалтыри Феодора Иудея, которая действительно была переведена со средневекового еврейского оригинала, хотя и переделана в соответствии с христианскими воззрениями. Но, конечно, под «тетрадями» никак нельзя

[18] А. А. Беляков, Е. В. Белякова, О пересмотре эсхатологической концепции. С. 23 и 30.

[19] Источники. С. 319.

[20] РНБ, Соф. 1404, л. 201 об., 203. Ср.: А.А. Алексеев, К истории русской переводческой школы XII в. // ТОДРЛ. (Л., 1988). Т. XЛI. С. 188.

[21] Источники. С. 310 и 316. Cf. Constantine Zuckerman, "The 'Psalter' of Feodor," 80.

понимать «Шестокрыл» и содержащиеся в нем календарные расчеты: по календарным расчетам «молиться» было невозможно.

Свидетельствуют ли обращения Геннадия к «Шестокрылу», что «Шестокрылом» пользовались и еретики? Во фразе «А что Шестокрыл они себе изучив да тем прельщают христианство», слово «они» двусмысленно: оно может относиться и к иудеям (что более вероятно) и к еретикам; но когда Геннадий говорит: «которые лета украли у нас еретики жидовьскыми числы», он имеет в виду, очевидно, новгородских еретиков. Однако, что именно представляет собой это утверждение—реальный факт использования еретиками иудейского календаря, или попытку Геннадия объяснить их неверие в Конец мира? Геннадий не указывал, почему еретики не боялись наступления 7000-го года—он лишь ссылался на их слова, что «уже нашей (византийского-русской—*Я.Л.*) седмыя тысящи лета прошли, а иных вер еще лета не изошли».[22] Явно не понимая относительности календарных эр в разных летосчислениях, новгородский владыка таинственными происками еретиков объяснял и различие между русским и «латинским» календарем (по которому 7000 г. от Сотворения мира соответствовал не 1500 году от рождества Христова, как думал Геннадий, а 1492 г.). «Да и то мне мнит: однова будут еретици у нас украли лет!—писал новгородский владыка,—Занеже у латыны нашего больше осмию леты». Далее он приводит свой диалог с какими-то собеседниками: «Да еще говорят: У нас, деи, писано седмь тысящ лет да 8 до скончания века». И яз их съпросил: «Что же толкуется 8?» И они млъвятъ: «То, деи, тому слову имя: аще будете добри, придам вам, аще ли будете зли, уйму вас». Очевидно, что «они» в последнем пассаже имеют уже третий смысл—это не еретики и не иудеи, а «латыне». Как же связывалось в представлениях Геннадия «латинское» летосчисление со злокозненностью еретиков? Ведь еретики не могли одновременно принимать и иудейский и «латинский» календарь. Видимо, ход рассуждений еретиков был неясен и самому новгородскому владыке—и ссылка на «жидовьскые числа» и упоминание «латинского» летосчисления отражали лишь попытки разобраться в указанных еретиками разногласиях «в летах иных вер».

Нет никаких оснований предполагать, что «Шестокрыл» Геннадий мог получить только от еретиков. Сопоставление византийского календаря с «еврейским» и «фряжским числом» делались разными книжниками в конце XУ в.—мы их встречаем, например, в уже

22 Источники. С. 390.

упомянутом сборнике Муз. 3271.[23] В Геннадиевскую Библию 1499 г. была включена не только ссылка на «Шестокрыл», но и сведения из еврейского календаря, уж никак не связанные с еретиками.[24] У новгородского владыки был целый круг весьма образованных помощников—таких, например, как братья Траханиоты, доминиканец Вениамин и другие, и едва ли для них было трудно добыть западнорусский перевод «Шестокрыла».

В чем же заключалась причина спора с еретиками по поводу 7000-го года,—почему еретики не опасались Конца мира в этом году? Обратившись к источникам—Посланию Геннадия к неизвестному и к «Сказаниям о скончании седьмой тысящи лет»,—мы можем убедиться в том, что ни «Шестокрыл», ни иудейское летосчисление никак не отражались в этом споре. И это особенно показательно, если учесть, что Иосифу Волоцкому, вероятному автору «Сказаний», включившему их в «Просветитель», не было никаких оснований умалчивать об иудейском летосчислении у еретиков, ведь использование этого летосчисления подтверждало бы обвинение их в «жидовстве».

Позиция еретиков определялась прежде всего их недоверием ко всей святоотеческой традиции, на которой основывалась вера в Конец мира. Традиция эта опиралась на предсказания о грядущем «тысячелетнем царстве» Христа и Конце мира, содержащихся в новозаветных книгах и, в особенности ярко, в Апокалипсисе (20, 2-7; 21, 1). Пришествие Христа и Конец мира ожидались в христианском мире в УI, IX и X в., и особенно в 1000 г.—в год тысячелетия от Рождества Христова.[25] Стремясь установить время Конца мира средневековые авторы постоянно обращались к тексту Псалтыри: «Тысяча лет пред очима твоима яко день вчерашний» (Пс. 89, 5; ср. 2 Петр. 3, 8) и к словам Екклисиаста: «Даждь чясть убо седмым и тогда осмому» (Еккл. 11, 2). В известном на Руси Откровении Мефодия Патарского «кончина» связывается с «седморичным временем» и «последней», «седьмой тысящницей», когда «искоренится перское царство и потом изыдет семя Измаилово».[26] Сходные «знамения» наступающего «гнева Божия» (но

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[23] А.Д. Седельников, Рассказ 1490 г. об инквизиции // *Труды комиссии по древнерусской литературе.* (Л., 1932). Т. I. С. 44–45.

[24] ГИМ, Синод. 915, л. 904 и 907; *Описание славянских рукописей Московской Синодальной библиотеки.* (М., 1855). Отд. I. С. 160–62; А. И. Плигузов, И.А. Тихонюк, Послание Дмитрия Траханиота. С. 69.

[25] Cf. A. Vasiliev, "Medieval Ideas of the End of the World: West and East," in: *Byzantion* (Boston, Mass., 1944), vol. 16, fasc. 2, pp. 465– 97.

[26] *Памятники отреченной русской литературы, собранные и изданные Н.С. Тихонравовым.* (М., 1863). Т. 2. С. 235–36, 245–46.

без конкретных датирующих указаний) указывались и в другом распространенном в русской письменности памятнике—сочинениях Ефрема Сирина: «Брани перьскиа и варварскиа придоша и пусту сотвориша страну нашу, да мы ся Бога убоим и придем к покаянию. Вся пророчества и писания вся скончяшася, при дверех есть година всех нас, и реченная знамения вся соверши...».[27] О «седморичности» человеческого «века» писали Василий Великий, Григорий Богослов, Иоанн Дамаскин, Анастасий Синайский, Иоанн Лествичник. О том, что век в данном случае понимался как тысячелетие, свидетельствует Слово константинопольского патриарха XIУ в. Никифора Каллиста Ксанфопула «Глаголет же ся, яко по седьми тысящ лет будеть приход».[28] Идея «седморичности» века проникла и в русскую письменность. «Устави же Бог... рок на земли жития человеческаго 7000 лет...»—читаем в анонимном «Слове о небесных силах, чего ради создан был человек», приписывавшемся Кириллу Туровскому или Авраамию Смоленскому (XII в.).[29] Следуя святоотеческим авторитетам, о «скончании седьмой тысячи» писали митрополиты Киприан и Фотий.[30] В рассказе о походе на Новгород в 1471 г. в великокняжеском летописном своде новгородцам ставилось в вину то, что они отступили от великокняжеской власти и митрополии «в последнее время за 20 лет до скончание седмыя тысящи».[31] В «Изложении пасхалии седмыя тысяща последнее сто», помещенной в сборнике первой четверти XУ в., принадлежавшем Кириллу Белозерскому, под 6967 (1459 г.) содержится запись: «...Се лето на конци явися, в не же чаем всемирное твое пришествие...». Такой же текст (и под тем же 6967 г.) читается в независимом летописном своде 80-х гг. XУ в., отразившемся в Софийской II и Львовской летописях.[32] Тот же текст, но уже приуроченный к 7000 (1492 г.) читается в двух пасхалиях конца XУ в.[33] «Писах к вечеру солнечного дне захода, седморичного реку века»,—

[27] РНБ. Ф.I.202, л. 90– 90 об., ср.: Источники. С. 413.

[28] Источники. С. 395–96, 400.

[29] *Рукописи графа Уварова.* (СПб., 1888). Т. 2. С. 122.

[30] РИБ. Т. УI. Стб. 266–67; 11-е поучение Фотия, ср. С.П. Шевырев, *История русской словесности.* (СПб., 1887). Ч. 3. С. 177.

[31] ПСРЛ. Т. XXУI. (М.;Л., 1959). С. 235; Т. XXУII. (М.;Л., 1962). С. 13?.

[32] Г. М. Прохоров, Книги Кирилла Белозерского // ТОДРЛ. (Л., 1981). Т. XXXУI. С. 58; ПСРЛ. Т.6. (СПб., 1853). С. 181; Т. 20. 1-я половина. (СПб., 1910). С. 263– 264.

[33] *Описание рукописей Московской Синодальной библиотеки.* (М., 1862). Отд. 2. Ч. 3 (ГИМ, Синод. 316. Л. 261–64); Древнерусские пасхалии на осьмую тысячу лет от Сотворения мира // *Православный собеседник.* 1860. № 43. С. 331 (автор ссылается на рукопись «Миротворного круга» Соловецкой библиотеки № 497, не попавшую в состав Соловецкого собрания, находящегося ныне в РНБ).

записал в 1489 г. на книге, посланной по распоряжению Геннадия в Волоколамский монастырь его приближенный Тимофей Вениаминов, осуждая в той же записи современных ему еретиков, осквернивших «веру непорочную».[34]

Заметим, что в этих текстах, вопреки построению Белякова и Беляковой, «скончание миру» отождествляется не воцарением антихриста, а со вторым пришествием Христа: «В неже чаем всемирное пришествие Христово», «всемирное твое пришествие», «вторoe пришествие Господне». Точно так же и в «Сказаниях» о «скончании седьмой тысящи», обсуждался именно вопрос, почему в 7000 г. не произошло ожидамого «конца» и «втораго пришествия Христова нет».[35] В цитате из Ефрема Сирина, приведенной в «Сказаниях», упоминается так же «пришествие Христово», когда «кождо плачмя речет: О люте мне...». Это явное несоответствие текстов ХУ в. их построению Беляковы склонны объяснять тем, что «восприятие указаний эсхатологических текстов» на Руси «могло быть притупленным», из-за чего подмену воцарения Антихриста «вторым пришествием Христа» в 7000 г. «Иосиф как будто не замечает».[36]

Русские книжники ХУ в. спорили, очевидно, не о том, как понимать «конец миру»—в смысле воцарения Антихриста или же второго пришествия Христа. Предметом споров и размышлений был самый факт «конца миру», вызвавший сомнения у еретиков накануне 1492 г. Обращаясь в преддверии 1492 г. к ученому греку Дмитрию Траханиоту, Геннадий спрашивал его, «како седми тысущь лета приходят, а знамения съвъщенья не явись никоторое».[37]

Для понимания этих споров поэтому полезно обратиться к исторической обстановке, в которой они происходили. В сборнике Кирилла Белозерского рассуждение о предстоящем «всемирном пришествии» завершается словами: «Быша и при нас Измаилы зде и дозде пакы». Уже архимандрит Варлаам, обративший внимание на эти слова, увидел в них указание на нашествие Едигея в 1408 г. Возражая против этого мнения, Г. М. Прохоров высказал предположение, что автор рассуждения «Измаилами» называет здесь «невеж», которым свойственно «неверие и которые были как при нем, так и раньше...».[38]

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[34] А. Д. Седельников, К изучению «Слова кратка» и деятельности доминиканца Вениамина // *ИОРЯС*. (Л., 1926). Т. XXX. С. 223.

[35] Источники. С. 394, 401, 409.

[36] А. А. Беляков, Е.В. Белякова, О пересмотре эсхатологической концепции. С. 25 и 27.

[37] А. И. Плигузов, И.А. Тихонюк, Послание Дмитрия Траханиота. С. 73.

[38] Варлаам, архим. Обозрение рукописей собственной библиотеки преподобного

Однако, «семя Измаилово» в связи с «седмой тесящницей» упоминалось и в Откровении Мефодия Патарского; у Ефрема Сирина, «брани перьския и варварскиа» также объявлялись «знамением» всеобщей «годины». За пришествием Едигея последовал целый ряд нападений «измаилов» на Русь: нашествия 30-х гг. ХУ в., поражение и пленение московского великого князя под Суздалем в 1445 г., поход на Москву 1451 г., захват Алексина на Оке в 1472 г. Другим «знамением» Конца мира несомненно могли считаеть падение «Ромейского царства». В Византии, как и на Руси, ждали конца мира в 1492 г. Неоднократно предвещал его константинопольский патриарх Геннадий Схоларий, противник заключенной в 1439 г. унии с католической церковью.[39] Падение «Нового Рима» действительно совершилось в 1453 г., когда турки завоевали Константинополь.

Но события конца ХУ века давали почву и для иных настроений. Уже в начале 70-х годов Иван III заявил о своей независимости от константинопольской патриархии—не только от того патриарха, который после 1453 г. поселился в Риме и признал унию с католической церковью, но и от патриарха, пребывавшего в турецком Стамбуле. Константинопольский патриарх Дионисий, решительный противник унии, не признавал, однако, права русских иерархов ставить митрополита без санкции Константинополя и заявлял, что «великая зборная наша церковь не имает, а ни држит, а ни именует за митрополитов» московских митрополитов, не имевших патриаршего благословения. В ответ на это Иван III объявил, что не требует от патриарха «ни его благословенья, ни его неблагословенья, имеем его, самого того патриарха, чюжа и отречена...».[40]

Разрыв с греческой церковью, в течение пяти веков бывшей верховным авторитетом для русского православия, обусловливал необходимость поисков каких-то новых путей в развитии церковной идеологии. О разрыве с патриархией Иван III заявил накануне похода на Новгород в 1471 г., а после этого похода в Москву из Новгорода были приглашены служить в кремлевских соборах виднейшие новгородские еретики. Протопопом главного храма Московского государства, новопостроенного Успенского собора, был поставлен еретик Алексей,— тот самый, который смущал Геннадия своим неверием в Конец мира в

Кирилла Белозерского // *ЧОИДР*. (1860). III. С. 17; Г. М. Прохоров, Книги Кирилла Белозерского. С. 59.

[39] A. Vasiliev, "End of the World," 97–99.

[40] Я. Н. Щапов, *Восточнославянские и южнославянские рукописные книги в собраниях Польской народной республики*. (М., 1976). Т. II. Прилож. № 52. С. 145–47; РИБ. Т. УІ. № 100. С. 711.

семитысячном году. А в 1480 г. произошло еще одно событие— неудачный поход Ахмата знаменовал собой падение власти «измаилов» над Русью.

Мы не знаем, каков был круг тех «святых отцов», учения которых отвергали еретики в связи с несостоявшимся Концом мира. Конкретно в «Сказаниях» в качестве объекта критики упоминается лишь Ефрем Сирин, писавший о «знамениях» «гнева Божиа».[41] Но о критическом отношении еретиков к греческой церкви уже в 1490 г. сообщал Геннадий в своем послании собору епископов. Он повествовал о своем разговоре с Захаром—одним из главных новгородских еретиков. Захар обвинял патриархов в такой же приверженности ко «мзде», какую он усматривал у русских владык: «Коли, деи, в Царьград ходил есть митрополит ставитися, и он, деи, патриарху денги давал...».[42]

Появившиеся у еретиков сомнения в авторитетности «святых отцов» греческой церкви возникали, таким образом, в обстановке разрыва с Константинополем и признания патриархии «чюжой и отреченой». Не состоявшийся в 1492 г. Конец мира, естественно, подкреплял эти сомнения. К числу памятников, написанных после этого года, принадлежали, наряду с Посланием Геннадия неизвестному и «Сказаниями» о «седьмой тысяще», Извещение митрополита Зосимы, написанное им как предисловие к новой пасхалии, составленной на 20 лет после 1492 года, и грамота и предисловие Геннадия к его пасхалии, составленной на 70 лет. Извещение Зосимы было озаглавлено «Изложение пасхалии на осьмую тысящу лет..., в ней же чаем всемирнаго пришествия Христова»; о явлении Антихриста в «Изложении» Зосимы и в предисловии Геннадия, как и в других современных памятниках, ничего не говорилось.

Хотя Геннадий указывал в грамоте, что пасхалию он составил по поручению «отца нашего Зосимы, митрополита всея Руси», он сопроводил свой труд совсем иными рассуждениями, чем митрополит. Накануне 1492 г. Дмитрий Траханиот объяснил новгородскому владыке, что «седьмую же тысящу подобает человеку помнити, занъже от рассуждения си удръжася в людех, а не верити...», ибо под библейским веком не обязательно понимать тысячелетие.[43] Но Геннадий считал,

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[41] Источники. С. 409, 413.

[42] Источники. С. 380.

[43] А. И. Плигузов, И.А. Тихонюк, Послание Дмитрия Траханиота. С. 74; ср.: Б.Н. Флоря, Греки-эмигранты в Русском государстве второй пол. ХУ – нач. ХУI в. // *Руско-Балкански културни връзки през средневековието.* (София, 1982). С. 138.

все-таки, что «век седмьричным числом исчитаем есть» и составил поэтому пасхалию на семьдесят лет.[44]

Зосима проблемы «седмиричности» не касался вовсе; он посвятил свое вступление к пасхалии другой теме. Напомнив евангельские слова: «И будут перви последние и последнии перви» (Мф. 19.30; 20, 16; Мр. 10, 31; Лк. 13, 30), Зосима заявлял: «И ныне же в последняя сия лета, яко же и в перваа, прослави Бог... в православии просиавшаго, благовернаго и христолюбиваго великого князя Ивана Васильевича, государя и самодеръжца всея Руси, нового царя Константина новому граду Констянтину—Москве, и всей Русской земли и иным многим землям государя...».[45]

Перед нами—совершенно новое решение вопроса о «последних летах». В статье, посвященной «Изложению пасхалии», И.А. Тихонюк, оставив в стороне «вопрос о еретичестве» Зосимы, заметил, что «лишь по недоразумению исследователи ищут в официальном памятнике русской митрополии черты еретической идеологии».[46] Конечно, глава русской церкви, незадолго до того осудивший нескольких новгородских еретиков на соборе 1490 г., еретиком себя не считал; он даже заявлял, что «еретичьствующих же на православную веру Христову отгна, яко волки». Но после того, как константинопольский патриарх отлучил московского митрополита, а Иван III объявил самого патриарха «чюжим и отреченным», грань между ортодоксией и ересью стала на Руси весьма зыбкой. Иван III, поставившей Алексея протопопом главного храма России, признавался впоследствии, что он знал, «которую дръжал Алексей протопоп ересь...».[47] А на списке «Изложения пасхалии», принадлежавшем Волоколамскому монастырю, была сделана запись: «Сей Зосима не священныи митрополит, но скверныи еретик, тогда таино име в себе ересь, Алексеем протопопом научен...».[48] В нескольких списках «Извещения» имя Зосимы, как его автора, было опущено. Это соответствовало обвинению, высказанному Иосифом Волоцким вскоре после 1492 г., что Зосима является «отступником Христовым», а родственники Алексея, «протопоповы дети», его зять и ученики, «от самого того сатанина сосуда и диаволова, митрополита, не выходят, и спят у него». Иосиф утверждал даже, что Зосима не верил во «второе пришествие Христово», и в «царство небесное»—обвинение, отголоском

[44] РИБ. Т. УI. № 119. Стб. 803–804.

[45] РИБ. Т. УI. № 118. Стб. 797–99.

[46] И.А. Тихонюк, «Изложение Пасхалии» московского митрополита Зосимы // *Исследования по источниковедению истории СССР XIII–ХУIII вв.* (М., 1986). С. 47.

[47] Источники. С. 436.

[48] РИБ. Т. УI. Стб. 799. Прим. 4.

которого, возможно, явилось довольно неожиданное, но многозначительное упоминание Геннадия в его пасхалии о ветхозаветных саддукеях, которые «отметахуся въскрешения мертвых».[49]

Главной особенностью «Изложения пасхалии» было не упоминание о «чаянии» «всемирного пришествия Христова» в восьмом тысячелетии. Сочетание идеи грядущего «тысячелетнего царства» с утверждением о том, что о «часе» второго пришествия никто не знает (Мф. 25. 13), было присуще уже Новому завету. И именно эта противоречивость побуждала средневековых книжников толковать библейские предсказания по-разному—в значительной степени в зависимости от исторических условий и общих взглядов того или иного писателя. Своеобразие «Изложения пасхалии» Зосимы было в том, что Русь и ее государь здесь не уподоблялись Константинополю и византийским императорам (это делалось и ранее), а *противопоставлялись* им. Считал ли Зосима Константинополь «Новым Римом», как читается в одном из списков «Изложения», или же «Новым Иерусалимом», как читается в других,[50] все равно он признавал его историю оконченной. Пророчества о гибели «Ромейского царства» тем самым подтверждались, но гибель его не воспринималась как Конец мира, ибо на смену «первым» в «последняя сиа лета» приходил «Новый град Константина»—Москва и Русская земля. Этим определялся и новый подход к проблеме семитысячного года—не пессимистический, но оптимистический.

Можно полагать, что такими же настроениями были проникнуты и еретики, отвергавшие мрачные ожидания «конца миру», навеянные святоотеческой традицией, и надеявшиеся что когда «седмая тысяща» скончается, «мы... тогды будем надобны».

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49 Источники. С. 428–29; РИБ. Т. УI. Стб. 815.

50 Ср. И. А. Тихонюк, «Изложение Пасхалии». С. 46.

Widows, Welfare, and the *Pomest'e* System in the Sixteenth Century*

JANET MARTIN

The *pomest'e* system, which was introduced on a massive scale in the Novgorod lands in the late fifteenth century, developed through the sixteenth century to become the basic means of support for the Muscovite grand prince's growing army of servicemen. Throughout most of the sixteenth century the Muscovite economy was flourishing. The state was expanding, and its privileged stratum of military servicemen, the *pomeshchiki*, was growing as well. The military men, whose counterparts in earlier eras had been directly supported by the princes, boyars, or ecclesiasts they served and by incomes drawn from their own hereditary property, during the sixteenth century increasingly derived their incomes from landed estates granted by the central Muscovite government as well as from supplementary salaries paid by that government.[1] Their incomes were used to support themselves, provide their military equipment, and also maintain their families.

But military servicemen died. Some of them left families, their widows, minor children, as well as widowed mothers and unmarried sisters, without visible means of support. Muscovite society had mechanisms for addressing this situation. As discussed by S. V. Rozhdestvenskii a century ago and more recently by Ann Kleimola and Valerie Kivelson, it was not unusual for

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[1] For comments on the nature of the army before the formation of the *pomest'e*-based military force and the size of the the latter, see Gustave Alef, "The Crisis of the Muscovite Aristocracy: A Factor in the Growth of Monarchical Power," *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 15 (1970): 44–56, and idem, "Muscovite Military Reforms in the Second Half of the 15th Century," *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 18 (1973): 74–78, 81–101; both articles have been reprinted in idem, *Rulers and Nobles in Fifteenth-Century Muscovy* (London, 1983). See also Richard Hellie, *Enserfment and Military Change in Muscovy* (Chicago, 1971), 24, 28, and Ruslan G. Skrynnikov, "The Civil War in Russia at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century (1603–1607): Its Character and Motive Forces," in *New Perspectives on Muscovite History*, ed. Lindsey Hughes (London, 1993), 72.

women in sixteenth-century Muscovy to own property.[2] Muscovites regularly provided their daughters with dowries, which tended to constitute a share of the family belongings that was almost or fully equivalent in value to the shares inherited by their brothers. The property women brought into their marriages as dowries was accounted for separately from property owned by their husbands or acquired during their marriages, and they disposed of it separately from the property their husbands passed on to their children.[3] But that property typically consisted of personal, moveable goods, such as clothing, cash, jewelry, slaves, and livestock.[4] Although women whose families owned hereditary property might also receive a share of the family's land and its incomes as part of her dowry,[5] this was not true for all the women who became wives of *pomeshchiki*. The only immoveable property or land most of their families could claim was their *pomest'e*, which in the sixteenth century they held conditionally in return for service to the grand prince and tsar.[6]

Thus, despite the fact that women typically owned property in the form of dowries, the task of providing for the dependents of deceased servicemen became a public responsibility, undertaken and administered by the Muscovite regime.[7] The state fulfilled its obligation to them by granting them *pomest'ia*, usually for their lifetimes or until the widows remarried, unmarried daughters and sisters found husbands, and minor sons reached the age of fifteen, entered service, and acquired their own *pomest'ia*.[8]

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[2] S. V. Rozhdestvenskii, *Sluzhiloe zemlevladenie v Moskovskom gosudarstve XVI veka* (St. Petersburg, 1897), 61–75, 367–73; Ann M. Kleimola, "'In accordance with the canons of the Holy Apostles': Muscovite Dowries and Women's Property Rights," *Russian Review* 51 (April 1992): 204–229; Valerie A. Kivelson, "The Effects of Partible Inheritance: Gentry Families and the State in Muscovy," *Russian Review* 53 (April 1994): 206–212. See also Eve Levin, "Women and Property in Medieval Novgorod: Dependence and Independence," *Russian History* 10 (1983): 154–69; Sandra Levy, "Women and the Control of Property in Sixteenth-Century Muscovy," *Russian History* 10 (1983): 201–212; Natal'ia L. Pushkareva, *Zhenshchiny drevnei Rusi* (Moscow, 1989), 104–139.

[3] Kleimola, 207–209.

[4] Rozhdestvenskii, *Sluzhiloe zemlevladenie*, 66; Kleimola, 206.

[5] Kivelson, 208; Kleimola, 206–207; Levy, 204–205.

[6] On the social origins of *pomeshchiki*, see Gustave Alef, "The Origins of Muscovite Autocracy. The Age of Ivan III," *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 39 (1986): 111–12; Hellie, *Enserfment*, 28; K. V. Bazilevich, "Novgorodskie pomeshchiki iz posluzhil'tsev v kontse XV veka," *Istoricheskie zapiski* 14 (1945): 62–80.

[7] This was a departure from tradition, according to which widows were the responsibility of the Church. See Ia. N. Shchapov, ed., *Drevnerusskie kniazheskie ustavy, XI–XV vv.* (Moscow, 1976), 16, and idem, *State and Church in Early Russia, 10th–13th Centuries*, trans. Vic Schneierson (New Rochelle, N.Y., Athens, Moscow, 1993), 114–15, 118–19.

[8] Kleimola, 215–16; on this practice in Vladimir-Suzdal' in the seventeenth century, see Kivelson, 208–210.

Records of *pomest'ia* held by women in this situation are contained in *pistsovye knigi* or cadastral surveys, which were compiled by state secretaries and scribes for the Novgorod lands. A set of records for the Shelonskaia *piatina* in the early 1550s illustrates how the system functioned to support the families of deceased *pomeshchiki*.[9] That set includes information on 192 *pomest'ia* in twenty-three *pogost*s. Records from ten *pogost*s contain information about nineteen estates, or 10 percent of the total, which had been granted to eighteen women.[10] Most of them (15) had received their *pomest'ia* because they were widows of servicemen; six of them had minor children. Of the remaining three, one had received lands that had previously been held by her adult son. Another, for whom no husband was identified, had received a *pomest'e* that had been in her mother's possession. In the third instance the text providing the identifying information about the estate's holder has been lost.[11] The records indicate that the state regarded the support of women who were not attached to households headed by men as an obligation. The fact that

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The situations in which widows did not receive *pomest'ia* or lost possession of them are illustrated in the *pistsovaia kniga* for Shelonskaia *piatina* (1551–1553). In one instance a *pomeshchik* Grigorii Boltin died and was survived by his wife Oksenia and three sons. It was not Oksenia, but his eldest son Boris, who entered service, who was regarded as the possessor of the estate. According to a later *pistsovaia kniga*, Boris was killed by the Lithuanians in 1582; his estate was then, interestingly, assigned to his two minor children. Although not included in the group of estates analyzed for the 1550s, this estate, as the possession of an orphaned daughter, is included in the group for the 1580s. In another case Polagiia, the widow of Timofei Golovachev, was given an estate for life when her husband died. After she remarried in 1547, the estate escheated to the state's land pool; but until the widow's and the estate's changes in status were finally recorded in 1550, her two daughters, who lived with their paternal uncles in another pogost, received the income from the property. RGADA, f. 1209 (Pomestnyi prikaz), opis' 3, No. 17144, ll. 110, 320 ob.; f. 1209, No. 957, l. 777.

9 The books compiled in 1551–1553 have been described as *pripravochnye perepisi* whose contents consist of additions and corrections to the cadastres compiled for Shelonskaia *piatina* in 1498–1501 and in 1539. The published records in the set from the 1550s are drawn from *Novgorodskiia pistsovyia knigi* (*NPK*), 6 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1859–1910), 4:529–84, 5:315–32. Unpublished records are from RGADA, f. 1209, op. 3, No. 17144, ll. 1–322 ob. For characterizations of the books, see V. F. Zagorskii, "Istoriia zemlevladeniia Shelonskoi piatiny v kontse XV-go i XVI-m vekakh," part 1, *Zhurnal ministerstva iustitsii* 15 (October 1909): 261; A. M. Andriiashev, *Materialy po istoricheskoi geografii Novgorodskoi zemli. Shelonskaia piatina po pistsovym knigam 1498–1576 gg.* (Moscow, 1914), xiv–xv; A. L. Shapiro, *Agrarnaia istoriia severo-zapada Rossii XVI veka* (Leningrad, 1974), 6.

10 At least one more estate was also issued to a widow, Feodos'ia, the wife of Grigorii Vdovin, but data concerning her estate are incomplete and not included in this study. NPK 4: 582–83.

11 RGADA, f. 1209, op. 3, ll. 233–233 ob., 293 ob.–294 ob.; *NPK* 4: 216. These three cases provide evidence that modifies the point made by A. M. Kleimola, based on an unpublished study by Vincent Elwood Hammond, that the practice of issuing *pomest'ia* to women other than widows did not begin until well after the 1550s. Kleimola, 215.

most of the women in this set were not raising young children, and of the six that were, two had only daughters belies the interpretation that the purpose of this practice was to support future *pomeshchiki*.[12]

The cadastral surveys from the 1550s contain not only information about the identities of the women who were granted *pomest'ia* and their families, but also records of the amount of land cultivated on each estate as well as any land that had been left fallow. The land area was expressed in terms of a unit known as the *obzha*. The actual area of an *obzha* varied in accordance with the quality of the land; but each *obzha* was intended to produce ten *chet*s or five *korob'ia*s of rye, the basic grain crop, in each field. (One *korob'ia* equalled approximately 114.5 kilograms.) The *obzha* was also used as the basis for tax assessments.[13] In addition, the surveys noted the existence of land in forest clearings, cultivated but not yet measured in *obzha*s and included in the recorded area of the estate's fields, and other income-producing resources and assets on the estates. Finally, the 1550s surveys indicated how each estate was organized. The most common operational pattern was for peasants living on the estate to work the land, and pay rent to the landholder; the amounts of goods and cash paid to the landholder were also noted. Alternatively, landholders set aside a portion of the estate for personal use. Slaves worked the land; the landholder and her household had access to the entire crop.

The data reveal that *pomest'ia* granted to women were smaller than those normally granted to servicemen. Although they held 10 percent of the estates, the widows and other women possessed only 6 percent of the total cultivated *obzha*s in the *piatina*. The size of the women's estates ranged from two to 51.5 ob.; the average size (12.24 ob.) was just under 60 percent of the average size of servicemen's estates (20.64 ob.). Although women without children tended to be given the smallest estates and those raising minor children the largest, the correlation was not absolute. Two childless widows in the group received larger *pomest'ia* (16 and 10 ob.) than one with three small children (9.5 ob.); the two women with the largest *pomest'ia* (51.5 and 40.5 ob.) each had only one child, whereas the three who had more children received smaller estates (33.5, 18, and 9.5 ob.).[14] The success of the practice of granting *pomest'ia* to widows and otherwise unsupported dependents, however, cannot

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[12] Rozhdestvenskii, *Sluzhiloe zemlevladenie*, 369–70.

[13] On the *obzha*, see G. V. Abramovich, "Neskol'ko izyskanii iz oblasti russkoi metrologii XV–XVI vv.," *Problemy istochnikovedeniia*, 11 (Moscow, 1963), 370–83; Shapiro, *Agrarnaia istoriia severo-zapada Rossii XVI veka*, 10–15; L. V. Danilova, *Ocherki po istorii zemlevladeniia i khoziaistva v Novgorodskoi zemle v XIV–XV vv.* (Moscow, 1955), 131–32.

[14] V. A. Kivelson similarly observed that in the central Muscovite provinces in the seventeenth century childless widows did not always fare poorly; Kivelson, 209.

be measured by the size of the *pomest'ia* alone. Success depended upon the capacity of a *pomest'ia* to provide an income, in rents and/or crops, sufficient for its landholder's sustenance.

To assess whether or not the estates held by the eighteen women in the early 1550s were adequately supporting them and their families, it is necessary to know both how much food was required for sustenance and how much the estate provided. It has been been calculated that an adult working man requires a calorie intake equivalent to that provided by 185 to 235 kilograms of cereal grains per year.[15] Women and children required fewer calories. Thus, if a *pomest'e* could supply each woman and child in the landholder's household with 2 *korob'ia*s (229 kg.) of cereal grain or its equivalent, it may be considered to have been providing an income more than sufficient to support the family. A larger income would have been necessary if the landholder's household included slaves. The cadastral surveys from the 1550s do not, however, indicate how many slaves or peasants worked on each *pomest'e*. The presence of slaves may nevertheless be assumed on those *pomest'ia* on which all or some of the land was characterized as land cultivated for the *pomeshchik*, i.e., demesne, and thereby distinguished from the lands worked by peasants and subject to rental fees. The surveys do contain data on how much grain and other income the *pomest'ia* actually provided. By comparing how much each household required for sustenance and how much it received, it is thus possible to assess how well the practice of assigning relatively small *pomest'ia* to widows and dependents functioned as a method of supporting them. The data and comparison appear in the table.

The data in the table indicate that in most cases (14) rents paid in grain more than adequately provided for the family of the landholder. In eight of those cases the rents were supplemented by crops produced for the benefit of the landholder. On four other estates demesne was the sole source of income for the landholders. On one estate rent was paid only in cash. But with rye selling at prices ranging from 32 to 60 *den'gi/chetvert'* (64–120 d./*korob'ia*), in 1550–1553,[16] Ofrosenia Tyrtova, the mistress of that estate, had the means to purchase between 25 and 47 *korob'ia*s of rye; that amount far exceeded the

[15] Colin Clark, *Population Growth and Land Use* (London and New York, 1968), 130; Colin Clark and Margaret Haswell, *The Economics of Subsistence Agriculture*, 4th ed. (London, 1970), 58–59; A. L. Shapiro, *Agrarnaia istoriia severo-zapada Rossii* (Leningrad, 1971), 49–50, 270. Shapiro offers a slightly higher estimate than Clark and suggests 15–20 puds or 245–327 kg. of grain were necessary for one man per year (1 pud = 16.36 kg.). See also R. E. F. Smith, *Peasant Farming in Muscovy* (Cambridge, 1977), 88.

[16] A. G. Man'kov, *Tseny i ikh dvizhenie v russkom gosudarstve XVI veka* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1951), 104.

NAME	SLAVES	AMOUNT GRAIN REQUIRED FOR HOUSEHOLD (in *korob'ia*)	INCOME RECEIVED FROM: RENT GRAIN (*korob'ia*)	RENT CASH (*den'gi*)	DEMESNE (*korob'ia*)[a]	OTHER ASSETS
Ofinia Shcherbataia	N	2	6.5	56	—	flax
Okulina Pustoshkina	N	2	14	192	—	flax, hops
Anna Neporiadnina with 3 daughters	Y	8+	—	—	45	
Anna Selivanova with 1 son	Y	4+	118.63	980	35	flax, sheep
Orina Nashchokina	Y	2+	17.89	190	20	
Ofrosenia Tyrtova with 4 sons	Y	10+	—		3012	hops
Sofiia Voronina	Y	2+	—	—	30	
Olfika Porkhovskaia	Y	2+	22.75	210	22.5	flax, sheep
Anna Sushilnikova	N	2	5[b]	30	—	sheep
Anna Nashchokina with 1 daughter, pregnant with 2nd child	Y	6+	78	672	20	fish
Stefanida Otiaseva with 1 son	Y	4+	94.75	2492	82.5	
Pr-cess Ofrosenia Koretskaia with 1 son	Y	4+	130.5	1470	165	fish
Pr-cess Mariia Eletskaia	N	2	7.25	434		
Pr-cess Orina Rumianetsa	Y	2+	47.5	812	30	fish
Mariia Glotova	Y	2+	7.25	42	10	fish, flax, sheep
Nastas'ia Saburova	N	2	20	300	—	
Ofinia ??	Y	2+	13.75	154	15	
Ografenia Kropotova	Y	2+	16.88	140	10	

[a] The values in this column are calculated from the number of *obzhas* given. The calculations assume a three-field system, in which the fields were of equal size and two of every three fields were cultivated annually. One *obzha* by definition yielded 5 *korob'ias* per field or 10 *korob'ias* from two fields. Thus, in the case of Neporiadnina, on whose *pomest'ia* 4.5 ob. were cultivated in this manner, 45 k. were produced.

[b] This value was calculated from the number of *obzhas* under cultivation and the share of the crop collected as rent by the landholder. Sushilnikova collected 1/4 of the crop produced from 2 *obzhas*. Similar calculations were made for the amount of grain collected from the estates of Ofinia ?? (5.5 ob.); Saburova, who collected 1/5 of a crop produced from 10 ob.; and Otiaseva, whose rental income included 1/4 of the crop from 19 ob. as well as fixed amounts of grain from another 18 ob.

basic food requirements of her family. All of the *pomest'ia* granted to the widows and other dependents of deceased *pomeshchiki* produced more than sufficient incomes for them. The practice adopted by the Muscovite state to use the *pomest'e* system to provide for families of deceased servicemen thus served its purpose in the mid-sixteenth century.

Thirty years later, however, conditions and the success of that practice had changed. In the interim Muscovy had endured long years of war with its western neighbors as well as devastation inflicted by the *oprichnina.* The Novgorod lands had felt the effects of both of those disasters as well as the famines, epidemics, and heightened taxes that accompanied them. Shelonskaia *piatina*, where the *pomest'ia* examined above had been located, had been invaded by Polish-Lithuanian armies shortly before the new *pistsovye knigi* for the Novgorod lands were compiled.

The *pistsovye knigi* from the early 1580s reflect the compounded effects of the multiple traumas experienced in the Novgorod lands over the previous decades. They also indicate, however, that there was a continuing effort to provide for widows and other dependents of military servicemen even in the midst of severe crisis. Records from 76 *pogost*s in three *piatina*s, Shelonskaia, Vodskaia, and Obonezhskaia, contain information concerning thirty *pomest'ia*, or 5.4 percent of the 550 recorded *pomest'ia*, held by twenty-five women.[17] At least one more estate was held de facto by a woman, the mother of a serviceman who was a prisoner of war in Lithuania; the estate was, nevertheless, still formally assigned to her son.[18] *Platezhnye knigi* or tax books, compiled for the same areas in 1586 and 1588,[19] reveal that nine more women possessed *pomest'ia* in those Novgorod lands. Because the type of information recorded in those books does not correspond to that provided by the *pistsovye knigi*, their estates have not been included in the following analysis. Of the twenty-five women in the group under study, most (18) were widows. Two were wives of prisoners of war. (Each of these two women controlled one estate that had been held by her husband but had been formally set aside to support her and her children; each of them also had access to a second estate held by her husband, but not specifically set aside for her.) Two were mothers of deceased servicemen; two were daughters; and one appears to

[17] These records are drawn from unpublished *pistsovye knigi* housed at RGADA. The survey for Shelonskaia *piatina* is in f. 1209, opis' 1, Nos. 957 and 967; for Vodskaia *piatina*, f. 1209, opis' 1, No. 958; and for Obonezhskaia *piatina*, f. 1209, opis' 1, Nos. 963 and 965.

[18] RGADA, f. 1209, op. 1, No. 958, ll. 69 ob.–71 ob.

[19] The *platezhnye knigi* are also located in RGADA. The Vodskaia and Obonezhskaia books are in f. 137 (Boiarskie i gorodovye knigi), opis' 1, kniga 11; the Shelonskaia book is in f. 1209, opis' 3, No. 16942.

have held one *pomest'e* independently of any relationship and to have shared possession of another with her brother.

The *pomest'ia* assigned to them reflected the economic agony of their region. The overall size of the estates had diminished from the range of two to 51.5 ob. observed for the 1550s to .38 to 32.5 ob. It should be noted, however, that the very smallest *pomest'ia* in the 1580s, i.e., those that were less than one *obzha*, were not the sole estates granted to their landholders; they were held in combination with other estates. The average size of the *pomest'ia* in the 1580s was 9.8 ob., a reduction of 20 percent from the average size of the estates granted to women and dependents in the 1550s.

But even more serious was the contraction of the amount of land under cultivation. In the 1550s, virtually all the land was cultivated either by peasants who paid rent or as demesne. By the 1580s, this was no longer the case. The *pomest'ia* allocated to eight women, all widows, four of whom had young children, had been completely abandoned and were not cultivated at all. Six other *pomest'ia* were similarly described as lacking any active cultivation; their landholders, however, had access to other, functioning *pomest'ia* as well, and were not entirely dependent on the vacated, fallow estates. In all the *pogost*s considered there were 225 abandoned estates; the fourteen belonging to widows made up 6.2 percent of them for a slightly higher percentage than their overall share of *pomest'ia*.

Of the eight abandoned *pomest'ia* held by women with no other resources, four produced sizable amounts of hay (155, 400, 1995, and 255 *kopna*s or haystacks, respectively). These amounts could have potentially fed herds of cattle or sheep ranging in size from 50 to 665 head.[20] But there is no indication that anyone lived or worked on the *pomest'ia* to raise the livestock that could have been supported. In addition, one of those estates also contained a forest clearing suitable for agricultural production; but, in the absence of any laborers on the estate it too was probably not cultivated. Thus, at least four (16 percent) and probably eight (32 percent) of the twenty-five women who held *pomest'ia* in the early 1580s, received no crops, no income, no sustenance at all from their estates.

The remainder of the women fared only moderately better. On the sixteen *pomest'ia* they held that were functioning, i.e., that continued to support

[20] On the feed requirements for livestock, see Abramovich, 366, 368; G. E. Kochin, *Sel'skoe khoziaistvo na Rusi v period obrazovaniia russkogo tsentralizovannogo gosudarstva* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1965), 277. The figures given are based on the Novgorod *kopna*, which was 1/3 the standard Muscovite *kopna* or haystack. See Abramovich, 367–68, and Smith, *Peasant Farming*, 41–42. Three of the other four estates produced relatively small amounts of hay: 15, 30, and 70 stacks. These amounts were nevertheless sufficient to feed a horse (15 stacks/year) or small herds of sheep.

some agricultural activity, the average number of *obzhas* under cultivation was 1.58. This figure compares poorly both with the amount of land under cultivation in the 1550s, discussed above, and even with the average amount of land under cultivation on *pomest'ia* held by servicemen directly (2.1 ob.). However, the amount of cultivated land varied from one *piatina* to another. The women who held estates in Obonezhskaia and Vodskaia *piatinas* had relatively larger estates (average 2.8 and 2.1 ob., respectively) than their counterparts in Shelonskaia, where the average amount of land under cultivation on operating estates was less than one *obzha* (.87). The women of Obonezhskaia and Vodskaia tended to compare favorably with their male counterparts as well. In Obonezhskaia the average amount of land cultivated on an estate held by a serviceman was 2.3, and in Vodskaia, 1.5. In both cases their estates averaged about half an *obzha* less than those granted to women. Only in Shelonskaia, where the servicemen's estates averaged 2.3 ob. of cultivated land, did the women's estates appear to be in worse productive condition than the norm.

The capacity of these *pomest'ia* to support the widows and other dependents, however, is not as directly discernible. The *pistsovye knigi* for the 1580s do not contain data on rent. Thus, the method of comparing incomes with need, used for the *pomest'ia* in the 1550s, cannot be applied for the estates operating in the 1580s. But in addition to the amount of land cultivated by peasants, the later *pistsovye knigi* also recorded the amount set aside for demesne as well as the number of adult male peasants and slaves dwelling on the estate. Using all these data it is possible to calculate the amount of cereal grain that the estate could have produced, and to determine whether that amount was sufficient to feed all the persons known to be living and depending on it or, in the cases when a landholder possessed more than one estate, on the group of them.

As discussed above, the cereal grain equivalent for the number of calories necessary to sustain one adult man is considered to be c. 229 kg./year, the equivalent of 4 *chets* or 2 *korob'ias*. One *obzha* in one field produced 10 *chets* of rye; one *obzha* in two fields, again assuming a three-field system was being used, produced 20 *chets*. By calculating the quantity of grain (in *chets*) produced on each estate and dividing that figure by the number of persons dwelling on it, the ratio between the grain produced and the estate's inhabitants is determined. If that ratio is at least 4:1, it may be concluded that the estate was able to support its laborers, the landholder, and the landholder's household. If the ratio fell below 4:1, the estate was overpopulated; its crops

were too small to feed its inhabitants.[21] Such calculations indicate that of the 17 women who had control over functioning estates (including the second estates of the wives of the two prisoners of war), 12 had *pomest'ia* that could feed them, their family members, and the male laborers dwelling on them.

The techniques employed on the estates varied, but it is not obvious what role the women landholders played in the selection among them. G. V. Abramovich has argued that by the late sixteenth century male *pomeshchiki* did not simply collect rent from their estates, but actively oversaw their operations. Ann Kleimola has similarly observed that women landholders actually managed their estates.[22] The information about these estates neither confirm nor contradict those conclusions. In some cases it is clear that stewards lived on and probably ran the estates. But in others the women had possessed and at least nominally been in charge of their estates for years; in one instance the estate-holder had been widowed ten years earlier and may well have managed her *pomest'e* for all of that time.[23] Two other women, in contrast, had just lost their husbands in 1582, the year the *pistsovye knigi* were being compiled and they received their estates.[24] But even in these instances, because their husbands, who had died while engaged in the Livonian War, had probably been away from home for some time, the women had had the opportunity to become involved in estate management before they personally received portions of their husbands' *pomest'ia*. It thus remains unclear whether the selection of one organizational technique over another on

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[21] The ratio between the amount of food produced on an estate and its inhabitants would be altered if additional factors were taken into account. If, for example, family members of the adult male laborers were added to the population identified in the sources, the ratio would be lower. It would also be lowered if the portion of grain typically set aside as seed for the next year's crop were subtracted from the amount produced. If, on the other hand, other foods produced on an estate, such as meats, fish, dairy products, eggs, vegetables, fruits and berries, were added to the cereal grains, then the ratio would become higher. Because the sources used for this article do not contain quantifiable data on them, those factors were not included in the calculations that underlie the discussion. The observations based on those calculations might be altered if all these factors were taken into account.

For various scholarly estimates of peasant family sizes, see Smith, *Peasant Farming*, 88, 93; see p. 87 in the same volume for portions of crops reserved for seed. On the range of foods included in peasant diets, see R. E. F. Smith and David Christian, *Bread and Salt: A Social and Economic History of Food and Drink in Russia* (Cambridge, 1984), 5–13, and N. A. Gorskaia, "Pishcha," in *Ocherki russkoi kul'tury XVI veka*, part 1 (Moscow, 1977), 217–24.

[22] G. V. Abramovich, "Novgorodskoe *pomest'e* v gody ekonomicheskogo krizisa poslednei treti XVI v.," *Materialy po istorii sel'skogo khoziaistva i krest'ianstva SSSR*, 8 (Moscow, 1974), 5–26; Kleimola, 215.

[23] RGADA, f. 1209, op. 1, No. 958, ll. 234–35.

[24] RGADA, f. 1209, No. 957, ll. 793–94 ob. and No. 958, ll. 125–27 ob.

these estates was the decision of the current landholder, her husband or his steward, or some combination of circumstance and tradition.

One of the most promising techniques appeared to be cultivation of the land as demesne. As observed above, this approach to organizing farming on *pomest'ia* was in use in the 1550s, when it served as a supplement to traditional peasant agriculture. By the 1580s it had become relatively popular, and was adopted by *pomeshchiki* especially on estates that had been abandoned by their peasant inhabitants.[25] It was used as well on six of the estates granted to widows and other dependents of servicemen. On those six estates all the land was cultivated directly on behalf of the landholders; no rents were collected. Five of the six estates appear to have been successful. The crops they produced were large enough to support the landholders' household, including minor children and slaves who presumably farmed the land, as well as any other residents recorded. Only one *pomest'e* in this category,[26] accorded to the two minor children of a serviceman, could not. Despite the appearance of success, however, this method did not ultimately yield good results for the landholders. The *platezhnye knigi*, drawn up just a few years after the *pistsovye knigi,* contain records of five of those six estates. They indicate that in the brief interval, four of them, including the one that had lacked the resources to support its possessors, had failed. The *obzha*s that had been cultivated in 1582–1583 were recorded as abandoned and fallow in 1586–1588. Only one of the five included in those books remained functional.

Another method, employed most frequently by *pomeshchiki* in Shelonskaia *piatina* in the 1580s,[27] involved the treatment of a group of *pomest'ia*, all held by the same *pomeshchik,* as a single economic unit. Laborers dwelling on one of the estates travelled to other, unpopulated estates and cultivated the fields there. The use of this method is designated in the *pistsovye knigi* by labelling the cultivation *naezdom*.[28] Only one of the women, the mother of Prince Iurii Kostrov, adopted this technique. The records used in this study identify three *pomest'ia* in Shelonskaia *piatina* assigned to her; the land on two of them was cultivated *naezdom*. The *platezhnaia kniga* for this *piatina* indicates that she possessed at least one more *pomest'e* as well. The crops produced in combination from her estates were small (.42 ob. on the three

[25] Janet Martin, "Economic Survival in the Novgorod Lands in the 1580s," in *New Perspectives on Muscovite History*, ed. Lindsey Hughes (London, 1993), 110–13.

[26] RGADA, f. 1209, No. 957, ll. 777–79 ob.

[27] Martin, 116–18.

[28] On this method, see V. I. Kuznetsov, "Pashnia 'naezdom' v sisteme pozemel'nogo nalogoblozheniia russkogo gosudarstva v XV–pervoi polovine XVI vv.," *Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta*, ser. 8, istoriia (1987): 79–84.

noted in the *pistsovye knigi*, .58 if the fourth estate is included), but were more than sufficient to feed the Princess. She is therefore among the twelve considered to have "successful" landholdings. But the records for her estates do not indicate where the laborers who worked her estates lived or how many were involved in their operations. It cannot, therefore, be conclusively stated that her estates, even with the additional cultivation in forest clearings that is referred to in the *pistsovye knigi*, would have supported the laboring population dependent upon them as well as the landholder.

The final form of estate organization employed on the *pomest'ia* assigned to widows and dependents was the traditional method of peasant farming: the estate-holder was supported by rents paid by the peasants. Ten women relied on this method. Two of them were the wives of prisoners of war, noted above; they had been accorded vacated *pomest'ia*, but each of them also had access to a second, functioning estate. Calculations, including those two additional estates, indicate that six of the ten women held estates that were capable of producing crops large enough to feed the male peasants known to dwell on them as well as surpluses large enough to feed the landholder and her family. The *platezhnye knigi* from a few years later indicate that of the six, two were still functioning and supporting the female landholder. A third was also still functioning, but had been transferred to a serviceman. The remaining three were not listed in the documents.

The calculations described above indicate that while twelve of the seventeen women who had received functioning *pomest'ia* could have been supported by the output of their estates, five could not. One of their *pomest'ia* was devoted to demesne cultivation and was discussed above. The remaining four involved peasant farming. One of them, granted to Domna Sekerina, was the source of support for her, her two sons, aged 11 and 7, a steward, two slaves, and the households of four peasants.[29] The 1.5 ob. cultivated on the estate should not have been sufficient to feed all of the estate's inhabitants. Nevertheless, according to the 1588 *platezhnaia kniga*, that *pomest'e* was still functioning. It is possible that the 390 stacks of hay produced on the estate supported livestock that supplemented the cereal grains grown there. No other assets that might account for its viability were recorded for that *pomest'e*.

Another one of the estates in this group had been granted to Anna Rozvozova and her three children.[30] Although only 2 ob. were cultivated, the estate included ten peasant and three *bobyl* households. In this case, the presence of *bobyli* suggests that some form of economic activity other than

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[29] RGADA, f. 1209, No. 958, ll. 341 ob.–342 ob. The record for this estate in the *platezhnaia kniga* is in f. 137, op. 1, kn. 11, ll. 347 ob.–348 ob.

[30] RGADA, f. 1209, No. 963, ll. 1268–71.

agriculture was conducted on the estate to support its relatively large population.[31] The 180 stacks of hay produced on the estate may also have maintained livestock that supplemented the production of cereal grains and contributed to a more viable economic situation. It is not known, however, if this *pomest'e* continued to function over the next several years.

A third estate in this group had been assigned to the mother of Prince Semen Cherkasskii, who had at one time possessed most of the land in the entire *pogost*.[32] Its 3/8 of an *obzha* under cultivation could not have supported the landholder as well as the peasant who farmed it. But the *pistsovaia kniga* noted that the prince's mother had also been accorded *pomest'ia* in at least four other locations. The data on those *pomest'ia* were not available for use in this study, but the notation indicated that in combination her holdings contained a total of fifteen *obzha*s, some of which may also have been cultivated to produce crops of sufficient size to support her and their working populations. Only the last landholder in this group, Ofrosenia, the daughter of Zhdan Skobeltsyn, appears to have been left without adequate resources. She had been assigned one *pomest'e* that had been completely abandoned and a half interest in another.[33] Although the first estate was located in Pazherevitskoi *pogost* on the upper Shelon' river, an area located on the road between the towns of Porkhov and Velikie Luki and heavily engaged in activities associated with trade and transport, there is no indication that Skobeltsyna had any interests in those activities or income derived from them.[34] On her other estate half of one *obzha* was cultivated, but its crop had to support three peasants as well as the two landholders.

Reviewing the information contained in *pistsovye knigi* on *pomest'ia* granted to widows and other dependents of deceased military servicemen, several observations and conclusions can be made. First, it appears that the state took an active interest in providing means of support for widows, minor children, and other dependents. The state's interest went beyond providing maintenance

[31] On *bobyli* occupations, see Jerome Blum, *Lord and Peasant in Russia from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, N.J., 1961; repr. New York, 1964), 240–41; G. V. Abramovich, "Novgorodskie pistsovye knigi kak istochnik po istorii barshchiny v pomestnom khoziaistve XVI veka," *Ezhegodnik po agrarnoi istorii vostochnoi Evropy 1970 g.* (Riga, 1977), 27–28. For a survey of early literature on *bobyli*, see also A. M. Gnevushev, *Sel'skoe naselenie Novgorodskoi oblasti po pistsovym knigam 1495–1505 godov* (Kyiv, 1911), 162 ff.

[32] RGADA, f. 1209, No. 958, ll. 296 ob.–297.

[33] RGADA, f. 1209, No. 967, ll. 164–65, 194–194 ob.

[34] Martin, 118; N. A. Nevolin, "O piatinakh i pogostakh Novgorodskikh v XVI veke," *Zapiski imperatorskago russkago geograficheskago obshchestva* 8 (1853): 109, 150; RGADA, f. 1209, No. 967, ll. 147–48 ob.

for the servicemen's minor sons who would eventually become *pomeshchiki* themselves. The records demonstrate that in addition to widows with young sons, support was extended to widows without children, to widows with only daughters, and also to unmarried daughters and mothers of deceased *pomeshchiki*.

Second, the state used the *pomest'e* system, which had become the basic means of support for military servicemen, to maintain their dependents. It issued estates to those dependents just as it issued them to servicemen. The *pomest'ia* granted to widows and female dependents generally were provided for their lifetimes or until they married or remarried. Minor sons were supported by these estates until they entered service and acquired their own.

Through most of the sixteenth century this arrangement appears to have been a successful means of supporting the dependents of deceased servicemen. Although the *pomest'ia* granted were generally smaller than those assigned to servicemen, they generously supported, as the data from the 1550s indicate, the widows and other dependents who depended upon them.

The state continued to follow the practice of issuing *pomest'ia* to widows and other dependents, as well as to wives of prisoners of war, in the 1580s. By that time, however, this method of support was a less successful means of providing for its recipients. In the early 1580s, eight of the twenty-five women who received such *pomest'ia* in fact had no income or food supplied from them. The remaining seventeen received at least one functioning estate. Of that group twelve possessed estates that at the time the *pistsovye knigi* were drawn up should have been able to support them and their families. There is a probability that three more had assets, other than the production of cereal grains, that could have supported the landholding families. Thus, a total of ten (eight with non-functional estates and two with functioning, but inadequate estates) of the twenty-five women under consideration in the 1580s or 40 percent received *pomest'ia* that could not support them and their families. But, under the conditions of the early 1580s, when only about 30 percent of all the estates (not exclusively *pomest'ia*) in the *pogost*s of Shelonskaia, Vodskaia, and Obonezhskaia *piatiny* under study were functioning, the rate of success among the widows appears relatively favorable. By the late 1580s, however, the portion of failed estates held by widows and dependents had risen. The inadequacy of the system of granting *pomest'ia* to support widows and dependents of servicemen, nevertheless, lay not with its concept, intent, or administration by state bureaucrats, but with the severe deterioration of the economy that had lost the capacity to support either Muscovy's military servicemen or their dependents.

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Plate 1. Simon Ushakov, *The Savior Not Made with Hands* (*Nerukotvornyi*), 1658. Tempera on panel. State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow [as reproduced in K. Onaš, *Ruske ikone* (Belgrade, 1967), no. 132]. See Cracraft, pp. 81, 83, 84.

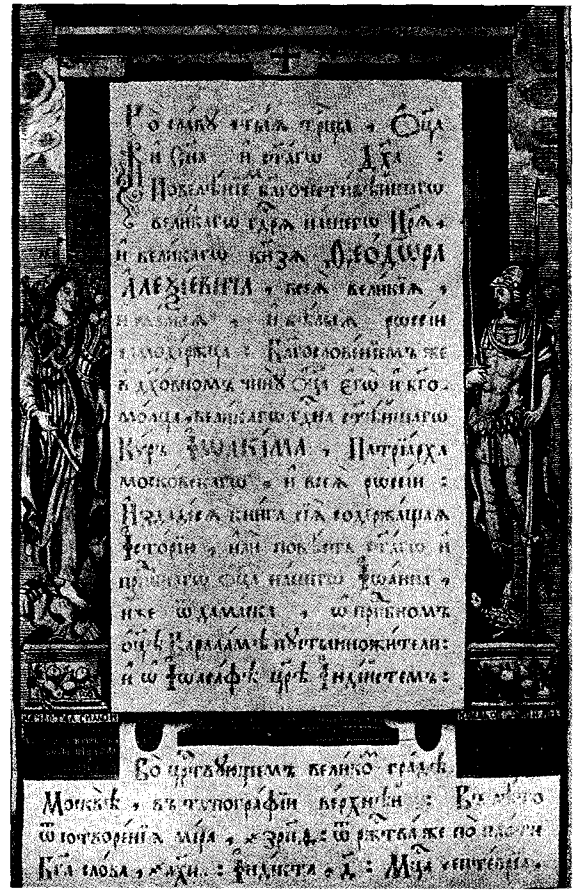


Plate 2. Title page of Simeon Polotskii [Simiaon Polatski], *History of Barlaam and Joasaph* (Moscow, 1681), designed by Simon Ushakov [from Anan'eva, *Ushakov*, no. 8]. See Cracraft, p. 95.

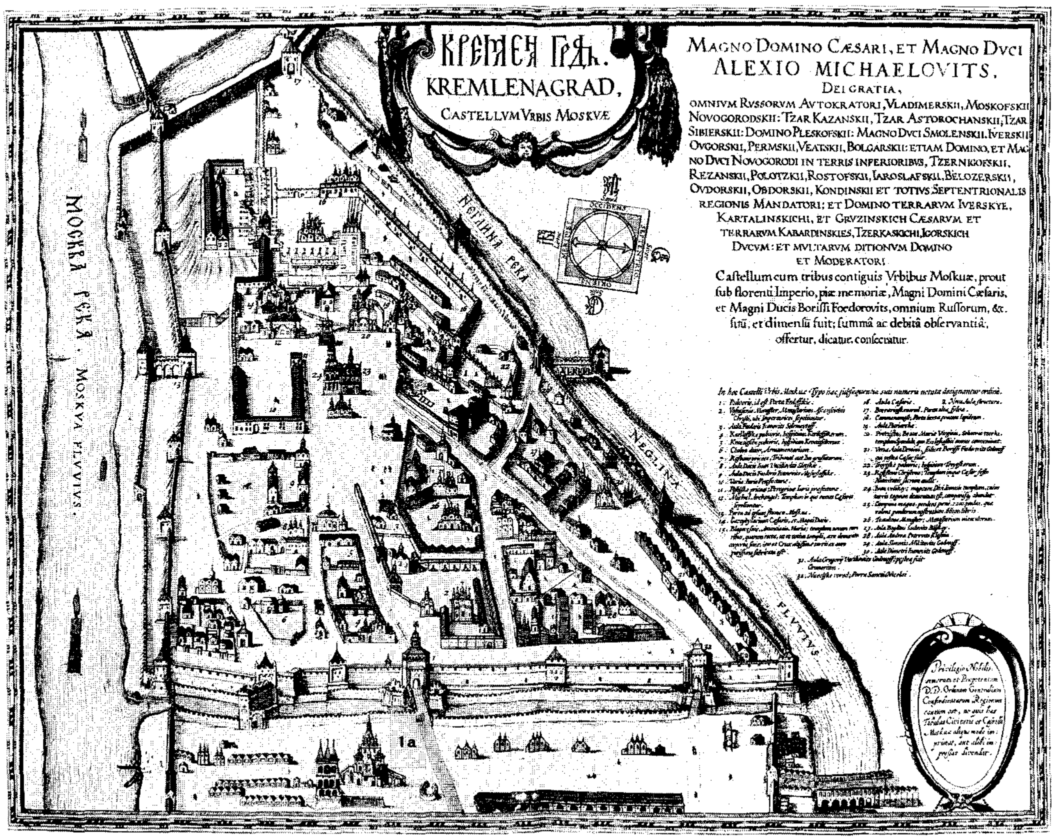


Plate 3. Plan of the Moscow Kremlin at the beginning of the 1600s [Kremlenagrad], produced for Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich. Supplement to M. V. Posokhin et al., eds., *Pamiatniki arkhitektury Moskvy. Kreml'. Kitai-gorod. Tsentral'nye ploshchadi* (Moscow, 1982). Reproduced with permission. 1. Savior (Frol) Gate. 1a. Cathedral of the Intercession on the Moat (Saint Basil's Cathedral), Red Square, and Lobnoe Mesto. 12. Cathedral of the Archangel Michael (royal necropolis). 14. Cathedral of the Annunciation (palace church). 20. Cathedral of the Dormition (cathedral church). See Flier, p. 120.



Plate 4. Barma and Postnik. *Cathedral of the Intercession on the Moat.* Red Square, Moscow. 1555–1561. Southwest elevation. The Chapel of the Entry into Jerusalem is at the head of the gallery staircase in the foreground. See Flier, p. 120.

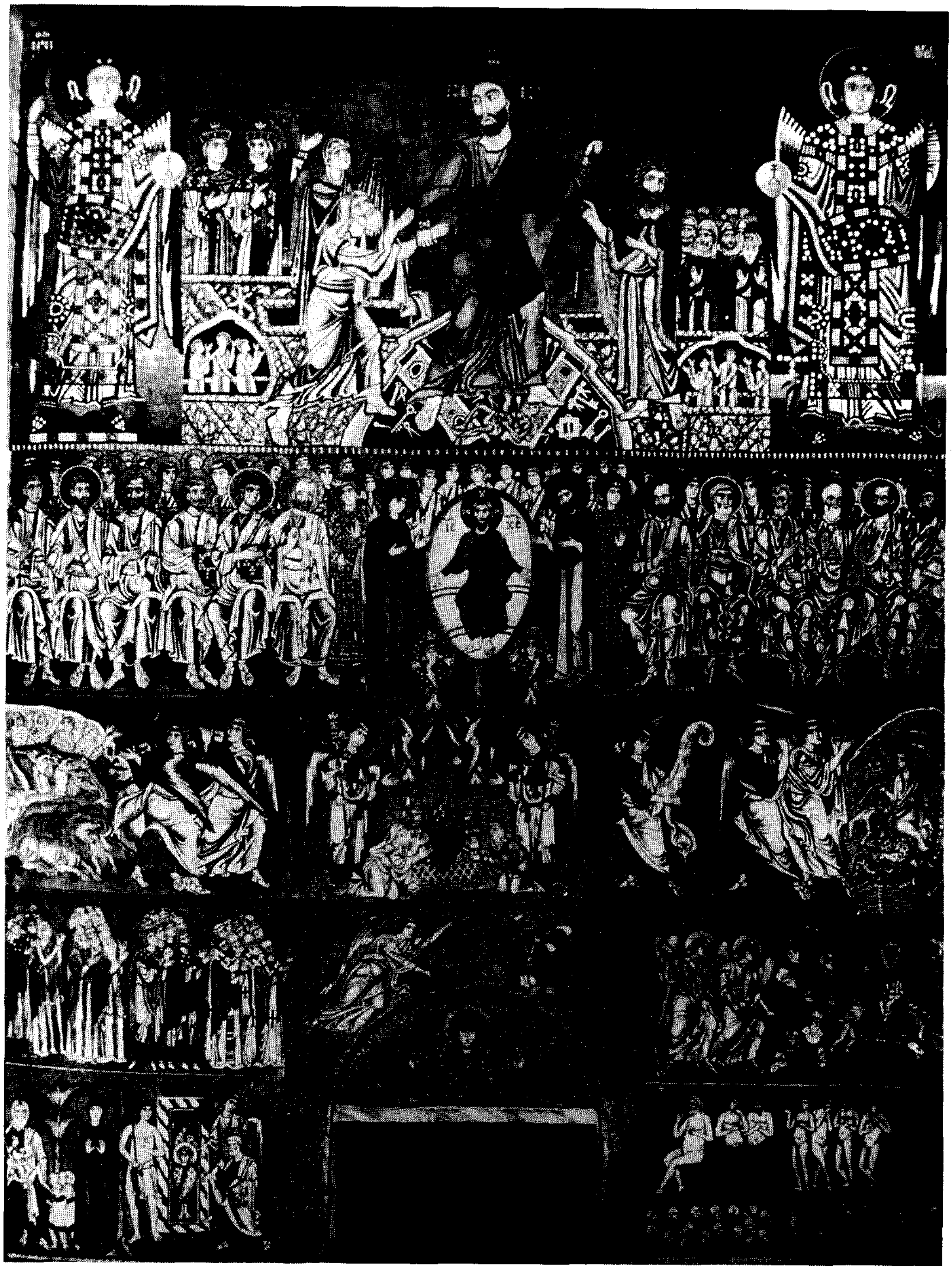


Plate 5. Last Judgment mosaic from Santa Maria Assunta, Torcello (Venice): from Irina Andreescu, "Torcello I," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972): pl. 15. See Goldfrank, p. 183.

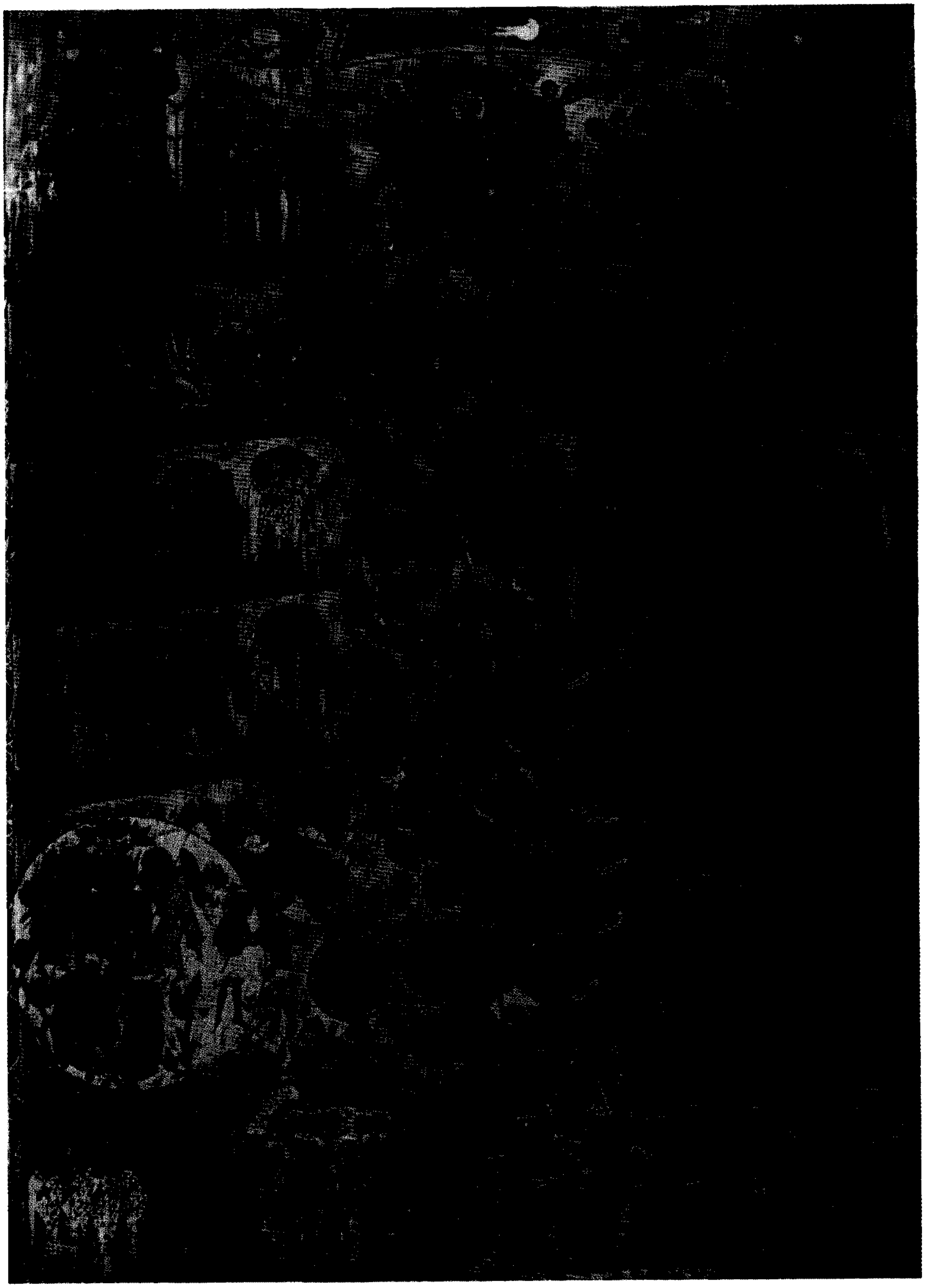


Plate 6. Last Judgment icon from Mšana (L'viv province): Hryhorij Lohvyn, *Ukraïns'kyj seredn'ovičnij žyvopys* (Kyiv, 1976) pl. 48. See Goldfrank, p. 185.



Plate 7. Last Judgment icon from Kirillov Monastery, Novgorod: Vladimir Gormin, Liudmila Yarosh (Jarosh), et al., *Novgorod. Art Treasures and Architectural Monuments, 11th–18th Centuries* (Leningrad, 1984), pl. 175. See Goldfrank, p. 185.

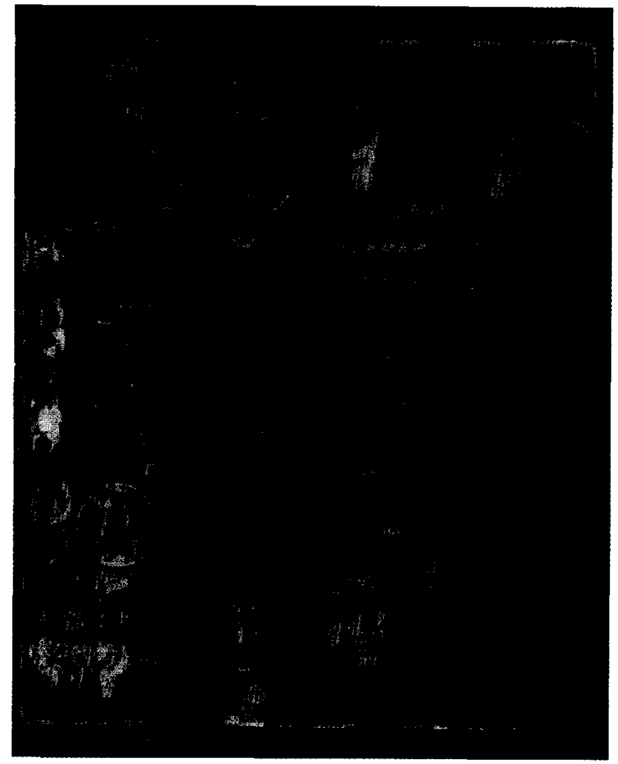


Plate 8. Last Judgment icon from the Boris and Gleb Church, Novgorod: Vladimir Gormin, Liudmila Yarosh (Jarosh), et al., *Novgorod. Art Treasures and Architectural Monuments, 11th–18th Centuries* (Leningrad, 1984), pl. 19. See Goldfrank, pp. 186, 197.

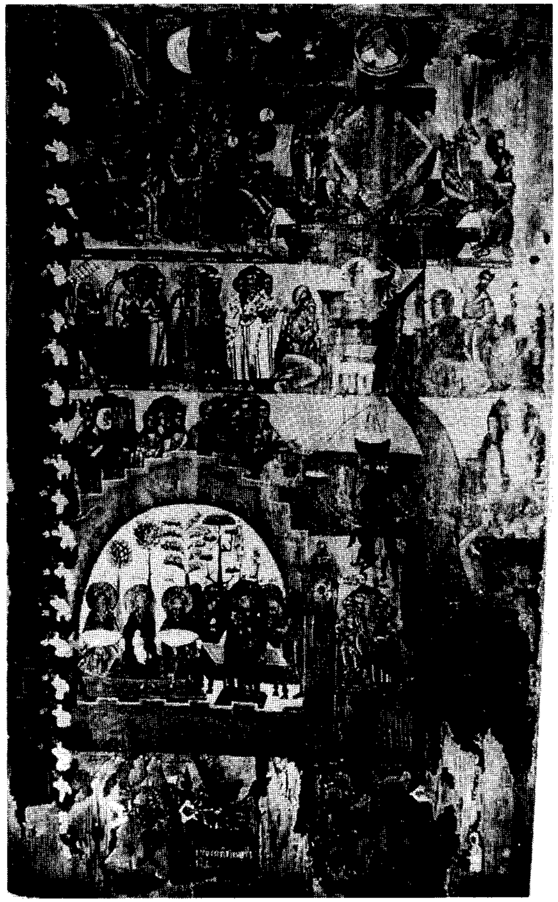


Plate 9. Last Judgment icon from Ruska Bystra (eastern Slovakia): Sviatoslav Hordynsky, *The Ukrainian Icon of the XIIth–XVIIth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1973), pl. 140. See Goldfrank, p. 186.



Plate 10. From Last Judgment frescos, Uspenskij Sobor, Vladimir: M. V. Alpatov, ed., *Andrej Rublev i ego epoxa* (Moscow, 1971), pl. 38. See Goldfrank, p. 188.

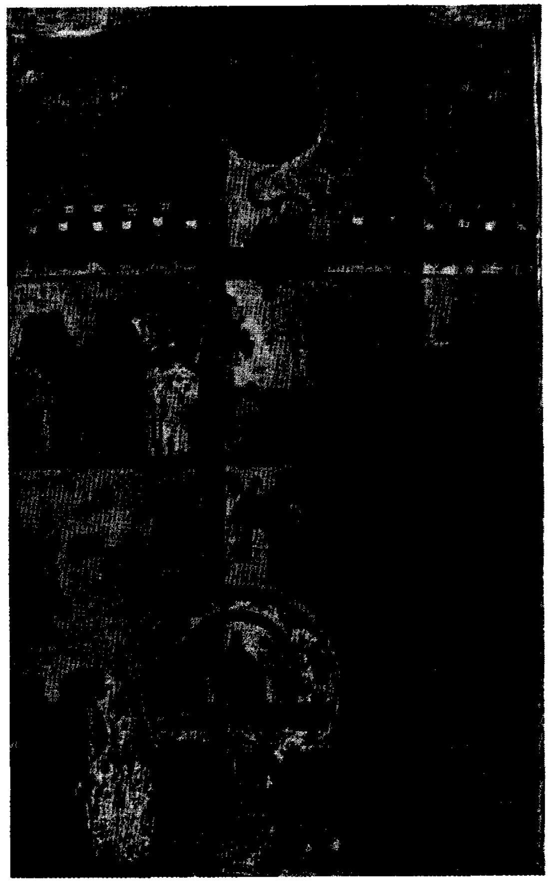


Plate 11. Last Judgment Icon from Uspenskij Sobor, Moscow: E. S. Smirnova, *Moskovskaja ikona xiv-xvii vekov* (Leningrad, 1988), pl. 113. See Goldfrank, pp. 189, 195.

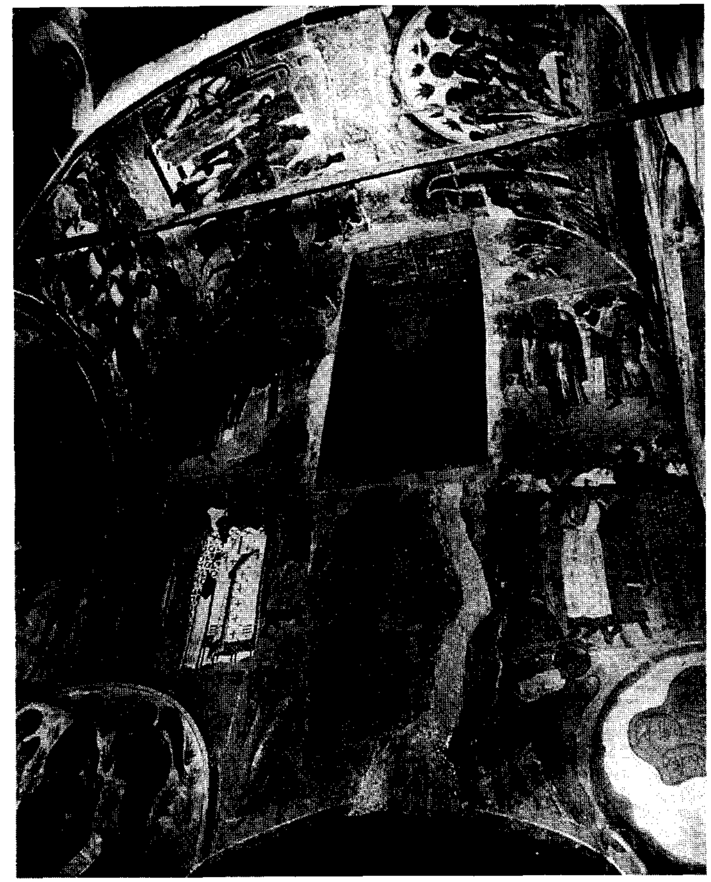


Plate 12. Dionisij's Last Judgment frescos, Ferapontov Monastery: Irina Danilova, *Freski Ferapontogo monastyrja/The Frescoes of St. Pherapont Monastery* (Moscow, 1971), left side, p. 30, pl. 57. See Goldfrank, p. 189.

Royal Weddings and Crimean Diplomacy: New Sources on Muscovite Chancellery Practice during the Reign of Vasilii III*

RUSSELL E. MARTIN

Despite the number of studies devoted to it, fundamental questions remain about the form and function of the Muscovite grand-princely chancellery in the first half of the sixteenth century. On the one hand, a great deal is known about this institution. We know, for example, the names of many of the *d'iaki* who worked in it and that they handled a wide range of scribal duties. On the other hand, we know very little about the organization of the chancellery, and even less about the mechanics of document production employed in it. Perhaps the best means of answering some of these fundamental questions is to publish and study the documentation that the grand-princely chancellery itself produced.

Amongst the oldest extant documents produced by the grand-princely chancellery were the rolls (*stolbtsy*) composed in connection with the weddings of Muscovy's grand princes and tsars. Yet, the most commonly cited publications of wedding texts—which appeared in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—were compiled on the basis of much later copies. Editors like Komarov, Novikov, and Sakharov preferred copies to originals for their wedding compilations probably because the sixteenth-century originals survive only in draft form (*chernoviki*) and most are fragmentary. By contrast, the later copies were based on more complete (and, to their eyes, more readable) versions of these texts.[1] Though valuable, these publications are not

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[1] M. Komarov, ed., *Opisanie trinattsati starinnykh svadeb, velikikh rossiiskikh kniazei i gosudarei* (Moscow, 1785); N. Novikov, ed., *Drevniaia rossiiskaia vivliofika* (hereafter *DRV*),

the best sources on chancellery activities since they reveal neither the process of document production nor the scribal conventions of the time.

It is only in recent years that scholars have turned their attention to the original manuscripts, producing some of the first truly scholarly editions of the earliest wedding texts. V. D. Nazarov, the first to do so, published a large number of ancillary texts relating to the weddings of Vasilii III and his sons, Ivan IV the Terrible and Iurii Vasil'evich.[2] A few years later, A. L. Khoroshkevich published the oldest surviving wedding-related *stolbets*—the 1495 inventory of Elena Ivanovna's dowry.[3] And M. E. Bychkova recently produced a critical edition of the three extant versions of the preliminary roster for Ivan IV's wedding with Anastasiia Iur'eva in 1547.[4] Publication of these original manuscripts has provided scholars with better accounts of these weddings, revealing that the later copies—and therefore the publications based on them—are exceedingly faulty. They also offer a rare glimpse into the grand-princely chancellery, providing new clues to the composition of the staff, its range of duties, and the scribal conventions of the first half of the sixteenth century.

In and amongst its rich collection of original dynastic documents, the Treasure Room of the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (RGADA) holds a draft of the ceremonial (*chin*) for the 1533 wedding of Prince Andrei Staritskii, the brother of Grand Prince Vasilii III.[5] The text is well known to archivists and historians. While it has never been published, the text was included in the published inventory (*opis'*) of documents in the Treasure Room.[6] In the course of collecting and describing all sixteenth- and seventeenth-century wedding documents, I discovered a new, previously unnoticed text on the reverse side of the Staritskii *chin*—a discovery which provides important new evidence for the history of Vasilii III's chancellery. This new text—a draft of a diplomatic letter (*gramota*) from Vasilii III to Islam-Girei, the one-time khan of the Crimea—was written shortly before the Staritskii *chin* and responds to what Vasilii deemed to be "unbecoming words"

2d ed., vol. 13 (Moscow, 1790), 1–247; N. Sakharov, *Skazaniia russkogo naroda*, vol. 2, bk. 6 (St. Petersburg, 1849), 32–101.

[2] V. D. Nazarov, "O strukture 'Gosudareva dvora' v seredine XVI v.," *Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo feodal'noi Rossii* (Moscow, 1975), 40–54; idem, "Svadebnye dela XVI veka," *Voprosy istorii* 10 (1976): 110–23.

[3] A. L. Khoroshkevich, "Iz istorii dvortsovogo deloproizvodstva kontsa XV v. Opis' pridanogo velikoi kniazhny Eleny Ivanovny 1495 g.," *Sovetskie arkhivy* 5 (1984): 29–34.

[4] M. E. Bychkova, *Sostav klassa feodalov Rossii v XVI v.* (Moscow, 1986), 139–43.

[5] RGADA, fond 135, section IV, rubric II, delo 4, listy 1^r, 1^v, 2^r, 3^r, 4^r, 5^r, 6–11.

[6] See L. V. Cherepnin, ed., *Gosudarstvennoe drevlekhranilishche khartii i rukopisei. Opis' dokumental'nykh materialov fonda 135* (Moscow, 1971), 95.

(*neprigozhie slova*) in a letter that Islam had previously sent to Vasilii.[7] That the Staritskii *chin* and the *gramota* to Islam should be found on the same paper, back-to-back, allows us to peer into the inner workings of the chancellery that produced these texts, and to explore the link between drafting, editing, and preserving diplomatic and wedding documents.

Historians have long recognized the link between diplomatic and dynastic texts. The Foreign Office (*Posol'skii prikaz*) served from the second half of the sixteenth through the seventeenth centuries as both the scriptorium and the repository of diplomatic correspondence and all sorts of dynastic documentation—including royal wills, princely treaties, and wedding ceremonials. When, precisely, these scribal functions came to be associated remains unclear. Some have made the case that they were associated only after the creation of the Foreign Office sometime in the middle of the sixteenth century. Others suggest it was much later, toward the end of the century, when the royal archive was fused with the archive of the Foreign Office.[8] The discovery of a diplomatic *gramota* and wedding *chin* on the same paper may be evidence that these two activities had already been linked inside the grand-princely chancellery. As early as 1533, the chancellery may have been compartmentalizing into cells of specialized activity. If so, one of these cells was evidently charged with producing diplomatic and dynastic texts, as the Foreign Office would be a few decades later. Thus the image conveyed by this discovery is that of a fairly cozy operation in the grand prince's chancellery: small, responsible for a variety of duties, and, alas, desperately short of paper.

The purpose of this paper is to present critical editions and a textual analysis of the Staritskii *chin* and the *gramota* to Islam-Girei. In the course of doing so, I shall enumerate some of the scribal conventions of the time that are apparent from these rough drafts. Thus by using one of the oldest extant *stolbtsy* that it produced, this paper will offer a glimpse into the grand-princely chancellery in the first half of the sixteenth century—before the creation of the Foreign Office and the formation of a more elaborate chancellery (*prikaz*) system later in the sixteenth century.

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[7] RGADA, fond 135, section IV, rubric II, delo 4, listy 2^v, 3^v, 4^v, and 5^v. The description of the Staritskii *chin* in the inventory (*opis'*) for the Treasure Room at RGADA does not mention the *gramota* to Islam.

[8] For example, compare S. A. Belokurov, *O posol'skom prikaze* (Moscow, 1906), 26; and A. A. Zimin, *Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossii XVI stoletiia. Opyt rekonstruktsii*, 3 vols. (Moscow, 1978), 2:309; with S. O. Shmidt, *Rossiiskoe gosudarstvo v seredine XVI stoletiia* (Moscow, 1984), 182. See also A. K. Leont'ev *Obrazovanie prikaznoi sistemy upravleniia v Russkom gosudarstve* (Moscow, 1961), 136–52.

THE STARITSKII WEDDING *CHIN*

Only toward the end of his life and reign, and after the birth of two sons had secured the succession, did Grand Prince Vasilii III of Moscow finally allow his youngest and least troublesome brother, Andrei Staritskii, to marry. For his brother's bride, Vasilii III chose Evfrosiniia Khovanskaia, a scion of an established, though politically peripheral princely family. Evfrosiniia is perhaps most often remembered—thanks to the efforts of most of Ivan's biographers, and, of course, Eisenstein—as the archvillain in the crisis over the oath to the infant Tsarevich Dmitrii during Ivan IV's near-fatal illness in 1553. Descriptions of the Staritskii wedding—both the original *stolbets* published below, and later copies—fail to provide the date of the wedding, reporting only that Andrei petitioned Vasilii III for permission to marry in January 1533.[9] Other sources, however, show that the wedding took place on February 2, just ten months before Vasilii III's death.[10]

The wedding text published below (Text III) represents the only extant original manuscript description of the Staritskii wedding. It contains the wedding ceremonial (*svadebnyi chin*), a detailed description of the three days of elaborate rituals which constituted a Muscovite royal wedding. From this text, we learn the location of the several banquets, the seating arrangements at these banquets, the composition of processions to and from the various Kremlin palaces and monasteries, and the names of the court elite who performed ritual duties—to mention only some of the more historically important particulars of the wedding. Compared with other surviving sixteenth-century wedding texts, the Staritskii *chin* is one of the more complete and historically valuable texts of its kind to survive to our day.[11]

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[9] Most versions of the wedding description have a blank space after "*genvaria*" where the day should be. Only the version published by N. Sakharov provides the precise date of Prince Andrei's petition: January 10, 7041/1533. See his *Skazaniia*, 43.

[10] The L'vov Chronicle and many copies of the Voskresenskii and Nikon Chronicles give the date February 22, but this is clearly a scribal error. According to all of these chronicle accounts, the wedding took place on the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee, a Church feast which "moves" in accordance with the Paschal cycle. In the year 7041 (1532/1533), it evidently fell on February 2. See *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* (hereafter, *PSRL*), 38 vols. to date (St. Petersburg/Leningrad and Moscow), vol. 8 (1859), 282, n. 1; vol. 13 (1904), 68, n. 1; and vol. 20, pt. 1 (1910), 415. The Extended Version of the Military Muster Books (*Razriadnye knigi*) confirms this dating, reporting that the wedding took place on the Feast of the Presentation of the Lord (*Sretenie*), which is canonically "fixed" to February 2. See: N. G. Savich, ed., *Razriadnaia kniga 1475–1605* (hereafter, *PR*), vol. 1 (Moscow, 1977), 233. In the year 7041, these two feasts obviously coincided—a common occurrence for which Orthodox liturgical rubrics make allowance. See *Tipikon, si est' Ustav*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1992), 454, 467–69.

[11] Original manuscripts survive for Vasilii III's wedding with Elena Glinskaia, Ivan IV's wedding with Anastasiia Iur'eva, Iurii Vasil'evich's wedding with Ul'iana Paletskaia, and

The *stolbets* is undated, but was clearly written and edited *after* the wedding, probably within a few days of February 2, 1533. Typically, wedding texts drawn up before the event were characterized by verbs in the future tense or infinitive, with the names of attendants in the dative case. At this stage of document production, the text was often called a *nariad*, or "charge," the dative-case-plus-infinitive indicating who was to perform what assignment. Texts composed after the event, as in the case of the Staritskii *chin*, are distinguishable from *nariady* in that verbs appear in the past tense and names in the nominative case (except where required by the rules of verbal government). Texts in this form are sometimes called *razriady*—meaning, as the change in prefix suggests, something that has been *dis*charged.[12] This term can be confusing, however, since *razriad* was a term with several applications. It could designate not only post-factum versions of a wedding *chin*, as we use it here, but also the more concise wedding rosters that were included in Military Registry Books (*Razriadnye knigi*).[13] Of course, the term *razriad* most commonly referred to a military "muster," which had no connection whatsoever with wedding texts. Bearing these cautionary notes in mind, the grammatical features of the text published below establish it as a *chin* in the *razriad* format.

The Staritskii text demonstrates the clear differences between *chiny* of the *nariad* and *razriad* formats since, due to unusual circumstances, it contains elements of both. The original first and last folios of the manuscript—containing the very beginning and very end of the text—are missing. Most likely, they were either lost or for some reason deliberately removed at some early point in the editing process. The missing fragments were retrieved from an earlier version of the *chin*, probably a *nariad*, and copied onto the back of the first remaining folio (now folio 1^v). The passages retrieved from the *nariad*

Vladimir Staritskii's second wedding (to Evdokiia Odoevskaia), but are either tiny fragments or preliminary versions of the texts. All other known descriptions of sixteenth-century weddings are later copies, most made in 1624 or the eighteenth century. See Cherepnin, ed., *Gosudarstvennoe drevlekhranilishche*, 90, 95, 99, 102–103, 117, and 118. See also Russell E. Martin, "Dynastic Marriage in Muscovy, 1500–1729," Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1996, 289–344, 346–49, 356-64, 366–73.

[12] This distinction between formats remains a feature of wedding texts even in the seventeenth century. Compare, e.g., the numerous copies of the *chin* for Aleksei Mikhailovich's first wedding in 1648 (*nariad* format: RGADA, fond 135, section IV, rubric II, delo 21, listy 72–130; delo 23, listy 1–40, 41–73, 74–134; *razriad* format: RGADA, fond 135, section IV, rubric II, delo 24, listy 1–61).

[13] V. I. Buganov, ed., *Razriadnaia kniga 1475–1598* (Moscow, 1966), 9–17 (hereafter *GR*); *PR*, vol. 1, 63, 192–96, 233–37, 322–28, 337–41, 367–69, 457–61, 479–83, 485–89. Novikov published both the Staritskii *chin* and the wedding muster. Compare *DRV*, 19–27 and 27–29. For examples of the terms *nariad* and *razriad* designating types of wedding texts, see, e.g., Sakharov, *Skazaniia*, 36–74.

render the Staritskii wedding *chin* a complete text. The restored introduction—lines that include the date Prince Andrei petitioned Vasilii to marry, the bride's name, and Metropolitan Daniil's blessing of the union—ends precisely at that point where the old text begins. A marker at the top of folio 1^r seems to have been placed there to indicate that the first few lines of the text could be found elsewhere, namely on the reverse. The second insert on folio 1^v, representing the end of the text, contains the names of servitors who sat "opposite the boyars' wives" (*protiv boiaryn'*). In this instance, however, the union of the insert with the main text is not seamless. Instead of simply providing the names missing from the main text, the insert repeats the entire list, probably so as to be sure that no names were overlooked by the copyist.

The insertions on folio 1^v offer a glimpse of how the Staritskii *chin* may have looked in versions of the text written before the February 2 wedding. Thus in the second insert, the names of servitors charged to sit "opposite the boyars' wives" appear, as we might expect, in the dative case. There are formulaic differences as well. The fragment retrieved from the *nariad* begins "*I prigovoril kniaz' veliki sideti protiv boiaryn' boiarom:...*," whereas the main text has simply "*A protiv boiaryn' sideli:...*." Finally, the earlier version of the *chin* evidently had at least one name (Mikhail Tuchkov) listed in a different order (see Text III, folio 1^v).[14]

Inasmuch as the Staritskii *chin* is a draft, both the main text and the fragments retrieved from the *nariad* are edited. The text in fact contains two levels of editing. Differences between the edits and the main text are chiefly stylistic, but some involve important factual revisions. For example, one version portrays a more active role for Vasilii III in the selection of Andrei's bride. It reports that Vasilii III "commanded him, the prince, to take Princess Evfrosiniia, the daughter of Prince Andrei Khovanskii." These words are replaced with the statement that "they [Vasilii and Andrei, presumably] loved the maiden Princess Evfrosiniia," suggesting some degree of collaboration in the choice.[15] The editors also made important changes in the wedding roster as the text went through revisions. The main text (rendered as plain script in Text III) charges the boyar Ivan V. Shuiskii and the grand prince's own *d'iak*, Men'shii Putiatin, to summon the groom to come "*na mesto*" just before the

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[14] The first insert, restoring the introductory lines of the text, does not exhibit the characteristic differences between *nariady* and *razriady*. Verbs are in the past tense here, and names in the nominative case. This is because they describe events that took place a month before the wedding, and therefore likely before work had begun on the wedding *nariad*. Thus these passages probably had past-tense verbs and names in the nominative case even in the *nariad*.

[15] RGADA, fond 135, section IV, rubric II, delo 4, list 1^v. Later copies change "they loved" (*poliubili*) to "he [Andrei] loved" (*poliubil*). See, e.g., *DRV*, 19.

Church service. The edits (and, it should be noted, all subsequent copies) list only Shuiskii. Similarly, into the main text was appended a new line reporting that Ivan Lykov had been assigned to walk with Prince Andrei's "bolster" (*zgolov'e*). Ivan, however, was evidently replaced at the last minute by his brother, Andrei; and so we find Ivan's name scratched out and Andrei's name inscribed between the lines.[16]

These editorial changes suggest that, while the source for the post-factum (*razriad*) version of the text was most likely a *nariad*, the text was evidently checked against some other source, perhaps an eye-witness to the events or some working list of names. They also suggest that scribes made a copy of the *nariad*, mechanically changing verb tense and cases as they went along. It was onto this clean copy of the *razriad* that last-minute corrections were introduced.

The text that emerges from the two edits clearly represents a near-final version of the *chin*, including the same elements and sharing many of the same textual features as later copies. In addition to this lone original manuscript, the Staritskii *chin* can be found in a number of manuscript and published wedding compilations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Six manuscript compilations at the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences (BAN) in St. Petersburg, a similar compilation at the Iaroslavl' Regional Library (IaOB), and the Orlov Copy of the Military Registry Books in the Russian National Library (RNB)—all include the Staritskii *chin* as one of the twenty-odd wedding texts assembled together.[17] Dates for these compilations range from the third quarter of the seventeenth century to the last decades of the eighteenth century. Wedding compilations published by the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century publishers Komarov, Novikov, and

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[16] RGADA, fond 135, section IV, rubric II, delo 4, list 6. Andrei's name is repeated in all later copies of the text.

[17] For the six BAN compilations, see: BAN, 16.15.15, listy 78–87; BAN, 32.4.21, listy 60–66; BAN, 21.10.25, listy 15^{V}–23^{V}; BAN, 31.6.40, listy 11^{V}–15^{V}; BAN, 31.7.20, listy 10–16; BAN, 32.5.11, listy 13^{V}–19. For the IaOB compilation, see: IaOB, RK319031V, listy 20–31. For the Orlov Copy, see: RNB (formerly, GPB), Q.IV.53, listy 34–46^{V}. The BAN compilations are described in *Opisanie rukopisnogo otdela Biblioteki Akademii nauk SSSR*, vol. 3, pt. 1 (Moscow-Leningrad, 1959), 627–39; and Bychkova, *Sostav*, 107–112. The IaOB compilation had previously been incorrectly identified as a copy of the wedding descriptions published in DRV. See: A. A. Sevast'ianova, E. V. Sinitsyna, and G. P. Fediuk, "Obzor kollektsii rukopisei i knig Kirillicheskoi pechati Iaroslavskoi oblastnoi biblioteki imeni N. A. Nekrasova," *Arkheograficheskii ezhegodnik za 1986* (Moscow, 1987), 258. The Orlov Copy is described in V. I. Buganov, *Razriadnye knigi poslednei chetverti XV—nachala XVII v.* (Moscow, 1962), 87–88, 188–98.

Sakharov also include the Staritskii *chin*, and prove to be very close variants of the BAN, IaOB, and RNB manuscripts.[18]

The number of common readings shared by the original *stolbets* and the later copies strongly suggests that the *stolbets*—or more likely, the clean copy made from it—served as the source for all later copies of the Staritskii *chin*.[19] Variations between the original and the later copies are few, and mostly stylistic in nature—the transposition of verbs and modifiers, the replacement of proper nouns for pronouns, or mild reformulations of set phrases.[20] Three variations, however, are substantive and worth noting here. First, several later copies of the *chin*—all clearly descending from a common, faulty protograph—contain incomplete lists of boyars designated to sit "opposite the boyars' wives." The list of names appears twice in the text (see folios 8 and 11 of Text III) and should be identical. But in copies with this defect, Prince B. I Gorbatyi and Prince I. V. Shuiskii are systematically omitted from the lists—Gorbatyi from the second list only, his kinsman Shuiskii altogether.[21] These same defective copies also contain an extra line at the very end of the text, probably introduced as a scribal note in the common protograph and mistakenly included in later copies as part of the basic text: "*A korovainikov i svechnikov i fonarnikov ne pisano*."[22] Second, the *stolbets* reports that the groom, Prince Andrei, was among those who received gifts (*shirinki*) from the hand of Vasilii III's wife, Elena (Glinskaia). In later copies, however, it is

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[18] M. Komarov, ed., *Opisanie*, 27–40; *DRV*, 19–27; and Sakharov, *Skazaniia*, 43–47. The wedding muster was included in the Military Registry Books (*Razriadnye knigi*), though the Extended Version (*PR*) contains an anomalous version of the text. See: *GR*, 13–14; and *PR*, vol. 1, 233–37. See also V. I. Buganov, *Razriadnye knigi poslednei chetverti XV—nachala XVII v.*, 174–78, 180.

[19] Except, it seems, *PR*. See Martin, "Dynastic Marriage," 510–15.

[20] To take just two examples from the first folio of the *chin*: "*Khotim brata zheniti, i ty b poekhal ko mne i k bratu moemu ko kniaziu Andreiu na svad'bu*" is rendered "*Khotim Andreia brata zhenit', i ty b brat nash poekhal ko mne i k Andreiu bratu na svad'bu*" in *DRV*, 19; "*A s kniagineiu velel u nee byti*" is rendered "*A u kniazhny velel byti*" in *DRV*, 20.

[21] Defective copies include: BAN, 31.6.40, listy 14–14^{V}, 15–15^{V}; BAN, 31.7.20, listy 14, 15^{V}; BAN, 32.5.11, listy 17^{V}, 19; IaOB, RK319031V, listy 28, 31; Komarov, *Opisanie*, 35–36, 39–40; *DRV*, 25, 27; Sakharov, *Skazaniia*, 46, 47. In BAN, 21.10.25, the first list of boyars is complete, though like the other defective copies, Shuiskii and Gorbatyi are omitted from the second list (see listy 21–21^{V} and 23^{V}). The lists of boyars sitting opposite the boyars' wives are complete only in the original *stolbets*; in BAN, 16.15.15, listy 84^{V}, 87; and in BAN, 32.4.21, listy 64–64^{V}, 66.

[22] This line is not repeated in those copies with complete lists of boyars, evidently because they descend from the *stolbets* through a different protograph. Sakharov's text is unique. It omits Shuiskii and Gorbatyi like the other defective texts, yet does not include the extra line. A stemma for the *stolbets* and for all of the most important copies appears in Martin, "Dynastic Marriage," 540.

Andrei's older brother, Iurii, who received the gift.[23] While the change from Andrei to Iurii may indicate an actual adjustment in the ritual, one could easily imagine that a scribe might, out of force of habit, write the name Andrei here. Finally, it might be noted that the *stolbets* does not always include patronymics for those named in lists, whereas all of the later copies consistently provide them.[24] It may be the case that scribes, who surely knew the full names of the court's most prominent figures, elected to omit patronymics to save time and space and inserted them later as the text approached final-version form.

A word should be also said about the best-known and most widely available copies of the Staritskii wedding *chin*—the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century publications of Komarov, Novikov, and Sakharov. Komarov's text, the first to appear in print, was evidently based on an incomplete copy of the manuscript. Missing is a large portion of text, roughly equal to the amount of text that might fit onto a single folio, describing the rituals and processions just before the Church service.[25] Novikov's text, published a few years later, is perhaps the best known copy of the *chin*. It is also the least reliable. In addition to problems with its lists of boyars, Novikov's text contains no less than four eye skips, each altering points of fact in significant ways.[26] And while it contains many details about the wedding not found elsewhere, even Sakharov's important text is not flawless—also omitting names from the list of boyars who sat "opposite the boyars' wives."[27]

When "Andrei" became "Iurii," when the patronymics were inserted, and when some of the various stylistic changes were introduced are all fundamental questions for the manuscript history of this text. It is entirely possible, as will be seen in the case of the *gramota* to Islam, that scribes in the grand prince's chancellery produced a clean copy from this *stolbets*. This clean copy, which does not survive, undoubtedly underwent still further revisions. Perhaps it was here that some of the different readings we noted in the later copies were

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[23] Cf. Text III, list 5 and *DRV*, 23.

[24] Cf. Text III, listy 11 and 1^{V}; and *DRV*, 27.

[25] Cf. Komarov, *Opisanie*, 33 (incorrectly paginated 24) and RGADA, fond 135, section IV, rubric II, delo 4, listy 4–6.

[26] The first eye skip eliminates the name of the bride's second "best man" (*druzhka*), T. V. Borisov—cf. RGADA, fond 135, section IV, rubric II, delo 4, list 1^{V}; and *DRV*, 20. The second eliminates Andrei Lykov, who carried the groom's *zgolov'e*—cf., RGADA, fond 135, section IV, rubric II, delo 4, list 6; and *DRV*, 23. The third omits the words "*k sobe, a kniaz' Ondrei poekhal k sobe*," confusing Vasilii III's and Prince Andrei's locations just after the wedding—cf., RGADA, fond 135, section IV, rubric II, delo 4, list 7; and *DRV*, 24. And the fourth eye skip omits the line "*ezdil po manastyrem. A kniaz' velikii u sobia zaftokal*"—cf., RGADA, fond 135, section IV, rubric II, delo 4, list 7; and *DRV*, 24.

[27] Sakharov, *Skazaniia*, 46, 47.

introduced. Whatever the case, it is clear that the *chin* published below represents an intermediary stage in the evolution of this text. And inasmuch as it includes fragments of the *nariad* yet stands close to the later copies, the original *stolbets* allows for an examination of the Staritskii *chin* at three points in its evolution: before the wedding (the *nariad*), in mid-course of the editing work (Text III), and the final or near-final version (the later copies).

THE *GRAMOTA* TO ISLAM-GIREI

Concealed on the back of the Staritskii wedding *chin* is a text of a very different sort—a fragment of a draft letter from Vasilii III to the Crimean Khan Islam-Girei (Text I below). This text represents one of the oldest diplomatic (*posol'skie*) rolls, and certainly one of the oldest Crimean rolls ever discovered.[28] And while the final version (*belovik*) of this text has long been known to scholars as part of the Crimean Diplomatic Books, the draft was evidently never before noticed by handlers of the Staritskii *chin*.[29]

The *gramota* to Islam comes from a particularly chaotic period in Muscovite-Crimean relations. In the early spring of 1532, Islam-Girei was exiled from the Crimea by his uncle Khan Saadat-Girei, undoubtedly because of Islam's constant attempts to seize the throne. Exiled and wandering "in the fields beyond the Don," Islam appealed to Vasilii III in late April 1532. Through his servant Kudoiar, Islam offered to become Vasilii's client, pledging himself as Vasilii's "son" and asking Vasilii to "grant him a place in his [Vasilii's] land." In response, Vasilii immediately dispatched his *syn boiarskii* Prince Mikhail I. Kubenskii to Islam; and the chronicles report that it was before him that Islam swore allegiance to Vasilii.[30] From this point, Vasilii could and evidently did reckon Islam as one of his clients, or in the terminology of Muscovite-Steppe relations, a "son."

But it was an unsettled time in Crimean politics. Within a month, Saadat-Girei had abdicated and retired to the Sublime Porte; and Islam had stepped back into Crimean affairs, assuming now the title khan.[31] According to

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[28] On the dates of surviving *Posol'skie knigi* and *stolbtsy*, see N. M. Rogozhin, *Obzor Posol'skikh knig iz fondov-kollektsii, khraniashchikhsia v TsGADA—konets XV-nachalo XVIII v.* (Moscow, 1990), 3–52 (especially 30–33).

[29] The final version of the letter is preserved in RGADA, fond 123, *Krymskie dela*, delo 7, listy 2–4^{v}.

[30] *PSRL*, vol. 8, 278–79; vol. 13, 60–61, 70; vol. 20, pt. 1, 412. See also A. A. Zimin, *Rossiia na poroge novogo vremeni* (Moscow, 1972), 379–80.

[31] Brief biographies for Saadat and Islam, as well as other members of the Girei dynasty, are available in: Henry H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th Century*, pt. II: *The So-Called Tartars of Russia and Central Asia* (London, 1880), 447–49; and Alexandre

chronicle accounts, Vasilii received word of Islam's ascension to the Crimean throne from one of Islam's trusted servitors, Manmush-Fyz (or Munmush-Fyz). When exactly Manmush arrived in Moscow is uncertain. His arrival is undated in the chronicles, but falls between entries dated November 7 and 18, 1532.[32] But inasmuch as some chronicle entries are sometimes thematically, not chronologically arranged, the date of Manmush's arrival in Moscow could be later—perhaps late December or early January.[33] Whenever he arrived, it is clear that he was still in Moscow when a second envoy from Islam, Budalei-murza, appeared at Vasilii's court sometime in middle or late January 1533.[34]

If we know that Manmush came to Moscow to announce that Islam had become khan, the reason for Budalei's mission is far less clear. The chronicles only report his arrival, and the *gramota* Budalei brought with him does not survive. Our only source for the goals of Budalei's mission is the *gramota* published here (Texts I and II)—that is, Vasilii's response to the letter brought by Budalei.

The *gramota* marks a moment of crisis in relations between Vasilii and Islam. It begins by acknowledging Islam's ascension and expresses Vasilii's pleasure at having his "son"—and now as a result of Islam's elevation to royal rank, "brother"—on the throne of one of Muscovy's most important neighbors (and rivals). The *gramota* next reports that Vasilii received Islam's envoy Manmush, and was about to dispatch him and the *syn boiarskii*, Vasilii S. Levashev, with an official congratulatory *gramota*, when Budalei suddenly appeared with a new letter from Islam. This new letter evidently contained what Vasilii deemed to be "unbecoming words" (*neprigozhie slova*) and "evil speech" (*likhaia rech'*).[35] What exactly these words and speech were, is never mentioned. But we might speculate that, because Vasilii's reproach about Islam's "unbecoming words" appears in the context of mutual guarantees to be "friends to each other's friends" and "enemies of each other's enemies," Islam

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Bennigsen, et. al., eds., *Le Khanat de Crimée dans les Archives du Musee du Palais de Topkapi* (Paris, 1978), 325–28. The best general treatment of the history of this period remains the classic work by V. D. Smirnov, *Krymskoe khanstvo pod verkhovenstvom Otomanskoi porty do nachala XVIII veka* (St. Petersburg, 1887).

[32] *PSRL*, vol. 8, 281; vol. 13, 66; vol. 20, pt. 1, 414.

[33] Zimin noted how entries in these accounts can be out of sequence. See his *Rossiia na poroge*, 380, n. 49.

[34] Budalei is sometimes rendered Budai in these accounts, but this form is most likely a variant or corruption. Not all editors of the chronicles understood that Budalei and Budai were one and the same. Compare *PSRL*, vol. 14 (1910), *Ukazatel' k Nikonovskoi letopisi*, 21; with *PSRL*, vol. 20, pt. 2, *Ukazatel' imen, L'vovskaia Letopis'*, 628. The date of Budalei's arrival is deduced from the date of the *gramota* written in response to his mission. See Text II below. In the chronicles, Budalei's arrival falls between events dated November 18 and December 23. See *PSRL*, vol. 8, 281; vol. 13, 67; vol. 20, pt. 1, 415.

[35] See Text I, listy 2^{v} and 3^{v}; and Text II, list 3.

may have been attempting to redefine the relationship between himself and Vasilii. Islam, now as Crimean khan, may have found the former "father-son" relationship no longer appropriate given his new station. Islam—or more likely the great clans of the Crimea—may not have been willing to live under an agreement made when the new khan had been a desperate exile roaming the steppe in search of patrons and protection.

Whatever the issue, Vasilii felt compelled to rethink his immediate plans. His *gramota* to Islam makes it clear that, instead of sending Levashev back with Manmush with congratulations, Vasilii would send a far lesser servitor, the Cossack Iangadyr' Kozhukhov, to demand a retraction of Islam's "unbecoming words." Budalei, as the bearer of the objectionable letter, was to remain in Moscow. Iangadyr' was dispatched with the final draft of the *gramota* published below (Text II)—a clear statement of Vasilii's displeasure with Islam. The *gramota* sent with Iangadyr' (and Manmush) is dated 27 January 1533; they presumably departed on or about that time. The closing lines of the *gramota* promise to return Budalei and dispatch Levashev with congratulations to Islam only when Iangadyr' brings a letter from Islam reaffirming his former relationship with Vasilii.

But the political situation in the Crimea changed yet again. By the time Iangadyr' arrived in the Crimea, Islam had surrendered his throne to his uncle Sahib-Girei, who had been appointed by the Ottoman Sultan. Islam remained in the Crimea, demoted, as it were, to *kalga* (or major-domo). Vasilii learned of the new political alignments in the Crimea when Iangadyr' returned to Moscow in June 1533. And consistent with what he had promised in the *gramota* published here, Vasilii immediately dispatched Levashev to congratulate the new khan—only now it would be Sahib-Girei, not Islam, who would receive these congratulations.[36]

The *gramota* sent with Iangadyr' was copied into Book Seven of the Crimean Diplomatic Books, which records contact between Muscovy and the Crimea in the year 7041 (1532/33). This version, probably copied directly from the letter handed to Iangadyr', represents the final, official version of the text. The text which appears on the back of the Staritskii *chin*, on the other hand, represents a very early draft. As in the case of the *chin*, the draft of the *gramota* contains two layers of editing and interpolation. Despite these changes, the version of the text that emerges from these edits (Text I below) varies in important ways from the final version of the text that found its way into the Crimean Diplomatic Books (Text II). Evidently, the editors of the *gramota* remained

[36] *PSRL* 8:283; 13:69; 20, pt. 1, p. 416; Zimin, *Rossiia na poroge*, 387–88; Bennigsen et al., eds., *Le Khanate de Crimée*, 327–28.

unsatisfied with the draft as it stood at the end of the two edits. Since this copy of the text was already heavily marked, they made a clean copy where the editing work could continue. This second rough draft, sadly, does not survive. Indeed, it is probably only by virtue of the fact that the first rough draft was written on the back of the *chin* that it survived at all. But even without the second draft, we have enough evidence here to determine what ideas were important to convey in this letter and thus came to be emphasized in the final draft.

All versions of the text summon Islam to remember the oath he made to Vasilii before the *syn boiarskii* Prince Mikhail I. Kubenskii. All versions define the terms of their relationship—that Vasilii and Islam had, in the words of the text, become "father and son," and that they would be "a friend" (*drug*) to the other's friend, and "an enemy" (*nedrug*) to the other's enemy. And all versions declare Vasilii's commitment to the relationship and seek to learn Islam's intentions. But the tone and focus of the letter changed considerably as it was edited. The two layers of editing in the draft (Text I) produce a text that emphasizes Vasilii's steadfast commitment to his relationship with Islam. The tone here is tactful and circumspect. At one point, Vasilii asks Islam to reply *whether* he wishes to continue the relationship as before. The final version, far less diplomatic in tone, focuses on Islam's broken word. It replaces declarations of Vasilii's commitment to the oath with reminders of Islam's obligations, and adds a menacing new line suggesting that "you tsar [i.e., Islam] should remember our friendship to you." Thus the letter that Islam received was a sharper, more direct statement of Vasilii's displeasure with his Crimean client than was originally penned.

The changes in tone and focus were achieved by carefully cutting and pasting select passages. Thus, for example, the earliest draft emphasizes the father-son relationship between Vasilii and Islam that was established when Islam met with Kubenskii. Later drafts change this emphasis by the insertion of passages where Vasilii and Islam pledge to be friends to friends and enemies to enemies. In addition, the editor altered the tone of the first draft by changing the order of the pronouns "our" and "your" in these same passages so as to make the letter end with Islam's obligations, not Vasilii's.

These texts give a fairly good sense of the advanced editing skills of *d'iaki* in the grand-princely chancellery. They show that *d'iaki* were an experienced and capable lot who had developed procedures to compose and edit complex texts of widely varying types. As the comparison of the draft with the final version reveals, one of these procedures was to take especially complex and important texts through a number of drafts, making, as it were, clean copies so that the editing work could continue.

THE GRAND-PRINCELY CHANCELLERY

It is not by chance that a wedding description and a diplomatic letter should be found on two sides of the same paper, the product of the same scriptorium and the same scribal staff. From the mid-sixteenth through the third quarter of the seventeenth century, a system of document production evolved which linked the Foreign Office, which wrote the *chiny*, with the Muster Chancellery (*Razriadnyi prikaz*), which gathered the names of Duma members and lesser court figures available for service at the wedding. Thus it was Ivan M. Viskovatyi, the first head of the Foreign Office, who organized Prince Vladimir Staritskii's wedding in 1555;[37] Vasilii Shchelkalov—heading at different times both the Foreign Office and the Muster Chancellery—who organized Ivan's wedding with Marfa Sobakina in 1571, and the Artsymagnus wedding in 1573;[38] Ivan Gramotin, who managed the rosters at both of Mikhail Fedorovich's weddings;[39] and Nazarei Chistyi, who was in charge of the rosters for Aleksei Mikhailovich's proposed marriage to Evfimiia Vsevolozhskaia and Aleksei's first wedding to Mariia Miloslavskaia in 1648.[40]

All of these wedding texts were composed, edited, and preserved in the Foreign Office. Periodic inventories of the Royal Archive and the Archive of the Foreign Office reveal that wedding texts were stored for centuries right next

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[37] BAN, 16.15.15, list 146; RNB (formerly GPB), Q.IV.53, list 127^{v}; S. O. Shmidt, *Rossiiskoe gosudarstvo*, 159. On Viskovatyi as first head of the Foreign Office, see: Belokurov, *O Posol'skom prikaze*, 26.

[38] For the Sobakina wedding, see RGADA, fond 181, delo 123, list 5^{v}; *DRV*, 89. For the Artsymagnus wedding, see Likhachev, *Razriadnye d'iaki XVI veka* (St. Petersburg, 1888), 122–23, 193, 206–208; and S. O. Shmidt, *Rossiiskoe gosudarstvo*, 164, n. 35*.

[39] Gramotin's role in the composition of the *chin* for Mikhail's first wedding is established by the fact that his handwriting appears throughout an early draft of the *chin*. See RGADA, fond 135, section IV, rubric II, delo 14, listy 1–9, 12–16, 18–25. The identification of Gramotin's hand was first proposed in Cherepnin, ed., *Gosudarstvennoe drevlekhranilishche*, 129. For Gramotin's participation in Mikhail's second wedding, see RGADA, fond 135, section IV, rubric II, delo 15, listy 13, 23, 32; delo 16, list 19^{v}; delo 17, listy 17, 74.

[40] For the Vsevolozhskii project, see RGADA, fond 135, section IV, rubric II, delo 21, listy 4^{v}, 30, 77. For the Miloslavskii wedding, see RGADA, fond 135, section IV, rubric II, delo 22, listy 35, 75; delo 23, listy 6, 45; delo 24, list 6^{v}; delo 25, list 14. In the case of Aleksei's second wedding, it appears that the tsar chose to place the wedding in the hands of his favorite, Bogdan Khitrovo, rather than the head of the Foreign Office, A. L. Ordin-Nashchokin, who was falling out of favor and generally disliked at court. See RGADA, fond 135, section IV, rubric II, delo 29, listy 8–8^{v}; or delo 30, list 9. The compilers of the wedding texts nonetheless coordinated their work with the Muster Chancellery. The only other instance of which I am aware when the Foreign Office apparently did not organize a royal wedding was in 1575, when Ivan IV charged the *d'iak* Ersh Mikhailov to organize his wedding with Anna Vasil'chikova. See RGADA, fond 135, section IV, rubric II, delo 11, list 21.

to diplomatic materials of various kinds, including letters to Crimean rulers.[41] In addition, it was the artisans and calligraphers in the employ of the Foreign Office and under the direction of its energetic head, A. S. Matveev, who crafted the ornate, velvet-covered wedding albums for Aleksei Mikhailovich's two weddings.[42] In these ways, the Foreign Office served as a workshop and depository for wedding descriptions of members of the ruling dynasty.

Discovery of the *gramota* to Islam on the reverse of the Staritskii *chin* demonstrates that the association between diplomatic and wedding texts existed as early as 1533—prior to the organization of the Foreign Office a few decades later. If the same scribes, working in the same place, did not already by then handle both types of documents, it is unlikely that we could find such very different texts on the same paper. Indeed, it is not by accident, then, that we notice that the *d'iaki* who organized dynastic weddings *before* 1549 were themselves also active in diplomatic matters. Ivan IV's wedding to Anastasiia Iur'eva, and Ivan's brother Iurii's wedding to Ul'iana Paletskaia in 1547 were both organized by B. I. Sukin and Bakak Mitrofanov—each of whom had extensive experience in foreign affairs. In fact, Bakak Mitrofanov is said to have been the principal *d'iak* for diplomatic matters until he was replaced by Viskovatyi.[43]

Sadly, neither the Staritskii *chin* nor the *gramota* to Islam names the *d'iak* (or *d'iaki*) who oversaw work on these manuscripts, but we might venture a guess. At least three *d'iaki* appear repeatedly in the sources in connection with Crimean diplomatic affairs and grand-princely weddings during the reign of Vasilii III: Elizar Tsypliatev, Afanasii Kuritsyn, and Men'shii Putiatin. Tsypliatev and Kuritsyn are known to us primarily as *d'iaki* who worked with military muster rolls (*razriady*), but they functioned in diplomatic settings as

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[41] Wedding texts were preserved in several different "boxes" in the royal archive. See S. O. Shmidt, *Opisi Tsarskogo arkhiva XVI v. i arkhiva Posol'skogo prikaza 1614 g.* (Moscow, 1960), 32, 41, 44. Correspondence with Islam "when he was sent away from the Crimea and wandered on the field" was preserved in box 86: Ibid., 27. For the 1614 inventory of the Foreign Office's archive, see: Ibid., 48, 60. In the 1626 inventory, wedding texts and correspondence with Islam are intermingled in the "Moscow Miscellanea" (*Moskovskaia rozn'*). See V. I. Gal'tsov, ed., *Opis' arkhiva Posol'skogo prikaza 1626 goda* (Moscow, 1977), 312–15, 322, 328. For the 1673 inventory, see idem, *Opis' arkhiva Posol'skogo prikaza 1673 goda* (Moscow, 1990), 33–37; and 375–76.

[42] RGADA, fond 135, section IV, rubric II, delo 25; and RGADA, fond 135, section IV, rubric II, dela 29 and 30. I. M. Kudriavtsev briefly mentions work on the Miloslavskii wedding album. See his "'Izdatel'skaia' deiatel'nost' Posol'skogo prikaza," *Kniga. Issledovaniia i materialy*, vol. 8 (Moscow, 1963), 228.

[43] On Ivan's wedding *chin*, see: *DRV*, 32; Shmidt, *Rossiiskoe Gosudarstvo*, 73. On Iurii's wedding, see: RGADA, fond 135, section IV, rubric II, delo 7, list 5. On Bakak Mitrofanov, see: V. I. Savva, *D'iaki i pod'iachie Posol'skogo prikaza v XVI veke. Spravochnik*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1983), 94.

well.[44] Putiatin's chief activity, on the other hand, was in the realm of foreign affairs and as the grand prince's personal scribe.[45] All three participated in Vasilii III's wedding in 1526 to Elena Glinskaia—handling the several lists of attendants, as well as filling some of the various ritual functions during the three days of ceremonies and banquets.[46] These three might therefore constitute a "short list" of *d'iaki* who may have overseen work on these two texts.

But if the texts themselves are silent on the question of who directed the work on these manuscripts, other sources indirectly point to Men'shii Putiatin's involvement in both the Staritskii *chin* and the *gramota* to Islam. Crimean Diplomatic Books, which record events just months after the Budalei mission of January 1533, place Putiatin squarely in the midst of the on-going negotiations with Islam and his successor on the Crimean throne, Sahib-Girei.[47] Similarly, while other *d'iaki* are mentioned, it was Putiatin who was placed in charge of the compiling and handling the roster for Vasilii's second wedding in 1526 (*vedati spiski*).[48] Thus it may not be coincidental that the early draft of the Staritskii *chin* has Putiatin filling a prominent role: charged alongside the boyar Ivan Vasil'evich Shuiskii with summoning Prince Andrei "*na mesto*."[49] It was to Putiatin that Vasilii would turn when matters of an extremely personal or dynastic character arose. And though the sources do not permit us to know for sure, it is likely that Vasilii turned to Putiatin when his younger brother wed and when a troubling letter arrived from the steppe.

Although Putiatin may have supervised work on these texts, he clearly did not pen them himself. The same hand or hands appears in both the *chin* and the *gramota*; the basic text in both appears to have been written by one hand. Interpolations in both texts also appear to be in one hand. Inasmuch as the basic text is written in a much larger format than the interpolations, it is difficult to say if we have one or two hands represented in these texts. A comparison of the handwriting in the *chin* and the *gramota* with the 1523 addendum to Vasilii III's will, written by Putiatin himself, reveals important inconsistencies in the handwriting. While it is true that, in the early part of

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[44] N. P. Likhachev, *Razriadnye d'iaki XVI veka* (St. Petersburg, 1888), 82–89, 553. V. I. Savva, *D'iaki i pod'iachie Posol'skogo prikaza*, 55, 62–68, 70, 72, 74, 86–87 n. 1, 91, 92; S. B. Veselovskii, *D'iaki i pod'iachie XV–XVII vv.* (Moscow, 1975), 278–80, 559.

[45] Savva, *D'iaki i pod'iachie Posol'skogo prikaza*, 25–35, 38–64, 70, 281; Veselovskii, *D'iaki i pod'iachie*, 441–42.

[46] On Tsypliatev's role in the wedding, see *DRV*, 15; Sakharov, 42. On Kuritsyn's, see *DRV*, 16; Sakharov, 42, 43. On Putiatin's, see below, note 48.

[47] Putiatin met with Islam's and Sahib's envoys in December 1533. See RGADA, fond 123, *Krymskie dela*, delo 8, list 3^{v}; and *PSRL*, vol. 13, 79–80.

[48] On Putiatin's role at the wedding, see RGADA, fond 135, section IV, rubric II, delo 8, list 5 (below, Text I, n. 49). See also *PR*, vol. 1, 194; *DRV*, 17; and Sakharov, *Skazaniia*, 43.

[49] Putiatin evidently had summoned Vasilii III "*na mesto*" in 1526. See *DRV*, 17.

the sixteenth century, one person could have several very different styles of cursive writing (*skoropis'*), and thus we cannot absolutely rule out Putiatin as the redactor of these texts, it is just as possible that a *pod'iachii* wrote these early drafts.[50] In any event, the hands in both texts represent excellent examples of the various forms chancellery handwriting could take in the early sixteenth century.

The texts also offer a rare glimpse into some of the conventions of document production employed in that section of the chancellery devoted to dynastic and diplomatic matters. The interval between the lines in both texts is by design quite wide, probably so as to more easily accommodate the many changes that the scribes anticipated would be made to the first draft. To avoid confusion about where new text began and old text ended inside this interval, scribes seem to have devised a system for marking new text. Hard signs (ъ)—which were typically not written in word-final position of masculine words when the last consonant was written above the line (*vynosnaia bukva*)—are in these texts occasionally inserted in the interval between the lines at the point where new text begins.[51] From this point, new text proceeds on the same plane as the hard sign, and the old text underneath is crossed out.[52] The markers appear to apply not only to changes made in the main text, but also to those made in the interpolations—that is, indicating where insertions belong and where insertions within the insertions belong. To be sure, not every insertion of new text that grammatically could be preceded by a hard-sign marker, is.[53] The *gramota* to Islam contains only nine hard-sign markers and the Staritskii wedding description only one. The choice of whether to use a hard-sign marker or not likely may have depended on the complexity of the changes or perhaps the similarity between new and old text. It is easy to imagine, too, that the scribe may have simply stopped using the markers after a point, or been inconsistent in their use. Whatever the case, it seems fairly clear that the purpose of this scribal device was to avoid confusion later, when a "clean copy" of the text would be made from this draft.

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[50] For the 1523 addendum to Vasilii III's will, see RGADA, fond 135, section I, rubric I, delo 36. I wish to thank Natal'ia F. Demidova for her help and advice in comparing these texts.

[51] These hard signs are written in a manner which in many ways is indistinguishable from a soft sign (ь) or the letter "б." Given the context in which the markers are found—i.e., after final consonants—the best reading for the letter is probably as a hard sign.

[52] In one instance, the scribe apparently forgot to cross out the old text, see below Text I, list 3^v, and n. 16.

[53] That is to say, cases where the last word of old text preceding an insertion ends with a final consonant.

The discovery of this *gramota* on the reverse of a wedding *chin* strongly suggests that, already in 1533, diplomatics and the ruler's familial affairs had been associated in the minds of those delegating tasks in the chancellery. The link, it would appear, was that both were dynastic in nature. Royal weddings, princely wills, and treaties between the princes of the ruling house had all been lumped together with correspondence with foreign kings. These were all matters of high politics and concerned either the ruler or his family. As a result, these important duties came to be concentrated in the hands of a select few *d'iaki* in the ruler's chancellery.

The Soviet historian A. A. Zimin has suggested that as early as the 1530s, separate "sections" had coalesced inside the chancellery, each tasked with writing documents in a different sphere of activity—such as military muster rolls (*razriady*), land charters (*pomestnye dela*), and diplomatics (*posol'skie dela*). It is out of these "sections" of the chancellery, Zimin argues, that the Muster Chancellery (*Razriadnyi prikaz*), the Estate Chancellery (*Pomestnyi prikaz*), and the Foreign Office (*Posol'skii prikaz*) would emerge.[54] The Staritskii *chin* and the *gramota* to Islam, may be evidence that a "section" had indeed formed inside the chancellery specifically charged with dynastic affairs and that the Foreign Office had its origins in one of the emerging cells of scribal activity inside the grand prince's chancellery. Whatever the case, this discovery provides new evidence for the on-going inquiry into some of the more fundamental questions that linger on about the nature of the grand-princely chancellery.

CRITICAL TEXTS

The number and complex nature of textual variations between the chancellery draft of the *gramota* to Islam and the clean copy drawn from the Seventh Crimean Diplomatic Book do not make it feasible to collapse the two into one critical text. To facilitate easy comparison, I have placed the draft of the *gramota* (Text I) next to the clean copy (Text II). I have also inserted paragraph breaks in both texts at those points where editors introduced significant revisions to the text. These breaks will enable readers to follow more easily the very complex structural changes made between the draft and the final version of the text. The Staritskii *chin* follows (Text III). Here I have inserted paragraph breaks only when indicated in the original *stolbets*. Readers familiar

[54] A. A. Zimin, "O slozhenii prikaznoi sistemy na Rusi," *Doklady i soobshcheniia Instituta istorii*, vol. 3 (Moscow, 1954): 164–76; idem, "O sostave dvortsovykh uchrezhdenii russkogo gosudarstva kontsa XV i XVI v., "*Istoricheskie zapiski* 63 (1958): 182, 183, 186–90. See also Leont'ev's critique of this view in his *Obrazovanie prikaznoi sistemy upravleniia*, 15, 23–25.

with other published versions of the *chin* (Komarov, Novikov, and Sakharov) will therefore notice differences in both the number of paragraphs, as well as in the punctuation.

The texts are published in accordance with the rules and conventions for critical editions of manuscripts composed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These rules require modern orthography, the elimination of all abbreviations, and the placement of letters written above the line onto the same plane as the main text.[55] For the sake of clarity and readability, I have placed deleted text in footnotes, and have represented interpolations with special typefaces—italics for the first layer of editing, boldface for the second.[56]

The folios containing these two texts are extremely well preserved, though a number of special problems should be noted. A few words and letters have been lost from the Staritskii wedding description on folio 1^{v} because of some fraying at the edges of the paper. I have retrieved the missing fragments from later copies and have placed the restored text inside brackets in the publication below. In addition, I have restored the proper sequence of passages by moving the two inserts on folio 1^{v} to their respective places at the very beginning and very end of the text. Thus the foliation begins with folio 1^{v}, proceeds with folios 1^{r}, 2^{r}, 3^{r}, 4^{r}, 5^{r}, and 6 through 15, then returns to folio 1^{v}. A few letters are also missing from the chancellery draft of the *gramota* to Islam (Text I). These I have restored in brackets on the basis of the final version of the text copied into the Crimean Diplomatic Book (Text II). The folios contain two watermarks: the first mark, on folios 2–5, is a small column with a single rosette (*rozetka*), under a crown;[57] the second, on folios 6–11, is a

[55] The publishing rules and conventions for texts from this period have been published and revised several times. See, e.g.: "Pravila izdaniia dokumentov XVI–XVII vv., "*Problemy istochnikovedeniia*, vol. 2 (Moscow-Leningrad, 1936), 315–31; *Pravila izdaniia istoricheskikh dokumentov Instituta istorii AN SSSR i Moskovskogo Istoriko-arkhivnogo instituta* (Moscow, 1955); M. S. Sleznev, E. M. Tal'man, *Metodicheskoe posobie po arkheografii* (Moscow, 1958). L. V. Cherepnin provides an overview of these rules and a brief history of their development and use in this century in his *Russkaia paleografiia* (Moscow, 1956), 564–69. A similar review, along with an excellent bibliography of alternate rules, appears in D. S. Likhachev, *Tekstologiia* (Moscow, 1983), 479–548, 573–88. I have elected to adopt the same rules and conventions that Nazarov and Bychkova employed in their publications of wedding-related texts.

[56] V. D. Nazarov similarly used special typefaces in his publication of wedding documents from the early and mid-sixteenth century, though somewhat differently than here. See his "Svadebnye dela XVI v.," 116.

[57] None of the paleographical albums I consulted provide good likenesses of this watermark. Marks of this type, however, are attested in a number of variants from the first quarter of the fifteenth century to the last quarter of the sixteenth century. See C. M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes* (Amsterdam, 1968), #4398—#4418.

small hand or glove with a five-pointed star over the fingers.[58] Both are consistent with the dating of the manuscripts established above.

Finally, the manuscript contains several markings not indicated in the critical texts. On the side of the folios containing the *chin* appear two small inscriptions. The first, at the top of folio 1^r, reads: "свадьба княжя Андрьева." The second is found on folio 11^v, and was later crossed out: "свадьба княж Ондреа Ивановича...."[59] Both inscriptions were added later, but judging by the hand and ink, probably very shortly after the texts were written. The *gramota* to Islam contains a single vertical line running through the length of the fragment. This line was evidently inserted at the time scribes decided to use the back side of this paper for the Staritskii *chin*. So as to avoid confusion, the scribe evidently crossed out the old text before writing on the other side.

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[58] A very good likeness of this mark appears in N. P. Likhachev, *Paleograficheskoe znachenie bumazhnykh vodianykh znakov*, 3 vols., (St. Petersburg 1899), #1625 (1534) and Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, #10678 (1534). Folio 1 has no visible mark.

[59] The inscription continues—one short word, or perhaps only a few letters—but is illegible. Despite what one might intuitively expect, this next word is definitely *not* "Старицкого."

I

Грамота Василия III крымскому хану Исламу-Гирею

(Канцелярский черновик)

[Около 27 января 1533 г.]

(л. 2об.) ...и впере[д][1] наши дела делали[ся][2] та[к][3], как и[х][4] милосердый Бог похочет, а недрузи б наши под нашими ногами были.[5]

И твоего есмя ичку Мунмуша Фыза часа того к тобе отпустили, а с ним послали были есмя к тобе своего[6] сына боярского *ближняго своего человека* Василья Сергеева сына Левашева.

И от тобя к нам приехал твой ближней человек Будалей[7] Мурза с твоею грамотою. *И*[8] в грамоте в своей к нам писал еси непригожие[9] *слова, и таковы еси к нам писал*[10] **непригожие слова**,[11] *которых и в речех не бывало.*

Ино царь наперед сего как[12] *еси был на Поле, и к нам еси прислал и назвал*[13] *еси нас собе отцом, а нам бы тобя собе сыном держати. И мы к тобе посылали* своего сына боарского ближнего своего человека князя Михаила Ивановича Кубенского. И ты нам перед[14] *князем Михаилом* правду учинил, что тобе[15] *нас держати собе отцом, а нам бы тобя собе // (л. 3об.) сыном держати*, а лихих речей тогды никоторых не было.[16] *И мы*[17] **к тобе, как наперед сего дружбу свою**

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[1] Выносная буква «д» была написана на предыдущем листе.

[2] Выносные буквы «ся» были написаны на предыдущем листе.

[3] Выносная буква «к» была написана на предыдущем листе.

[4] Выносная буква «х» была написана на предыдущем листе.

[5] Далее зачеркнуто: «*А ичку твоего*».

[6] Далее зачеркнуто: «доброго, *ближнего человека*».

[7] Последняя буква исправлена.

[8] «*И*» исправлено из «А».

[9] «Непригожие» исправлено из «непригоже». Далее зачеркнуто: «речи, которых речей и в слове не бывало».

[10] Далее зачеркнуто: «*речи*».

[11] Перед началом этой вставки стоит знак, похожий на букву «ъ» (а м. б. «ь» или «б»).

[12] Здесь стоит знак вставки «ъ». Далее зачеркнуто: «еси учинил нас собе отцом, а мы тобя учинили собе сыном, и посылали есмя к тобе».

[13] Буква «н» исправлена из «у».

[14] Далее зачеркнуто: «ним».

[15] Далее зачеркнуто: «нам быти сыном, а нам тобе быти // отцем».

[16] Далее зачеркнуто: «А вперед было тобе нас держати *собе* отцом, а нам было [то]бя сыном держати. И ныне, как еси на отца своего ж». Далее следует основной текст, который не зачеркнут, но повторен в приписке: «юрте царем ся учинил».

держали, *так и ныне к тобе дружбу свою держим*[18] **и з Божиею волею из своего**[19] **есмя тобе**[20] **слова** *ни в чем не выступили.*

А ты[21] **ныне, как** *учинился на отца своего юрте царем,* и ты к нам пишешь такие непригожие речи.[22]

И ты *бы* царь *и ныне* на той на своей правде, как еси нам правду учинил перед нашем ближним человеком перед князем Михаилом[23] *Кубенским,* крепко стоял и по тому б еси нам и правил[24] *и другу бы еси нашему друг был, а недругу недруг был, и на всех бы еси наших недругов*[25] *был с нами заодин.* А мы, как[26] учинили тобе правду,[27] *так з Божиею* волею на *той на* своей правде[28] стоим, *и другу твоему хотим другом быти, а недругу недругом, и на всех твоих недругов*[29] *хотим быти с тобою заодин.*

А ныне есмя[30] Мурзе *твоему* Будалею[31] велели побыти у собя, да и своего есмя сына боарского Василья[32] Сергеева к тобе не послали, а отпустили есмя к тобе твоего ближнего человека Мунмуша, а с ним // (л. 4об.) послали есмя к тобе своих казаков *Янгадыря*[33] Кожухова сына Карчеева с товарищы.

И как до тобя доедут твои люди Мунмуш с товарищы и наши казаки Янхадырь[34] Кожухов с товарищы, и ты б наших казаков[35] *Янгадыря*[36] *с товарыщи* не издержав часа того к на[м][37] отпусти[л].[38] А с ними бы еси к на[м][39] против сей нашей грамоты *нам* ответ учинил,[40] **так**

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17 Далее зачеркнуто: «*как тобе правду учинили*».

18 Здесь стоит знак вставки «ъ». Далее зачеркнуто: «*а ты как*».

19 Исправлено из слова «**своей**».

20 Далее зачеркнуто: «*правду*».

21 Далее зачеркнуто: «*тогды говорил добрые слова, а ныне как еси*».

22 Далее зачеркнуто: «И мы ныне Мурзе твоему Будалею».

23 Здесь знак вставки «ъ».

24 Исправлено из слова «правду».

25 «Н» исправлено из «д».

26 Здесь стоит знак вставки «ъ»--вероятно ошибочно.

27 Далее зачеркнуто: «да з Божьею».

28 Далее зачеркнуто: «крепкой».

29 «В» исправлено из «м».

30 Далее зачеркнуто: «твоему».

31 Окончание слова исправлено.

32 Так в рукописи.

33 После букв «Ян» зачеркнуто «гаха»; над строкой приписано «*га*».

34 Исправлено из «Янхандырь».

35 Здесь стоит знак вставки «ъ».

36 Исправлено из «*Янхагадыря*».

37 Буква «м» не видна из-за склейки столбца.

38 Буква «л» не видна из-за склейки столбца.

39 Буква «м» не видна из-за склейки столбца.

40 Здесь стоит знак вставки «ъ». Далее зачеркнуто: «А как еси нам учинил правду

или на то[й][41] на своей правде крепко стоишь, как еси нам правду учинил перед нашим сыном боарским[42] и ближним человеком перед князем Михаилом. А мы как тобе правду учинили на той и стоим. И другу[43] **есмя** *твоему*[44] *друг,*[45] а недругу недруг,[46] и на всех[47] *твоих* недругов[48] *хотим быти с тобою* заодин.

А[49] *ты, как учинил нам*[50] *правду*[51] *перед нашим сыном боарским перед князем Михаилом, и ты б и ныне на той на своей правде крепко стоял и по тому бы*[52] *еси нам и правил.*[53] И другу[54] *бы еси нашему*[55] друг[56] *был,* // (л. 5об.) а недругу недруг.[57] И на всех на*ших*[58] недругов[59] *был*[60] *бы еси с нами* заодин.

А как у нас будут от тобя наши казаки Янхандырь с товарищы, и мы *тогды* твоего Мурзу Будалеа[61] с товарищы *часа того* к тобе отпустим[62] *и к тобе* пошлем своего сына боярского ближнего своего человека Василья Сергеева[63] *на государстве*[64] *тобе здоровати.*

РГАДА, ф. 135, отд. IV, рубр. II, дело 4, лл. 2об., 3об., 4об., 5об.

перед нашим сыном боярским перед князем Михаилом, и ты б на той на своей правде крепко стоял, и по тому б еси нам и правил». Приписано, а потом зачеркнуто: «*А как есмя учинили тобя собе сыном и мы и ныне по тому ж тобя собе сыном держим и добро свое к тобе хотим держати*».

41 Буква «й» утрачена.

42 Так в рукописи.

43 Далее зачеркнуто: «бы еси нашему друг был».

44 Далее зачеркнуто: «*хотим*».

45 Исправлено из «*другом*». Далее зачеркнуто: «*быти*».

46 Над строкой приписано, потом зачеркнуто, окончание «*-ом*»; еще выше приписано и зачеркнуто: «**был**».

47 Далее зачеркнуто: «бы еси наших».

48 Далее зачеркнуто: «был с нами».

49 Далее зачеркнуто: «мы, как тобе учинили правду, и мы на той на своей правде крепко стоим».

50 «*Нам*» исправлено из «*нас*». Далее зачеркнуто: «*собе отцом и*».

51 Далее зачеркнуто: «*еси нам учинил*».

52 Здесь лишняя буква «*е*»—начало слова «*еси*»?

53 Слова «*еси нам правил*» приписаны на л. 5об.

54 Далее зачеркнуто: «твоему хотим».

55 Надписанное над этой вставкой одно слово зачеркнуто.

56 Исправлено из слова «другом»; далее зачеркнуто: «быти».

57 Окончание «-ом» зачеркнуто.

58 Далее зачеркнуто: «твоих».

59 Далее зачеркнуто: «хотим быти с тобою». Здесь стоит знак вставки «ъ».

60 Повторено два раза.

61 Исправлено из «Будалея».

62 Далее зачеркнуто: «а с ним к тобе». Здесь стоит знак вставки «ъ».

63 Далее зачеркнуто: «здоровати тобе на...».

64 Над строкой приписано и потом зачеркнуто: «**отца твоего**».

II

Грамота Василия III крымскому хану Исламу-Гирею

(Беловик)

27 января 1533 г.

(л. 2) А се грамоты[1] с Янгадырем с товарищи:

Великие Орды великому царю брату и сыну нашему Ислам-Гирею царю от великого князя Василья Ивановича всеа Руси много много поклон.

Прислал еси к нам ичку своего Мунмуша Фыза с своею грамотою. А в грамоте своей писал еси, что милосердый Бог послал тобе свою[2] // (л. 2 об.) на отца своего столе царем ся еси учинил. Уланы и князи и ички и князи (?—R. M.) и всей земли люди на одны уста посмотрили тобя брата и сына нашего царем учинили. И мы послышев твою радость сердечно есмя порадовались. Дай Бог ты брат наш и сын на отца своего юрте и на своем здоров был и з своими детми и со всеми своими людми. // (л. 3) А мы бы дал Бог так же здесь здоровы были и с своими детми и со всеми своими людми. И что бы дал Бог[3] и вперед нашы дела делалися так, как их милосердый Бог похочет, а недрузи бы наши под нашими ногами были.

И твоего есмя ичку Манмуша Фыза часа того к тобе отпустили, а к тобе послали были есмя своего сына боярского ближнего своего человека Василья Сергеева сына Левашева на государьстве тобе здравствовати. //

(л. 3 об.) И от тобя к нам приехал твой ближней человек Будалы Мырза с твоею грамотою. И в грамоте своей к нам писал еси непригожие слова, и таковы еси к нам писал непригожие слова, каких слов и в речех не бывало.

Ино царь наперед сего, как еси был на Поле, и к нам еси прислал и назвал еси нас собе отцом, а нам тобя собе сыном держати. И мы к тобе посылали своего великого ближнего человека князя Михаила Ивановича Кубенского. И ты нам перед князем Михаилом правду учинил, что тобе нас держати собе отцом, а нам тобя собе сыном держати, а лихих речей тогды никоторых не было. И другу тобе нашему другом быти, а недругу недругом, и на всех наших недругов быть тобе с нами заодин. А мы тобе перед твоими людми та же правду

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[1] Так в рукописи.

[2] Так в рукописи. Далее должно быть «милость»?

[3] Здесь начинается текст, сохранившийся в черновике.

учинили, // (л. 4) и з Божиею волею из своего есмя слова ни в чем не выступили. И на чем есмя тобе молвили, на том и стоим.

А ты ныне как учинился на отца своего юрте царем и ты к нам пишешь такие непригожие слова.

И ныне мырзе твоему Будалею велели побыть у себя. Да и своему есмя сыну боярскому своему человеку Василью Сергееву велели побыть у собя. А отпустили есмя ныне к тобе твоего ичку Мунмуша Фыза, а с ним вместе послали есмя к тобе своих казаков Янхадыря Кожухова сына Карчеева с товарищи с сею грамотою.

И ты б царь нашу дружбу к собе памятовал. И как еси учинил правду перед нашим великим ближним человеком передо князем Михаилом Ивановичем Кубенским, и ты б на той на своей правде крепко стоял, и по тому еси нам и правил. И другу бы еси нашему друг был, а недругу недруг был, и на всех бы наших недругов был с нами заодин. А мы как учинили тобе правду и мы с Божьею // (л. 4 об.) волею и вперед на своей правде и стоим. А другу есмя твоему друг, а недругу недруг, а на всех твоих недругов хотим быти с тобою заодин.

А как до тобя доедут твои люди Мунмуш с товарищи и наши казаки Янгадирь Кожухов с товарищи с сею нашею грамотою, и ты б наших казаков Янгадыря с товарищи не издержав часа того к нам отпустил. А с ним бы еси против сей нашей грамоты нам ответ учинил.

И как у нас будут от тебя наши казаки Янгадырь с товарыщи, и мы тогды твоего Мурзу Будалея с товарыщи часа того к тобе отпустим. И к тобе пошлем своего сына боярского ближнего своего человека Василья Сергеева на государстве тобе здоровать.[4]

Писана на Москве лета 7041 генваря 27 дня.

РГАДА, ф. 123, Крымские дела, оп. 1, дело 7, лл. 2-4 об.

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[4] Здесь кончается текст черновика.

III

Чин свадьбы князя Андрея Старицкого

(Канцелярский черновик)

[Февраль 1533 г.]

(л.1 об.) *Ле[та]* [1]*7041 генваря бил челом великому князю Василью Ивановичю всеа Руси брат его, князь Ондрей Иванович, чтоб ему князь велики[й]* [2]*ослободил*[3] *женитись, и князь велики[й] его пожаловал, велел ему женитись,*[4] **и полюбили девку княжну Офросинью княж Ондрееву Хованского.** *И как пришло время в которой день быти свадьб[е, и за неделю]*[5] *до того дни князь велики[й] шел к Пречистой к соборной церкви [обедн]и*[6] *слушати, и отслушав обедни, пришед благословися у Данила митрополита, и то ему сказал, что брат его князь Андрей хочет женитця, и он бы его благословил, и митрополит благословил* // (л. 1) великого[7] князя и князя Андреа. И князь великий велел князю Андрею нарежатца. А по князя Юрья послал в Дмитров князя Ивана княж Иванова сына Пронского, и веле[л][8] ему говорити:[9] «*Хотим брата женити, и ты б* поехал ко мне и[10] к брату моему ко князю Андрею на свадьбу».

И князь Юрьи к великому князю приехал.

А как приспел день, в которой день сватьбе быти, и князь великий велел ехати со князем с Ондреем в тысятских князю Ивану Федоровичу Бельскому, а в дружках велел у него быти князю Ивану Даниловичу

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[1] Буквы «та» пропущены.

[2] Здесь и далее в рукописи «велики».

[3] Так в рукописи. Также в БАН, 32.4.21, л. 60. В всех других позднейших списках: «освободил». См.: БАН, 16.15.15, л. 78; БАН, 21.10.25, л. 15об.; БАН, 31.6.40, л. 11об.; БАН, 31.7.20, л. 10; БАН, 32.5.11, л. 13об.; ЯОБ, РК319031В, л. 20; ДРВ, 2-ое изд., т. XIII, стр. 19.

[4] Далее зачеркнуто: «*а велел ему кня[зю] поняти княж Ондрееву дочь Хованского княжну Офросинью. И выдавал ее князь великий на своем дворе, а подклет был на княж Андрееве дворе*». Конец слова «*кня[зю]*» утрачен.

[5] Текст утрачен. Восстановлено по БАН, 16.15.15, л. 78; БАН, 32.4.21, л. 60; БАН, 21.10.25, л. 15об.; БАН, 31.6.40, л. 11об.; БАН, 31.7.20, л. 10; БАН, 32.5.11, л. 13об.; ЯОБ, РК319031В, л. 20; ДРВ, 2-ое изд., т. XIII, стр. 19.

[6] Текст утрачен. Восстановлено по тем же источникам.

[7] Перед словом «великого» стоит какой-то знак, похожий на букву «у». Возможно он связан с припиской, сделанной на обороте.

[8] Буква «л» утрачена.

[9] Далее зачеркнуто: «чтоб князь Юрьи».

[10] Исправлено из другой буквы.

Пенкову Хомяку, да боярину своему Михаилу Семеновичу Воронцову,[11] *а* женам их княгине Марье да Огрофене велел у него быти в свахах.

А с княгинею велел у нее быти в дружках Василью Петрову сыну Борисова з женою да Тимофею Васильеву сыну Борисова з женою ж, да в поезду велел быти со князем Андреем стольником и детем боярским многим.

А постеля была[12] на княж Андрееве дворе, а велел у [постели][13] быти его боаром князю Федору Пронскому да князю Юрью княж Андрееву сыну Оболенского.

А у коня у его велел быти князю Борису княж Иванову сыну Палетском[у].[14] //

(л. 2) А колпак у князя Андреа держал княж Федоров сын Пронского.

А велел князь великий быти князю Андрею у собя на дворе дотоле, доколе устроят на его дворе, да велел князь великий нарядити Середнюю полату, а образи Пречистые велел поставити на всех четырех стенах, и место велел нарядити, где сидети князю и княгине. А велел на месте положити на княжом и на княгинине зголовья[15] местные, да по сороку соболей, а у места велел быти князю Борису княж Дмитрееву сыну Щепину, да Потулу Волконскому.

И как по времени и князь великий велел итти великие княгине из ее хором из Деревяных, в полату[16] в свою против[17] *Брусяной* избы,[18] а с нею велел итти боярыням.

А *на* княж Андреев двор послал князь великий постели слати Василья Петрова сына Борисова да Тимофея Васильева[19] сына Борисова, а с ними жены их.

И как постелю послали и князь готов.

И князь великий пошел в Середнюю полату,[20] а с ним брат его князь Юрьи да боаре да и детем боярским ве//лел (л. 3) за собою итти, которым пожаловал велел.

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[11] Далее зачеркнуто: «да».

[12] «Была» исправлено из «быти».

[13] Текст утрачен. Восстановлено по БАН, 16.15.15, л. 79об.; БАН, 32.4.21, л. 60об.; БАН, 21.10.25, л. 16об.; БАН, 31.6.40, л. 12; БАН, 31.7.20, л. 10об.; БАН, 32.5.11, л. 14об.; ЯОБ, РК319031В, л. 22; ДРВ, 2-ое изд., т. XIII, стр. 20.

[14] Буква «у» утрачена.

[15] Написано по стертому.

[16] Слово «полату» исправлено из «полу».

[17] Далее зачеркнуто: «своей».

[18] Далее зачеркнуто: «пост».

[19] Имя «Васильева» исправлено из «Василья».

[20] «Полату» исправлено из «послал».

Да сел в полате на своем месте, а с ним брат его князь Юрьи да боаре и дети боарские, которым велел тут быти.

Да и великой княгине[21] *Елене*[22] велел к собе итти в Среднюю полату.

И как великая княгини пошла к великому князю, и перед нею[23] *шли* плясицы,[24] *а* за плясицами шли дети боярские, *а за детьми боярскими шел священник со крестом, а за попом с свечами*[25] *да с короваи, а за свечами и за короваи свахи со княжною, а за княжною поп со крестом и с водою, перед великою княгинею.*[26] *И вошли наперед в полату свахи со княжною, а поп перед ними, а за княжною вошла великаа*[27] *княгини, а с нею боярыни. И великаа княгини пошла на свое место и села у великого князя. А княжну посадили на место, а у нее сели свахи. А на княжое место посадити велел князь велики[й] князя Ивана княж Васильева сына Пенкова, а [с]* [28]*свечями и с короваи стали за свахами на левой стороне у места.*[29] *А плясицам велел быти в Сенех.*

А по князя по Андреа по Ивановича послал на его двор звати его на место[30] боарина своего князя Ивана Васильевича Щуйского, а велел ему мол[вити]:[31] «Князь великий, господине, велел тобе говорити, чтоб еси поехал к нам на место». И князь Андрей[32] приказал к великому князю челобитье, а сам приехал к великому князю. И князь великий послал к нему всътречю свах его Васильеву жену Борисова да Ти//мофееву (л. 4) жену Борисова *и с его свечею* и с короваем[33] послал к нему встречю, *с свахами вместе*. А велел им дождатись князя Ондреа на крыльце у Болшие полаты, и[34] итти со князем с Ондреем *вместе* в

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21 «Великой княгине» исправлено из «великая княгиня».

22 «Елене» исправлено из «Елена».

23 Далее зачеркнуто: «пошли». Приписано, потом зачеркнуто: «*велел итти князь великий*».

24 «Плясицы» исправлено из «плясица». Далее зачеркнуто: «игумену с товарищы, да». Слово «игумену» исправлено.

25 Слово исправлено.

26 Здесь написано почерком основного текста: «да священник со крестом перед великою княгинею». Очевидно, что этот фрагмент тоже должен быть зачеркнут. Далее зачеркнуто: «А со княгинею велел князь велики[й] итти свахам да священнику со крестом».

27 Так в рукописи.

28 В рукописи, пропущено.

29 Далее зачеркнуто: «А по князя Андреа послал князь великий боярина своего князя Ивана Васильевича Шуйского да дьяка своего Меньшего Путятина».

30 Далее зачеркнуто: «кн»—очевидо, начало слова «князь».

31 В рукописи «мол»—«л» выносная.

32 Далее зачеркнуто: «бил».

33 «Короваем» исправлено из «коровай». Далее зачеркнуто: «и с свечами».

34 Над буквой «и» зачеркнуто «т».

полату , а с *свечею* и с короваем[35] велел итти перед князем. И вшед с короваи и с свечею, стали на своем месте за свахами. А князь Андрей вшед, великому князю челом ударил,[36] да приступясь у великого князя благословился, а молвил: «Благослови, государь, на место». И князь велики[й] его на место благословил, и священник его благословил же. И как князь Ондрей сел на место, и встав голову чесала князю Ондрею и княгине его великая княгини Елена, а у нее чару с вином держала и гребень[37] княж[38] Иванова княгини *Пенкова* Марья, и иные сва//хи. (л. 5) И осыпала князя Ондреа [и][39] княгиню его великая княгини, и сороком соболми омахивала великая ж княгини. И давали от великие княгини ширинки великому князю и князю Ондрею и бояром и детем боярским великого князя стороне и всему поезду. И посидев, благословил князь велики[й][40] князя Ондреа к венчанью, отпустил его наперед х Пречистой, а велел ему, // (л. 6) вшед в церковь[41] в Передние двери, да стати у столба на правой стороне у митрополича места. А княгиню его Офросинью отпустил князь велики[й] опосле [е]го[42], а велел с короваи, и с свечами итти перед княгинею, а княгини его велел вшед в Передние двери, *стати* на леве у стены против столпа, а с свечами и с короваи велел стати перед нею. *А с ковры велел князь велики[й] итти Чюдину Митрофанову сыну Карачарову, а со княж Андреевым зголовьем ходил князь*[43] *Андрей Лыков, а со княгининым зголовьем ходил Иван Борисов сын Глызнев.* А обедню служил митрополит со всем собором. И как обедню отпели и послали против Царских дверей камку, да положили сорок соболей, и митрополит взял князя Ондреа за руку да поставил на месте против Царьских дверей, *на камке и на соболех.* Да княгиню взял за руку, да поставил ее[44] по ряду со князем с Ондреем, да поймал у них перстни золоты да положил на Евангеле, да говорил молитву и обручал[45] их и венчал. И венчав их, посадил да дал князю Андрею и княгине его вина в склянице. И выпив вино князь Ондрей со княгинею // (л. 7) да скляницу розтоптал

[35] Далее зачеркнуто: «и с свечею».
[36] Исправлено из «ударит».
[37] Далее зачеркнуто: «княгини».
[38] «Княж» исправлено из «князь».
[39] В рукописи, пропущено.
[40] Исправлено.
[41] Далее зачеркнуто: «стати на».
[42] Буква «е» пропущена.
[43] Далее зачеркнуто: «*Иван Лыков*».
[44] Исправлено.
[45] «Обручал» исправлено из «обручав».

ногою.[46] И венчав их, митрополит велел поставити скамейку против Северных дверей, и положили зголовье[47] и митрополит их посадил, да им здоровал, *да со*[48] *князем и со княгинею целовался.* И пришед князь велики[й] князю Ондрею и княгине его здоровал *да целовался ж*, и князь Юрьи здоровал[49] *князю Ондрею и княгине да со князем целовался,*[50] и бояре здоровали князю Ондрею и княгине его. И от церкви князь велики[й] поехал к собе, а князь Ондрей поехал к собе на подворье, а княгини его поехала к великой княгине, а свечи и короваи понесли х постеле. И князь[51] Андрей у собя зафтрокав ездил по манастырем. А князь велики[й] у собя зафтрокал, и час нощи князь велики[й] пошел за стол[52] и с великою княгинею. А княгини княж Андреева и свахи сели[53] на месте. //

(л. 8) И князь Ондрей приехав, сел на месте ж, *и князь*[54] **Ондрей** *звал*[55] **великого князя** *ести на зафтрее.* А сидели в столе от великие княгини боярыни: княж Дмитреева княгини Бельского княгини Марфа, да Орина Юрьева жена Захарьича, Олена Иванова жена Андреевича, Огрофена Васильева жена Ондреевича, княж Иванова княгини Палетцкого. А против боярынь сидели боаре: князь Дмитрей Федорович Бельской, князь Василей Васильевич Шуйской, князь Борис Иванович Горбатой, князь Иван Васильевич Шуйской, Иван Васильевич Хабар, Михаило Юрьевич. А в Кривом столе сидел князь Михаило Глинской, а на окольничем сидели князь Василей Микулинской да Иван Григорьевич Морозов, Михаило Тучков, Василей Поплевин. И как куры подали, и князь велики[й] велел князю Ондрею встати да велел ему[56] итти перед собою до Полатных дверей.[57] А княгиню его взял князь велики[й] за // (л. 9) руку, привел х Полатным дверем. И князь Ондрей стал за порогом, а князь велики[й] ему говорил: «Андрей брат! Божим веленьем и нашим жалованьем, велел Бог тобе женитись, поняти жену *княгиню* Офросинью, и ты брате Ондрей! свою жену

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[46] Далее зачеркнуто: «да поставили скамейку у столпа на правой стороне».

[47] «Зголовье» исправлено из «зголовие».

[48] Далее зачеркнута буква «с».

[49] Здесь, перед вставкой, стоит такой же знак—«ъ» (а м. б. «ь» или «б»)—как и в грамоте Исламу, написанной на обороте.

[50] Так в рукописи.

[51] Далее зачеркнута буква «в»—начало слова «великий» (?).

[52] «Стол» исправлено из «столом».

[53] «Сели» исправлено из «сидели».

[54] Далее зачеркнуто: «*велики[й]*».

[55] Далее зачеркнуто: «*его*».

[56] Далее зачеркнута буква «в».

[57] Далее зачеркнуто: «И пришед к Полатным».

княгиню Офросинью держи по тому как Бог устроил». Да взяв его руку, дал ему княгиню, а велел ему итти с нею до саней не розпущаяся. А из саней *вышед,* велел ему взяти княгиню за руку ж, да итти вверх с нею вместе. И как приехал к собе, и в дверех осыпала его сваха княгини Марьа княж Иванова Пенкова. И на зафтрее, как был князь в[58] мыльне, и князь велики[й] посылал к нему свое жалованье платье, а княгиню его вскрыти[59] послал князь велики[й] боярина своего князя Дмитреа Федоровича Бельского. *А*[60] *как* князь Ондрей приехал к великому князю, и великая княгини князя Ондреа жаловала, велела ставить пе//ред (л. 10) князя Андреа овощи да подавала вина. *А княгини его приезжала к великой княгине своим местом.* И князь велики[й] велел князю Ондрею ехати к митрополиту благословитись, и ел[61] князь[62] велики[й] у князя Андреа в полате в Середней ж. А сидела у великие княгини княж Андреева княгини Ивановича, а князь Ондрей стоял перед великим князем. И после стола князь[63] Ондрей бил челом великому князю, чтоб князь велики[й] пожаловал был весел, и дарил князь Ондрей великого князя и великую княгиню. И князь велики[й] пив, пошел в Постельные хоромы, а князя Андреа взял с собою. А великая княгини пошла к собе, а княгиню княж Ондрееву с собою взяла. И князь велики[й] князя Ондреа пожаловал дал ему шубу. А на третей день ел[64] князь Ондрей у великого князя, а сидел[65] князь Ондрей у вели//кие (л. 11) княгини, а у князя Ондреа сидела княгини его, а у княж Ондреевы княгини сидела княж Иванова княгини Пенкова, да Васильева жена Борисова, да Тимофеева жена Васильева. А у них сидели боярыни: княж Дмитреева княгини Бельского, Орина Юрьева жена Захарьича, Олена Иванова жена Ондревича, Огрофена Васильева жена Ондреевича, княж Иванова княгини Бельского.[66] А против боярынь сидели: князь Иван Бельской,[67] Михаило Воронцов, князь Иван Пенков, да бояре: князь Дмитрей Бельской, князь Василей Шуйской, князь Борис Горбатой, князь Иван Шуйской, Иван Хабар, Михаило Юрьев. А в Кривом столе князь Михаило Глинской, а на

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58 «В» исправлено из «вели»—очевидно, начало слова «великий».

59 «Вскрыти» исправлено из «вскрывати».

60 «А» исправлено из «И».

61 «Ел» исправлено из «ехал».

62 Далее зачеркнуто: «Ондрей у».

63 Далее зачеркнуто: «Юрьи».

64 «Ел» исправлено из «ехал».

65 Далее зачеркнуто: «князь».

66 «Бельского» здесь написано ошибочно. Должно быть «Палетцкого». См. выше, л. 8.

67 Далее зачеркнуто: «кн»—очевидно, начало слова «князь».

окольничем сидел князь Василей Ондреевич Микулинской, да Иван Гри...//

(л. 1об., продолж.) *И приговорил князь велики[й] сидети против боярынь бояром: князю Дмитрею Бельскому, князю Василью Шуйскому, князю Борису Горбатому, князю Ивану Шуйскому,*[68] *Ивану Хабару и Михаилу Юрьеву.*

В Кривом столе князю Михаилу Глинскому.

А на околничем князю Василью Микулинскому, и[69] *Иван* **Поплевин, Михаило Тучков** *да Василей Поплевин.*[70] //

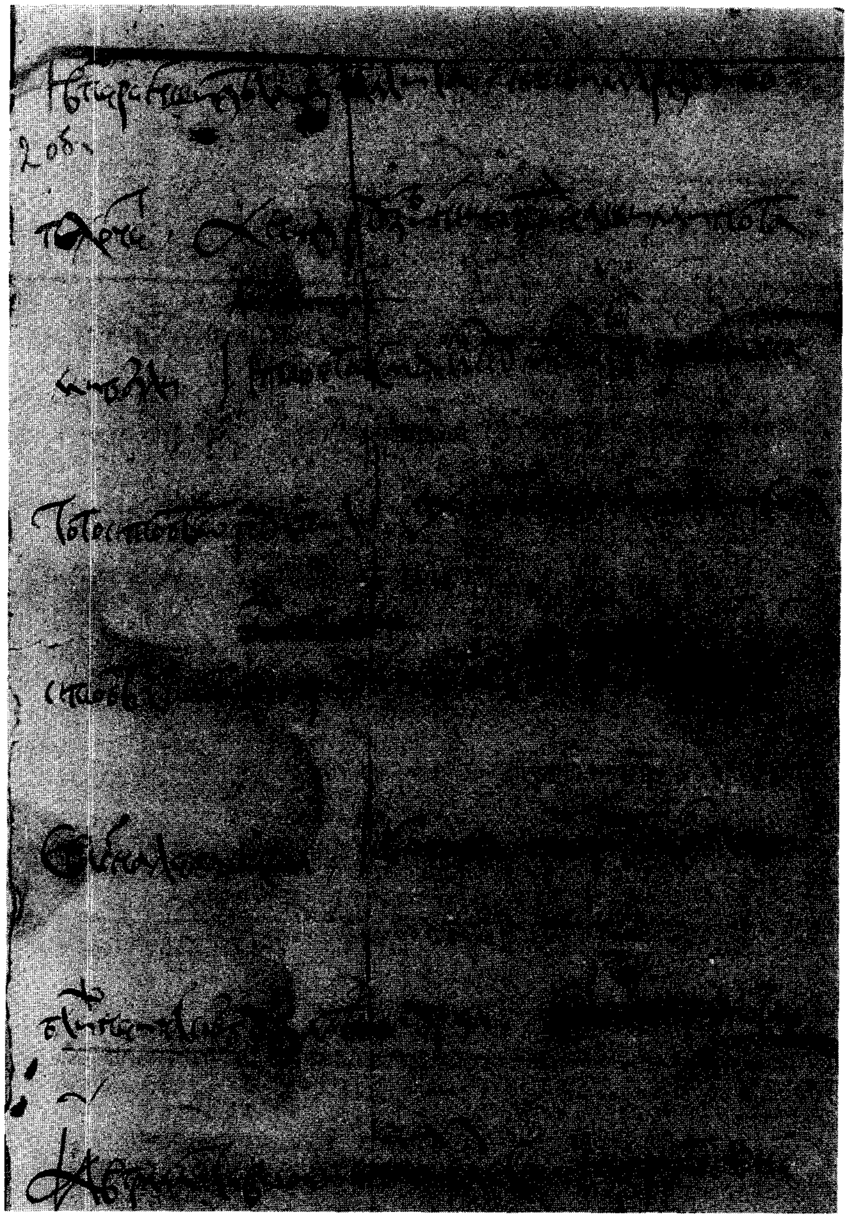
РГАДА, ф. 135, отд. IV, рубр. II, дело 4, лл. 1, 1об., 2–11.

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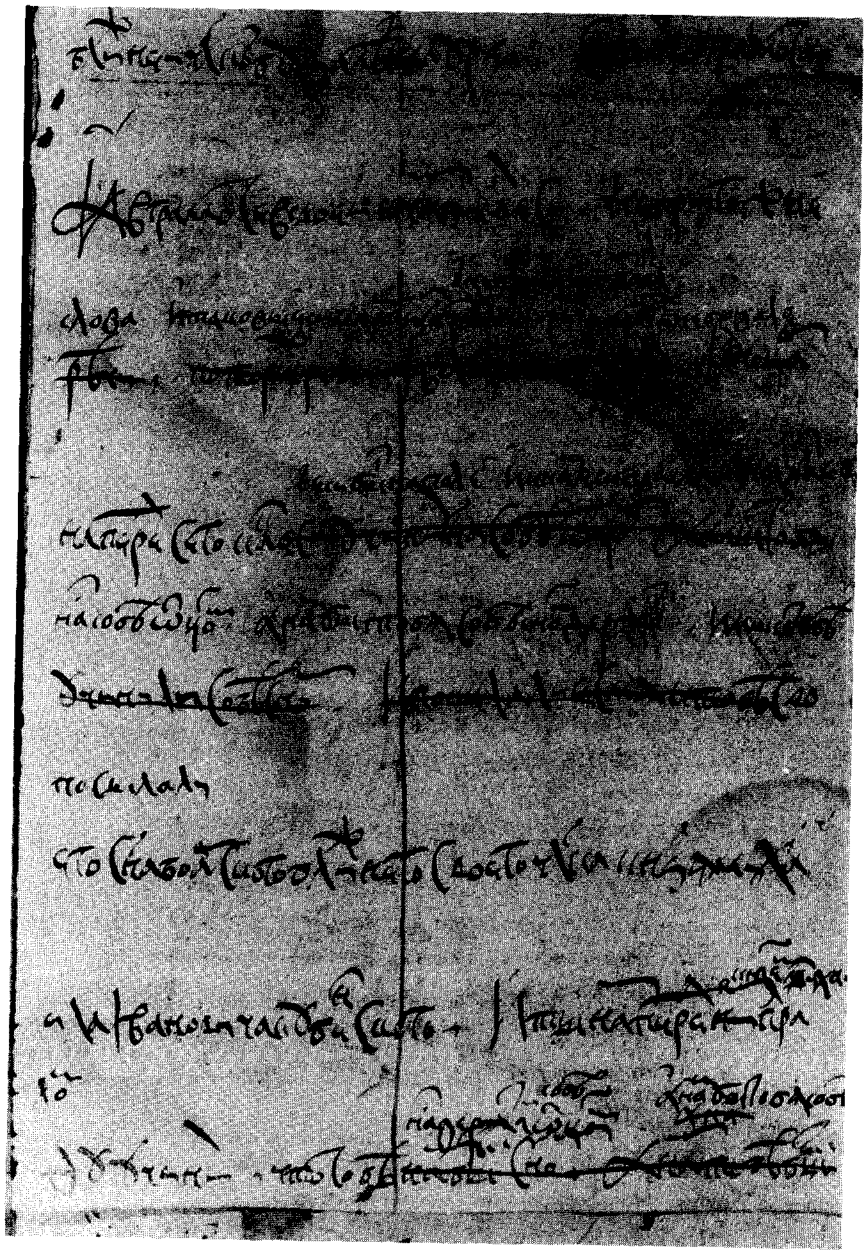
[68] Далее зачеркнуто: «*Миха*»—очевидно, начало имени «*Михаило*».

[69] Далее зачеркнуто: «*Григорей*».

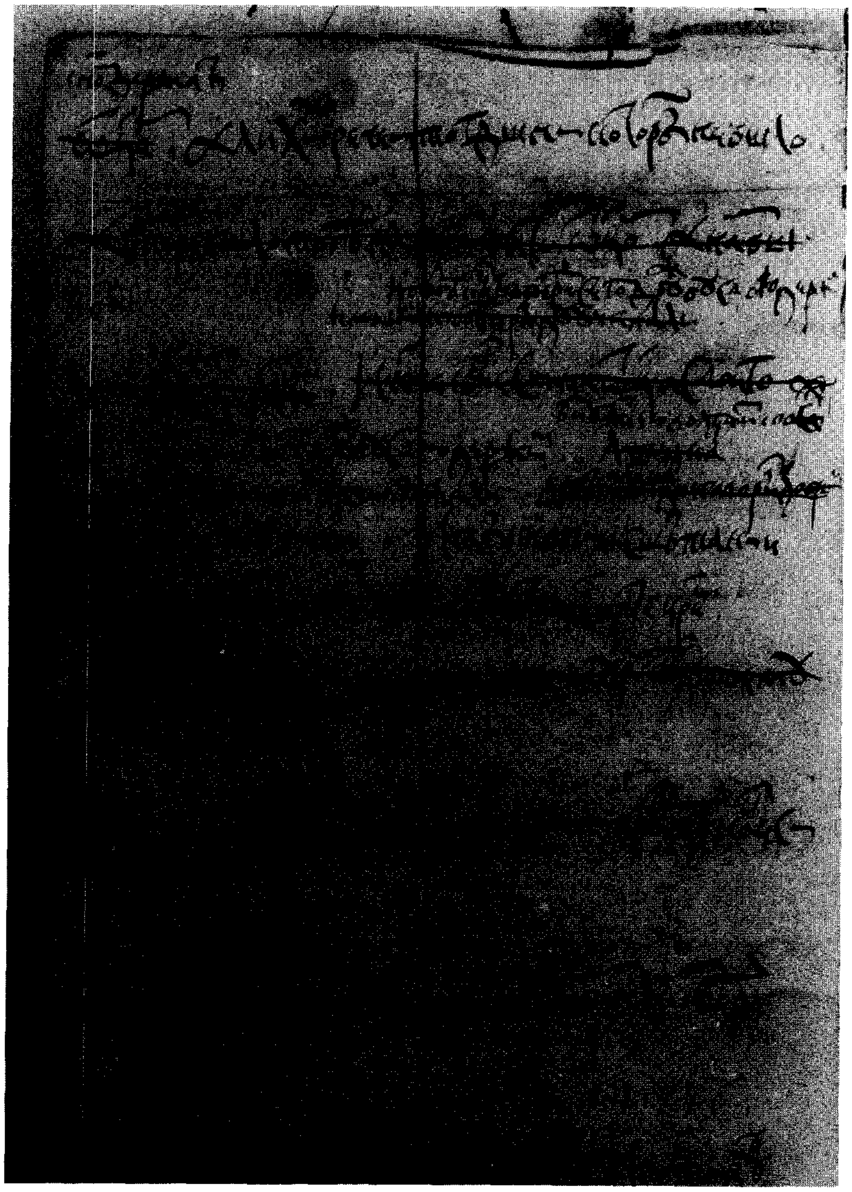
[70] Исправлено из «*Поплевины*». Далее зачеркнуто: «*Михаило Тучков*».



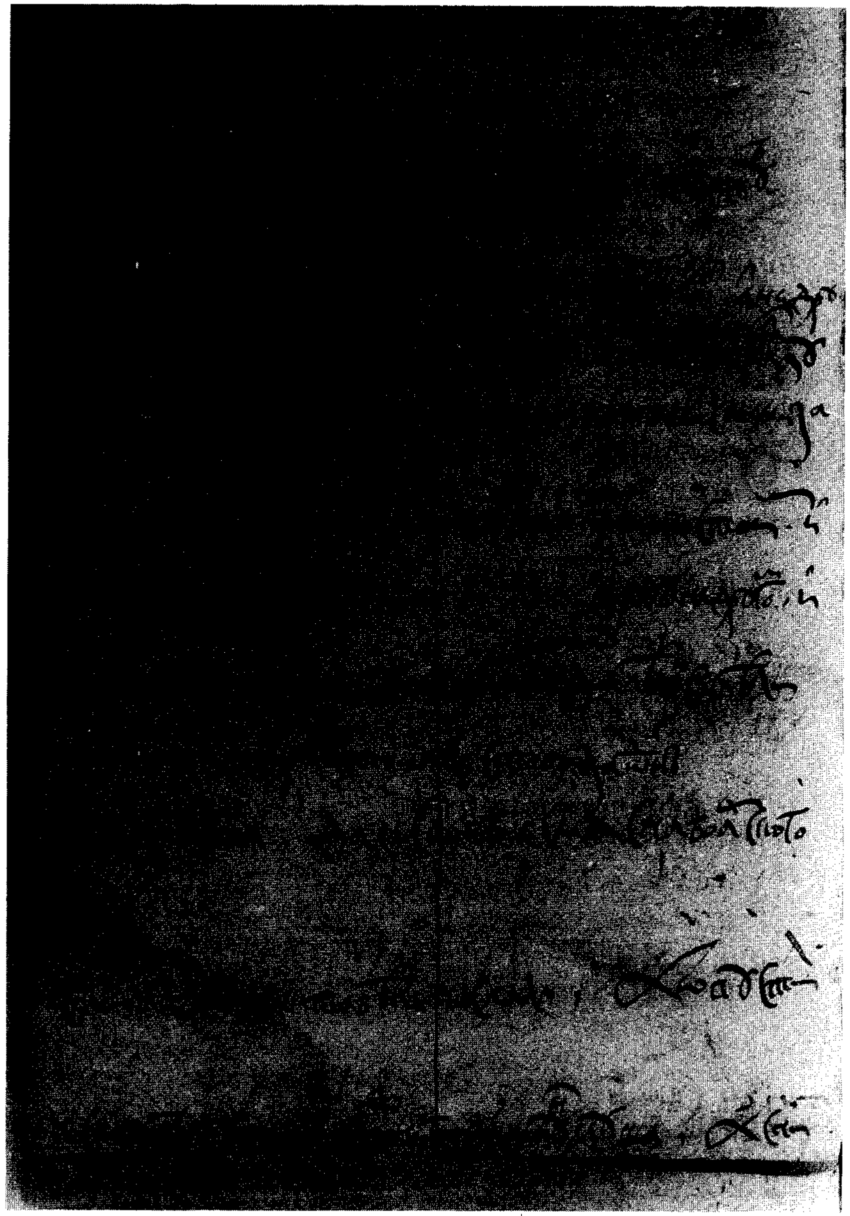
Draft *gramota* of Vasilii III to Khan Islam-Girei, RGADA fond 135, section IV, rubric II, delo 4, list 2[v]



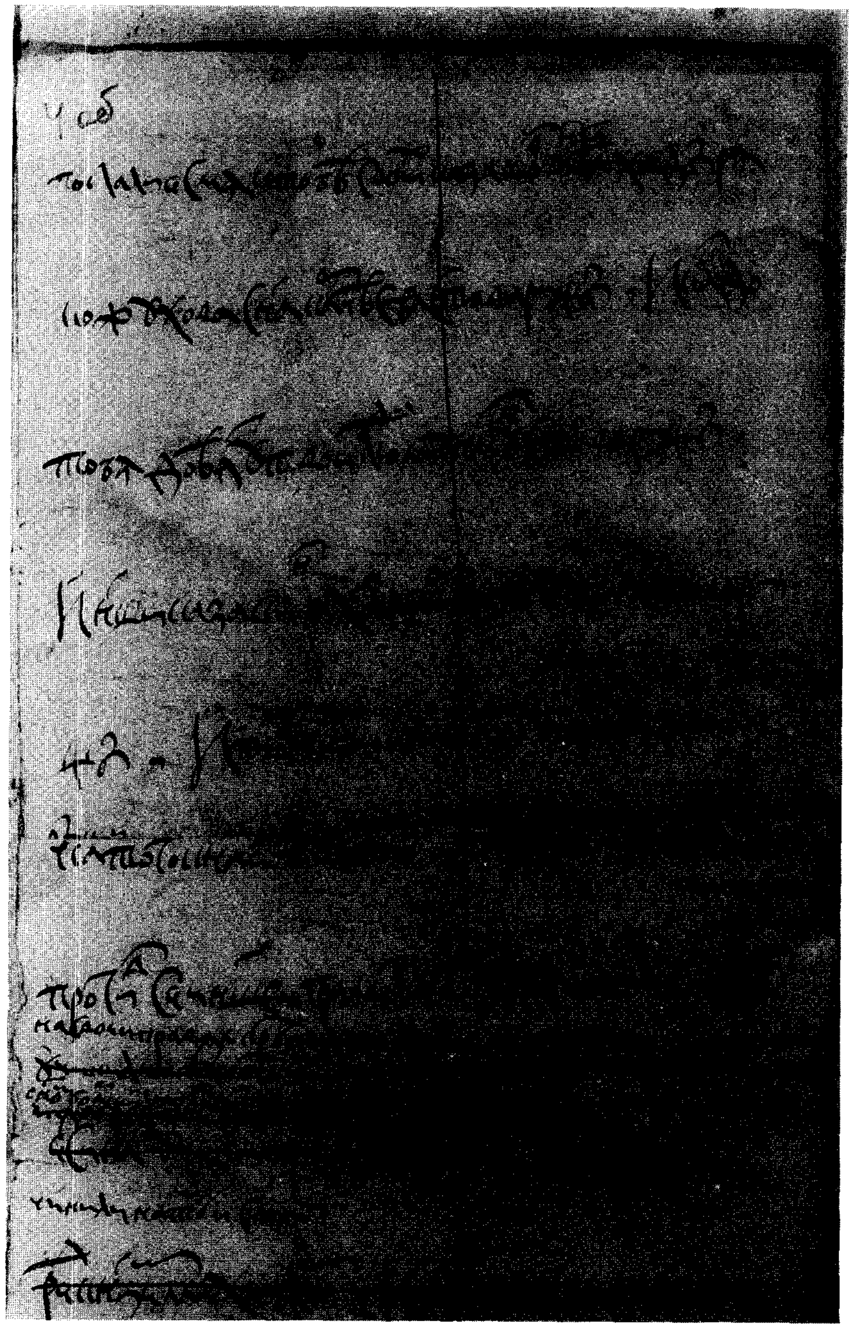
Draft *gramota* of Vasilii III to Khan Islam-Girei, RGADA fond 135, section IV, rubric II, delo 4, list 2v (continued)



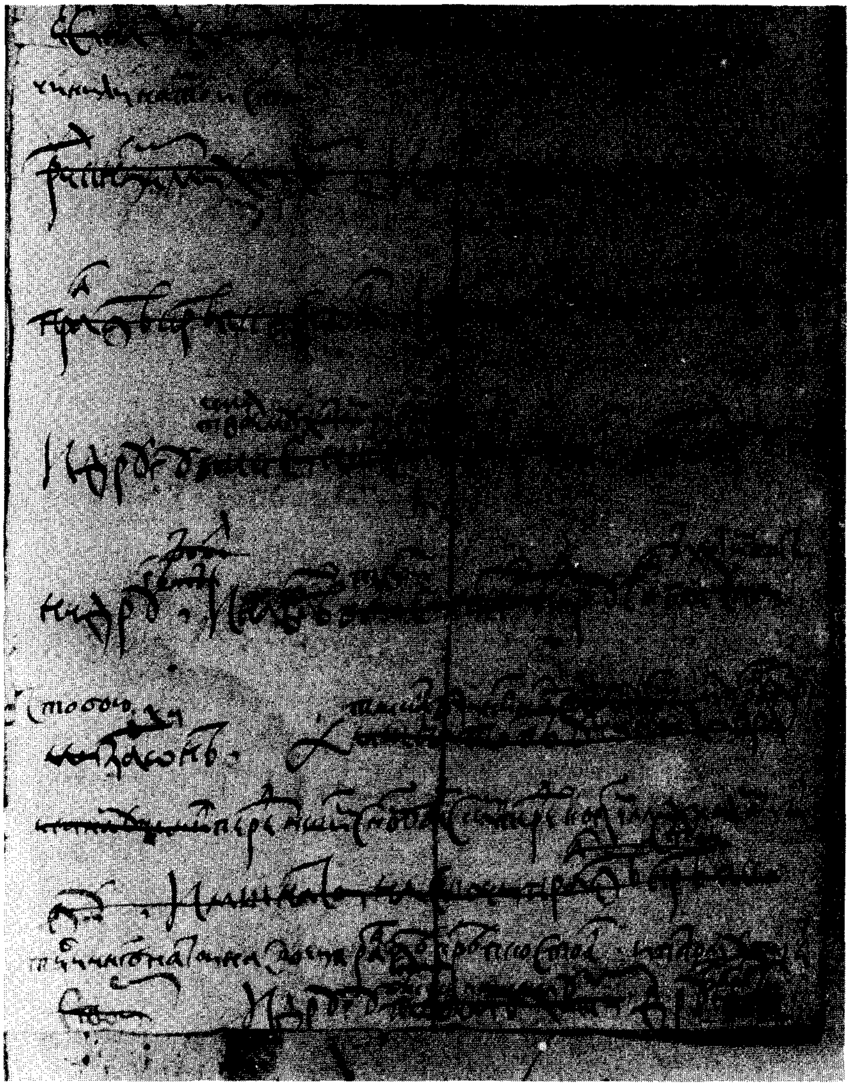
Draft *gramota* of Vasilii III to Khan Islam-Girei, RGADA fond 135, section IV, rubric II, delo 4, list 3[v]



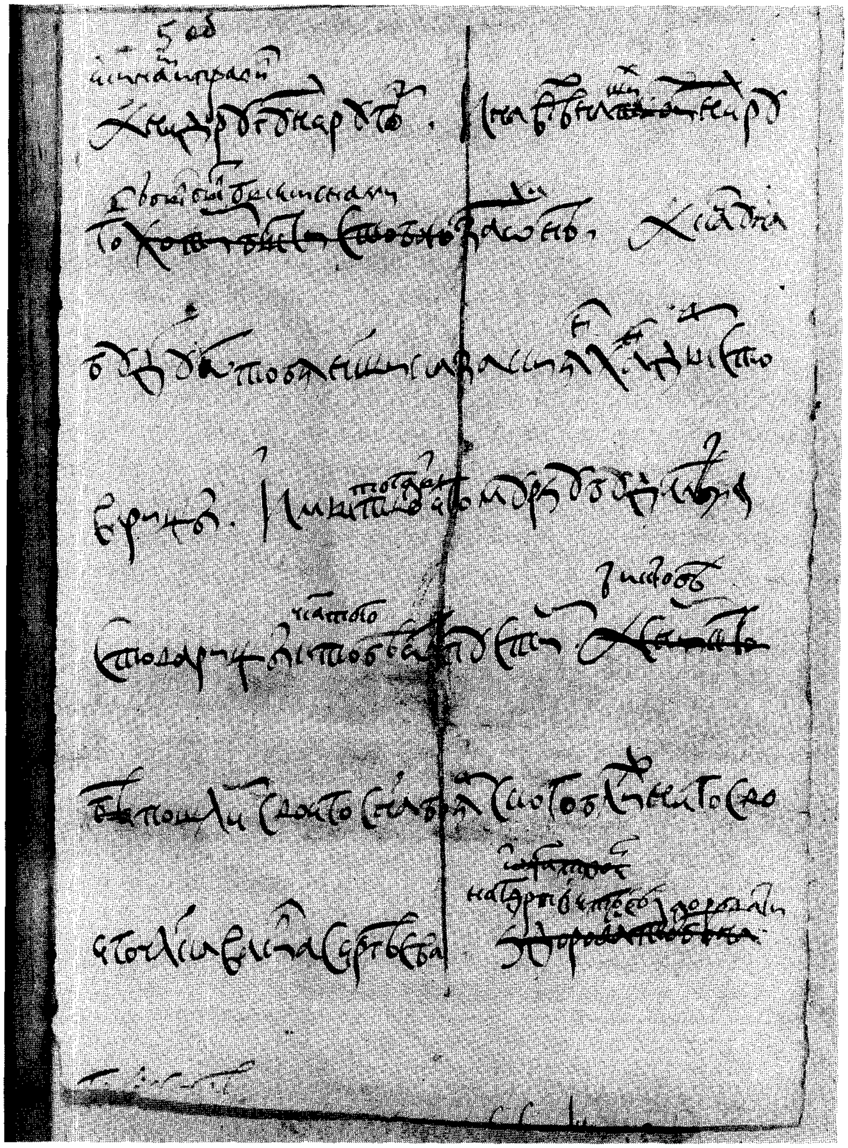
Draft *gramota* of Vasilii III to Khan Islam-Girei, RGADA fond 135, section IV, rubric II, delo 4, list 3[v] (continued)



Draft *gramota* of Vasilii III to Khan Islam-Girei, RGADA fond 135, section IV, rubric II, delo 4, list 4[v]



Draft *gramota* of Vasilii III to Khan Islam-Girei, RGADA fond 135, section IV, rubric II, delo 4, list 4[v] (continued)



Draft *gramota* of Vasilii III to Khan Islam-Girei, RGADA fond 135, section IV, rubric II, delo 4, list 5[v]

Muscovite Elite Women and Old Belief

GEORG MICHELS

The purpose of this essay is to bring back to life a dimension of Russian religious history which has unduly been forgotten by historians. I am referring to the role of seventeenth-century Muscovite women in the emergence and dissemination of Old Belief,[1] that is, a phenomenon of religious protest that would develop into Russia's principal movement of dissent during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[2]

The study of women is crucial to any understanding of early Old Belief. Even a casual look at surviving statistical data contained in lists of arrested individuals or reports by government spies who penetrated secretly into Old Believer communities suggests an astounding reality: women formed a strong numerical majority among early Old Believers.[3] By contrast, they were of little

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[1] I am using here the term "Old Belief" in its broadest possible meaning, that is, anyone who rejected the Nikonian reforms (1652–1658) is called an Old Believer.

[2] Historians have almost completely ignored the question, not only for the seventeenth century, but for subsequent centuries as well. For exceptions, see Petr S. Smirnov, "Znachenie zhenshchiny v istorii russkogo staroobriadcheskogo raskola," *Khristianskoe chtenie* 208 (1902), no. 2:327–50; idem, "Zhenshchina v dele oslableniia staroobriadcheskogo raskola," *Khristianskoe chtenie* 219 (1905), no. 1:50–66; no. 2:500–516. For a rare and provocative populist interpretation, see Vasilii V. Andreev, *Raskol i ego znachenie v narodnoi russkoi istorii* (St. Peterburg, 1870), 250–57. Two Swiss and German women scholars have paid some attention to the depiction of Old Believer women in literary texts. See C. Claus, *Die Stellung der russischen Frau von der Einfuehrung des Christentums bei den Russen bis zu den Reformen Peters des Grossen* (Basel, 1959), chap. 7; Viktoria Pleyer, *Das Russische Altglaeubigentum. Geschichte. Darstellung in der Literatur* (Muenchen, 1961), chap. 6. See also recent republications of the *Zhitie* of Boyarina Morozova, the most famous of Old Believer women, such as A. I. Mazunin, *Povest' o boiaryne Morozovoi* (Leningrad, 1979); "Povest' o boiaryne Morozovoi," *Pamiatniki literatury Drevnei Rusi. XVII vek* (Moscow, 1989), 455–84, 674–81; Natalia S. Demkova, ed., *Povest' o boiaryne Morozovoi* (Moscow, 1991); Natalia V. Ponyrko, *Zhitie protopopa Avvakuma. Zhitie inoka Epifaniia. Zhitie boiaryni Morozovoi* (St. Peterburg, 1994), 108–150, 202–218.

[3] This question needs much further exploration. I base my assessment primarily on reports by agents of the Secret Chancellery from the 1660s and the more systematic data gathered by Petrine agents during the first two decades of the eighteenth century. See, for example, lists of captured dissenters from the Nizhnii Novgorod region (e.g., 19 women vs. 5 men; 10 girls vs. 1 boy; 4 women vs. 1 man); the frequent arrest of monks who lived almost exclusively with women and girls; the strong representation of extended peasant families in which women had a clear majority; or the discovery of purely female communities, in Vera S. Rumiantseva, ed. *Narodnoe antitserkovnoe dvizhenie v Rossii XVII veka. Dokumenty Prikaza tainykh del o*

interest to the Church leadership which arranged major show trials against male leadership figures such as the Archpriests Avvakum or Neronov, but never against women. In anti-Old Belief legislation and polemical texts women are not explicitly mentioned before the beginning of the early eighteenth century. Only then did it dawn on Church leaders and state officials that, as one of them put it, "from the female sex originate the most disgusting schismatic aberrations" (*ot zhenska polu pache proiskhodiat raskol'nicheskie merzostnye prelesti*).[4] Finally, even the Old Believers themselves hardly paid attention to the female founders of the movement. Among the seventy-four biographies of Old Believers gathered by Semen Denisov at the well-known Vyg Community only six were devoted to women.[5]

Why were both Old Belief and official Church silent about women? Does this silence mean that women may have been a numerical majority, but that they were voiceless and without any significant influence among their contemporaries? Were they indeed as powerless as the transmission of historical information controlled by male leaderships in both Old Belief and Orthodox Church makes us believe? My essay will demonstrate that this clearly was not the case. The focus is on female leadership figures who were just as influential, if not more influential, than their male peers. I have consciously omitted the great mass of rank-and-file Old Believer women which must be studied on another occasion. I have also found it necessary to limit myself to women who belonged to the Muscovite boyar and noble elite even though there were other women of varying social background who assumed leadership roles.[6]

Why did these elite women become Old Believers? What were their motives? And what was their impact on their social environments? In order to

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raskol'nikakh 1665–1667 gg. (Moscow, 1986), 76, 114–15, 135–36, 187–94 (hereafter *Dokumenty*). RGADA [=Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov, Moscow], fond 27, Tainyi prikaz, delo 258, chast' 2, listy 38, 52. On the Petrine period, see for example, "Keleinye zhiteli nizhegorodskoi gubernii," in Grigorii V. Esipov, ed. *Raskol'nich'i dela XVIII stoletiia, izvlechennye iz del Preobrazhenskogo prikaza i Tainoi rozysknykh del Kantseliarii*, vol. 2 (St. Peterburg, 1863), 233–39 (spy reports on individual communities counting altogether 1,805 women and 711 men).

[4] *Opisanie dokumentov i del sviateishogo pravitel'stvuiushchego Sinoda*, vol. 1 (St. Peterburg, 1868), 663; "Perechen' raskol'nikov, sudivshikhsia na sobore 1666 goda," in Nikolai I. Subbotin, ed., *Materialy dlia istorii raskola za pervoe vremia ego sushchestvovaniia*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1876), 5–20 (hereafter *Materialy*).

[5] Semen Denisov, *Vinograd rossiiskii ili opisanie postradavshikh v Rossii za drevletserkovnoe blagochestie* (Moscow, 1906), chaps. 10, 24, 45–47, 60.

[6] There is good evidence of leadership roles played by peasant nuns, musketeer widows, and Posad women, see *Dokumenty*, 52, 55, 75, 81, 83, 94, etc.; Aleksandr K. Borozdin, *Protopop Avvakum. Ocherk iz istorii umstvennoi zhizni russkogo obshchestva v XVII veke* (St. Peterburg, 1898), 73; G. Esipov, *Raskol'nich'i dela*, 2:246, 251, 253.

answer these questions I have attempted to reconstruct as much as possible of these women's stories, thoughts, and activities. If that was not possible, I have identified the few tidbits of information about them that can be rescued from historical obscurity.

Historical information about these women comes from a variety of sources. Many curious details could be gathered by a careful reading of well-known Old Believer texts such the *Vita* of Boyarina Morozova and Archpriest Avvakum's letters to his female supporters. But the principal treasure trove of information consists of documents that have survived in official archives. Among them we find, for example, letters written in these women's own hands or dictated to loyal servants. Such letters are unique documents because they allow insights into the minds not only of Old Belief dissenters and elite women, but also into the yet poorly explored mental world of the Muscovite boyar elite. They are deeply moving documents of great personal tragedies. Most of them were written in the midst of unbelievable agony by women who were faced with imminent torture and death. They were rescued by well-wishing male relatives or confiscated by ruthless investigators who deposited them in inquisitorial archives where they gathered dust and mould for centuries. Other documents used here include official reports, protocols of interrogations, denunciations (*izvety*), and instructions to local agents to supervise, control, or capture female nobles.[7]

Any account of these noble women must start with Boyarina Feodosiia Morozova for the simple reason that—unlike the names of other women discussed here—her name is familiar from most standard accounts of Russian history.[8] Morozova was the only noble woman who became the subject of a seventeenth-century Old Believer *Vita*. In fact, there are at least three redactions of this *Vita* as well as a short version which was included in Denisov's Vyg biographies.[9] Clearly, the massive copying and repeated editing of Morozova's

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[7] Most of the information used here was gathered by agents of the tsar's Secret Chancellery during the years following the 1666 Church Council, see RGADA, fond 27, Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv. XXVII razriad. Tainyi prikaz. Portions of this archive have been published, in *Dokumenty*; Vera S. Rumiantseva, *Dokumenty Razriadnogo, Posol'skogo, Novgorodskogo i Tainogo prikazov o raskol'nikakh v gorodakh Rossii. 1654–1684 gg.* (Moscow, 1991); Iakov L. Barskov, ed. *Pamiatniki pervykh let russkogo staroobriadchestva* (St. Petersburg, 1912) (hereafter *Pamiatniki*).

[8] See, for example, James Billington, *The Icon and the Axe. An interpretive history of Russian culture* (New York, 1970), 138, 408, 694 and Paul Bushkovitch, *Religion and Society in Russia. The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1992), 71.

[9] *Materialy*, 8:137–263; Nikolai Iu. Bubnov, ed. *Sochineniia pisatelei-staroobriadtsev XVII veka.* Vol. 7, pt. 1 of *Opisanie Rukopisnogo otdela Biblioteki Akademii nauk SSSR* (Leningrad, 1984), 61, 93, 99–100, 140, 150, 152–53, 188, 213, 236–37.

Vita served the function of making her Old Belief's principal female saint.[10] Due to this process the real Morozova has almost been eclipsed. For example, Morozova's own surviving letters which were addressed to Avvakum and his wife have not been included in the collective memory of Old Belief and are conspicuously absent from Old Believer miscellanies. Our perspective of Morozova remains also distorted by the fact that only a few letters written to Morozova during her lifetime have been included in Old Believer manuscripts.[11] Thus, the story of Morozova's life has been subject to the censorship of later Old Believers.

Indeed, the boyarina appears to us mostly through the eyes of an audience that wanted to see her as a martyr. The *Vita* focuses on the remarkable determination with which she held on to Old Belief even when faced by threats of brutal torture and death. Letters by Avvakum and the monk Avraamii that can be found in Old Believer miscellanies glorify Morozova for her great religious conviction.[12] In short, Morozova appears to us as a larger-than-life saint who did what she was supposed to do, that is, sacrifice her life for the old rituals.

The impression that emerges from her letters and other archival information is not inconsistent with her later martyrdom. Only the focus is different since we learn mostly about Morozova's existence *before* her arrest when she still lived in her palace in Moscow. This Morozova was one of Muscovy's most powerful ladies and she behaved accordingly.

When her husband died in 1662 she inherited one of Muscovy's largest properties, that is, she received control over a far-flung territory with several

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[10] Attached to some of the *Vitae* one finds miracle accounts. See, for example, BAN, Semenovskoe Sobranie, no. 15, Staroobriadcheskii sbornik (1760s–1770s), listy 285–91; A. Mazunin, *Povest'*, 153–55.

[11] N. Bubnov, *Sochinenia*, 32, 105, 116, 165; Vasilii G. Druzhinin, *Pisaniia russkikh staroobriadtsev. Perechen' spiskov, sostavlennyi po pechatnym opisaniiam rukopisnykh sobranii* (St. Peterburg, 1912), 207–209.

[12] See especially a frequently copied letter by the Monk Avraamii to Boyarina Morozova, N. Bubnov, *Sochineniia*, 105, 116, 120, 125, 163, 178, 181, 202, 204; V. Druzhinin, *Pisaniia*, 35–36; *Materialy*, 8:365–70. This highly formulaic letter is not particularly helpful to historians in efforts to reconstruct Morozova's religious world because it is largely identical to another letter of Avraamii's to an unknown male addressee, see Petr S. Smirnov, *Vnutrennie voprosy v raskole v XVII veke* (St. Peterburg, 1898), LXXI–LXXIV. Curiously enough, Old Believers seem to have preferred this rather abstract letter to letters of Avvakum which do indeed contain numerous interesting *realia*. The fact that Avraamii's letter was transmitted in many more manuscripts than those of Avvakum supports our interpretation that later Old Belief cultures were not interested in the actual circumstances of Morozova's life. For Avvakum letters to Morozova that entered Old Believer manuscripts, see "Pamiatniki istorii staroobriadchestva XVII veka," in *Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka* (hereafter *RIB*), vol. 39 (Leningrad, 1927), 405–418.

thousand serfs.[13] Unlike other boyar widows who often expressed their helplessness in administrative matters Morozova immediately took charge of her husband's estates in the name of her only son. For example, she issued orders to parish priests to make sure that their parishioners would actually attend Church services. Parishioners who disobeyed this order were arrested, interrogated, and confined for disciplining in a Moscow monastery. Morozova maintained her power over the lands of her deceased husband despite efforts to strip her of these lands. Between August 1665 and May 1666, for example, agents of the Secret Chancellery made several inventories of the Morozov lands and actually proceeded to confiscate a significant number of them. However, in October 1666 Morozova managed to get almost all of these lands restored in her own name due to the intervention of the tsar's wife, who was her friend.[14] Thus, Morozova continued to hold on to enormous financial resources which allowed her to maintain a large palace in Moscow as well as to support fugitive Old Believers.

Indeed, after the 1666 and 1667 Church Councils, which condemned and exiled the most significant male Old Believers, Morozova's palace became a safe haven for unknown numbers of fugitives. Among them were parish priests who refused to say Mass according to the new rituals. They now performed Mass and other ceremonies in Morozova's private chapel. Morozova was the sole authority above these priests and there was a strong awareness among them that one word by the boyarina could destroy their lives. For example, the Moscow priest Akindin Ivanov wrote in despair to Avvakum that Morozova was in doubt (*v sumnenii*) about him because he had been ordained by Patriarch Nikon. Avvakum should intervene on his behalf "so that she would continue to be merciful to him." Dislocated monks and nuns who had been driven out of their hermitages by persecution also lived with Morozova. Among them was, for example, Sister Melaniia who increasingly won Morozova's trust and greatly influenced her decision to become a nun herself.

[13] In 1647 the Morozov clan owned 10,213 serfs. How many of these came under the control of Feodosiia after the deaths of her husband Gleb Ivanovich Morozov and his brother Boris Ivanovich Morozov (both died at about the same time in late 1661 or early 1662) I have been unable to establish. If we can believe a letter by Avvakum, Morozova owned about 8,000 serfs in the late 1660s. See Robert Crummey, *Aristocrats and Servitors: The Boyar Elite in Russia, 1613–1689* (Princeton, 1983), 114–15, 184–85; *Materialy*, 5:182.

[14] RGADA, fond 210, Razriadnyi prikaz, Prikaznyi stol, delo 218, listy 63–66; Aleksandr I. Zaozerskii, *Tsarskaia votchina XVIII veka* (Moscow, 1937), 29–30; *RIB*, 21:1229–30; *Pamiatniki*, 303–304. By contrast, see Feodosiia's sister-in-law Anna Morozova, widow of Boris Ivanovich Morozova, who repeatedly asked the tsar for protection, in RGADA, fond 396, Oruzheinaia palata, opis' 1, dela 43097, 43417. See also a similar request for protection by the widow of one boyar Tiufiakin, in RGADA, fond 141, Prikaznye dela starykh let, opis' 2, delo 69 (1644).

We also find the deposed Abbot Dosifei who later became known as the founder of numerous Old Believer communities.[15] Thus, Morozova's tutelage provided not only temporary relief from persecution, but also contributed significantly to the long-term survival of Old Belief.

There are indications that Archpriest Avvakum greatly resented Morozova's authority. For example, when Morozova accused some of Avvakum's close associates, and indeed his own children, of disobedience and unreliability (*nepostoiannye*), the Archpriest nearly burst with anger. In a letter he accused Morozova of challenging his leadership:

> You act as if you were the Patriarch and instruct me how I should steer my spiritual children to the Kingdom of Heaven. Oh, no! What pain [you are causing me]! My poor, poor spiritual power (*bednaia, bednaia moia dukhovnaia vlast'*)! Now already a woman (*baba*) tells me how I should be the shepherd of Christ's flock! You are full of dirt, but want to purify others. You are blind, but want to point out the way for those who can see. Come to your senses![16]

Other letters by Avvakum dwell on a similar theme. Morozova's inherited pride as a boyar woman had to be broken and replaced by submissiveness and prayer. For example, in his first letter from the prison colony of Pustoozero the Archpriest wrote the following:

> Are you better than we because you are a boyar woman (*ali ty nas tem lutchi, chto boiarynia*)?... Moon and sun shine equally for everybody... and our Lord has not given any orders to earth and water to serve you more and me less. Honor and status (*chest'*) will evaporate. Only he is honorable who stands up in the middle of the night to pray... Are you still angry with me, my lady (*gosudarynia*)? It seems to me that you have become lazy in your nightly prayers.[17]

Despite such admonitions Avvakum remained greatly aware of his dependence on Morozova's good will. Detained in a distant prison camp he knew that he needed her horses and messengers to keep in touch with his flock. Also, his pastoral letters had to be delivered first to her palace where they could be copied for further dissemination. Finally, Avvakum desperately needed Morozova's money. Otherwise he and his family would live in abject poverty and be without protection against ruthless prison guards. Fear of

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[15] RGADA, fond 27, dela 595, 602; *Pamiatniki*, 40, 51–52, 310–13; P. Smirnov, *Vnutrennye voprosy*, XXIII–XXVII; V. Rumiantseva, *Dokumenty prikazov*, 90–91.

[16] *Pamiatniki*, 42.

[17] *Materialy*, 5:171–72. See also the following remark: "Do not worry about the vanities of this world. You have done enough of that. Your role as a boyar woman is finished and you must join the heavenly aristocracy (*poboiarila, podobe popast' v nebesnoe boiarstvo*)" (ibid., 194–95).

losing the boyarina's support explains why Avvakum repeatedly implored Morozova not to be angry with him, or even worse, to forget him.[18]

Morozova's power was not broken by Avvakum's spiritual demands despite her increasingly fervent devotion to prayer and fasting. Rather, it was broken by a combination of political change and personal tragedy. First, Morozova lost a powerful protector with the death of the tsar's wife. When she refused to participate in the wedding ceremonies for the tsar's second wife, Morozova deeply offended the tsar and lost all sympathy in the Kremlin. Nobody interceded on her behalf when agents of the Secret Chancellery entered her palace in November 1671 to arrest her.[19] The second and probably much more devastating experience was the death of her only son a few months later. No other living individual seems to have been as important to the widow as her son Ivan Glebovich. In Morozova's correspondence with Avvakum she had expressed great concern with Ivan's future, in particular with her ability to find a good wife for him:

> I pray and beg you with tears in my eyes. Ask God on behalf of my son... that he may be united in lawful marriage when the time comes. Pray that the Lord will be merciful on him and give him a bride who is not only pious, but has sympathy for the poor and is hospitable to strangers... I beg all of you for your blessings and prayers that God may give my son a bride for his salvation....[20]

After the loss of her only son Morozova gave up all earthly aspirations and devoted her life entirely to prayer and fasting. Indeed, Morozova's readiness to die, which has been amply glorified in her *Vita,* can largely be understood in the context of the deep personal crisis that followed the loss of the one person who was closest to her. Still, the remarkable strength of this woman remained intact. Like Avvakum, she made not the least compromise with official authority and chose death despite numerous occasions to save her life by recantation.

The necessity of defending Old Belief by dying a martyr's death was not necessarily felt by other boyar women. Rather, they behaved much more like Morozova *before* her crisis and used the introduction of the new rituals as an unprecedented occasion for rebelling against the male-dominated world of Russian religion. Like Morozova, these women gained considerable power and influence.

One of the most outspoken defenders of Old Belief was Elena Khrushcheva. Elena belonged to a little known but apparently ambitious boyar clan that

[18] See, for example, *Pamiatniki*, 43, 52–53; *Materialy*, 5:173, 180, 190, 194.
[19] N. Ponyrko, *Zhitie*, 115, 205.
[20] *Pamiatniki*, 41. See also ibid., 35.

eventually produced at least one member of the Boyar Duma during the seventeenth century. Elena's male relatives were not exactly known for their friendliness towards women. One Fedor Khrushchev, for example, became known for persecuting the abbess and sisters of a convent by stealing wood from their forests.[21]

It may have been ironic for the male Khrushchevs that Elena decided to become a nun. Indeed, Elena's choosing a religious life may have fulfilled a similar function to the decision of one of her female relatives to separate from the Khrushchev clan by means of divorce.[22] While the divorce of Elena's obscure relative attracted only very brief attention, Elena's dramatic career as a nun made her one of the most feared and—at the same time—revered women of seventeenth-century Muscovy.

Elena was very ambitious, and under Patriarch Nikon was appointed "superviser of ceremonies" (*ustavshchitsa*) of the Vosnesenskii Monastery in the Kremlin, one of the most important convents in Muscovy. Clearly, by the early 1660s Elena had become a very powerful religious woman and as such participated directly in the great controversy over the removal of Patriarch Nikon. Curiously enough she did not attack Nikon, as one might expect from her later affiliation with Old Belief, but was one of his supporters. Indeed, Elena became involved in a secret plot to return Nikon to the patriarchal throne. She was denounced to the tsar in December 1664 because she was present when Patriarch Nikon and his retinue broke into the Kremlin and conducted an unauthorized midnight Mass in the Uspenskii Cathedral.[23]

Elena apparently got into trouble because of this behavior, because shortly afterward she was in conflict with the abbess of her convent. In a petition to the tsar, Elena denounced the abbess for being illiterate and for withholding the new liturgical books from the convent. This was an astute political maneuvre, because the abbess was greatly embarassed and had to prove her literacy and justify her behavior in writing. Still, Elena had miscalculated. The tsar accepted the abbess's excuse and Elena was forced to change her defense strategy.

It is important to note that it was only at this point that Elena decided to become a defender of the old liturigical books. When the new books arrived at the Kremlin convent in July 1666 Elena gave orders to reject them. She had many allies among both nuns and priests, and brutal attempts by the abbess to punish Elena's supporters by putting them in chains (*sazhat' na tsep'*) did not

[21] R. Crummey, *Aristocrats*, 155, 203.

[22] On the divorce of Antonida Khrushcheva from one of Elena's male relatives, see a document mentioned in *Dokumenty*, 35, fn. 2.

[23] *Delo o patriarkhe Nikone* (St. Peterburg, 1897), 133–134.

resolve the conflict. Indeed, the abbess was beginning to lose power over her own cellmates and personal protegées who sided with Elena. Elena's power was only broken when the tsar intervened and replaced her with a male official. In response, Elena locked herself into her cell with her most fervent supporters and continued to say Mass according to the old books.[24]

Elena was finally evicted from the Kremlin convent and exiled to Kaluga. Anybody who thought that Elena's power had finally been broken was soon proved to be mistaken. Indeed, it was as an outcast from the official Church that Elena would live the most heroic years of her life.

During the early 1670s Elena returned to Moscow and became again a very active figure. For example, she organized several prison escapes of Morozova's sister Evdokiia Urusova, who had been incarcerated shortly after Morozova's arrest. Accompanied by Elena, Evdokiia would sneak through the abandoned streets of Moscow at night only to return at her own insistence to her dungeon the next morning.[25] Also, Elena maintained secret contacts with Morozova, who was kept under heavy guard in another prison. How much courage was involved in her actions can be seen from one episode: One night when Morozova was being held for interrogation at a Moscow monastery, Elena climbed on the roof of an outhouse to which Morozova would be led to relieve herself. When Morozova arrived Elena talked to her through the roof. Elena remained in close contact with Morozova and her sister until the very end. Her secret visits in their prison cells suggest that Elena could have saved them, but it appears that she was unable to convince the two sisters not to sacrifice themselves.[26]

After the death of Morozova, Elena became so powerful in the Moscow religious underground that Archpriest Avvakum considered her a major competitor. In his last letters before his execution in 1682, the archpriest expressed extreme fury with Elena. Against Avvakum's will Elena had just forced a boyar woman named Kseniia to divorce her husband. Avvakum was particularly fond of Kseniia and had sanctioned her remarriage to an unknown man after she had been widowed at a young age. Following the birth of Kseniia's second child, Elena had begun to denounce her for remarrying. She eventually went so far as to declare Kseniia's children illegimate and almost drowned (*umoril*) one of them in a fit of anger. And still not enough, when Kseniia failed to separate from her husband, Elena ostracised her from the Moscow Old Belief community. It was at this point that Avvakum took

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[24] *Pravoslavnoe obozrenie*, 1885, no. 2:66–67; P. Smirnov, "Zhenshchina v dele raskola," 51–54.

[25] N. Ponyrko, *Zhitie*, 127–28.

[26] Ibid., 123–24, 137–39.

decisive action. He denounced Elena "for making fun of Christians" (*nad khristiany igraet*) and excommunicated her for a period of seven years. Female leaders of the Moscow community were instructed to "discipline the unruly woman" (*smirit' beschinnitsu*) and all Moscow Old Believers were told to avoid contact with Elena for at least three years. To guarantee Elena's submission to his authority Avvakum instructed his close associate, the former Abbot Dosifei, to supervise her directly.[27]

Still, Avvakum was far away from Moscow and there was probably very little he could actually do to curtail Elena's authority. In any case, Elena did not obey Avvakum. Certainly, she lost some influence due to Avvakum's intervention, but she nevertheless managed to maintain her spiritual and social power over other Old Believers. When the Moscow community no longer suited Elena she made her way south to Kaluga, where she had previously established contacts during her exile. Indeed under her auspices the town of Kaluga became one of the most virulent outposts of Old Belief during the seventeenth century. After Elena's death, which must have occurred at some point during the early 1690s, the banner of Old Belief continued to be held high at Kaluga by Elena's disciples well into the eighteenth century. Indeed, investigators of the Holy Synod who came to Kaluga in 1720 were shocked to find a town in the Russian Empire where so many parish priests and monks were openly practicing the old rites.[28]

It is conceivable that Elena became an Old Believer saint after her death, even though I have not found any direct evidence. We know, for example, that not far from Kaluga there were several graves of seventeenth-century Old Believer saints which became the destination of Old Believer pilgrimages during the eighteenth century.[29] While Elena's possible canonization by later Old Believers remains to be investigated, it is clear that this courageous boyar woman left a lasting imprint not only on the religious landscape of Muscovy, but on that of early imperial Russia as well.

There are good indications that other boyar nuns were just as influential in promoting Old Belief. Among them was, for example, Evpraksiia Nashchokina, whose male relatives included Afanasii Lavrent'evich Ordyn-Nashchokin, one of Muscovy's most dynamic politicians during the late seventeenth century. Evpraksiia had entered the Vvedenskii Convent in

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[27] *RIB*, 39:835–62, esp. 858; *Materialy*, 8:94–97. See also P. Smirnov, *Vnutrennie voprosy*, 170–72 and Pierre Pascal, *Avvakum et les débuts du raskol. La crise religieuse au XVIIe siècle en Russie* (Paris, 1938), 537–39.

[28] I. Tikhomirov, *Raskol v predelakh Kaluzhskoi eparkhii* (Kaluga, 1900), 20; Mikhail I. Lileev, *Iz istorii raskola na Vetke i Starodub'e XVII–XVIII vv.* (Kiev, 1893), 179–80; *Kaluzhskie eparkhial'nye vedomosti*, 1862, no. 9:142–44.

[29] Lileev, ibid.

Viazniki, where she supervised and instructed young novices. One of these novices, a peasant girl who had adopted the monastic name Uleia, told agents of the tsar's Secret Chancellery about Evpraksiia in January 1666. Evpraksiia had a close ally in her Mother Superior, the Abbess Marfa. Marfa was not an average abbess, but a well-known personality with connections in the highest Church circles. Indeed, during the late 1640s and early 1650s she had become the only woman who participated in the Church reform party around the tsar's confessor Stefan Vonifat'ev. We do not know Marfa's family affiliation, but it is clear that she had powerful mentors at the Kremlin, where she was frequently a visitor.[30]

Marfa and Evpraksiia exerted a powerful influence on their immediate social environment. Instructed by these elite women, the more than two hundred nuns who were then crowded in the Vvedenskii convent abided by the old liturgies. The priest of the convent, one Vasilii Fedorov, was stunned when the sisters began to boycott his services. He had distributed communion at the convent for many years and simply could not understand why the nuns would now suddenly refuse to accept the new Nikonian hosts. We do not know if Marfa and Evpraksiia had anything to do with Fedorov's murder, which occurred a few weeks after he denounced the Vvedenskii nuns to the tsar. Still, it is clear that Old Belief was not just confined to the walls of their convent. Agents of the tsar's Secret Chancellery who came to Viazniki to investigate the murder of the Vvedenskii priest found that the town of Viazniki and its hinterlands adhered to the old rites as well.[31]

The Vvedenskii Monastery was certainly not the only convent which converted to Old Belief under the leadership of boyar nuns. Indeed, in April 1666 the Novodevich'ii Monastery, which was then one of the most powerful convents in Muscovy, came to the attention of the Kremlin. The Abbess of the convent was forced to admit that "new liturgical books were neither in the monastery, nor in its church and hospital." The tsar made this affair his personal concern because he was obviously embarrassed about the disloyalty of one of his favorite monasteries. Agents of his Secret Chancellery were given the task to bring the convent into line and carefully recorded every step involved in the transfer of new liturgical books from the patriarchal printing press to the doorsteps of the convent.[32]

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[30] RGADA, fond 27, delo 258, chast' 5, list 13; delo 259, list 11; *Dokumenty*, 98; P. Pascal, *Avvakum*, 170–71; R. Crummey, *Aristocrats*, 54–58, 61, 98–101, etc.; Pavel M. Stroev, *Spiski ierarkhov i nastoiatelei monastyrei rossiiskoi tserkvi* (St. Peterburg, 1877), 723; P. Smirnov, *Vnutrennie voprosy*, lviii–lix.

[31] RGADA, fond 27, delo 258, chast' 4, listy 1–89; *Dokumenty*, 50–51; *Pamiatniki*, 329–31.

[32] RGADA, fond 210, Razriadnyi prikaz, delo 985, listy 589–93, Petition by Abbess Melaniia and various notes by agents of the Secret Chancellery.

We have no certainty that the nuns—or at least some of them—did not continue to abide by the old rites. Shortly afterwards the Novodevich'ii nun Marina, who was from the boyar clan of the Potemkins, as well as her daughter came to the attention of official authorities. The two, who remain otherwise obscure to us, can be identified as the mother and sister of two of the most important Old Believers of the seventeenth century, that is, Efrem and Spiridon Potemkin. The elder Potemkina must have been very influential indeed because her other daugther Ul'iana was the mother of Fedor Mikhailovich Rtishchev, who was one of Muscovy's most powerful politicians. That Marina was an active advocate of Old Belief—and possibly responsible for encouraging her sons to become Old Believers—is demonstrated by her efforts to intervene in the proceedings of the 1666 Church Council. In a petition which she submitted to the tsar she begged not to dishonor her boyar son Efrem by forcing him to recant his beliefs in public.[33]

The example of these two Novodevich'ii nuns demonstrates again the affiliation of Old Belief with the highest female religious circles of Muscovite society. There is some evidence that other elite nuns and convents were at least temporarily adhering to Old Belief. However, it appears that in the end all such efforts to assert the old rites were doomed to failure. By the late 1670s the new liturgical order had most likely triumphed in all noble convents.[34]

Still, this development did not mean that Old Belief lost its elite female promoters. Rather, it means that elite women who decided to support Old Belief had to separate their ties with the religious establishment of Muscovy once and for all. After the convents had been brought into line there was no longer any institutional protection for female Old Believers. It is interesting to note that a few courageous elite women continued to provide protection and orientation for rank-and-file Old Believers through other means.

Very important in this regard were households led by widows, or when husbands were still alive, the secluded female quarters of elite homes. After the arrest of boyarina Morozova Old Believers hiding in Moscow appear to have sought the protection of one woman in particular: Princess Anna Khilkova.

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[33] *Materialy*, 2:103; Serafim A. Arkhangelov, *Sredi raskol'nikov i sektantov Povolzh'ia. Istoriko-bytovye ocherki raskola i sektantstva v Nizhegorodskom krae* (St. Peterburg, 1899), 6–7; Pierre Pascal, "Un pauvre homme, grand fondateur: Ephrem Potemkin," in *Melanges en l'honneur de Jules Legras* (Paris, 1939), 222.

[34] See, for example, Abbess Maremiana Palchikova of the Kazanskii Monastery at Kaluga, who ruled over her convent until 1680; or Abbess Feofaniia Paskova who led the Voznesenskii Convent in the Kremlin after 1673. Most of the convents were probably brought into line shortly after the 1666 Church Council as indicated by the temporary confinement of Abbess Iraida of the Rozhdestvenskii Monastery in Moscow. See Nikolai F. Kapterev, *Patriarkh Nikon i tsar' Aleksei Mikhailovich*, vol. 1 (Sergiev Posad, 1910), 507; P. Stroev, *Spiski ierarkhov*, 223, 227, 582.

Anna was the wife of Iakov Vasil'evich Khilkov, who obtained a seat on the Boyar Duma in 1682. We do not know if this powerful player at the Kremlin court was aware of his wife's secret practice of Old Belief. In any case, while he was busy with political matters his home became a safe haven for the outlawed priest Prokopii. Prokopii was none less than Morozova's former spiritual father who—after his loss of employment—had been eking out a living in the streets of Moscow. He was very happy when he found refuge in Khilkova's private quarters, where he regularly read Mass according to the old books.[35] Khilkova was not alone in her support for Old Belief, however. Old Believers were also found in the homes of the widow Palageia Volkonskaia and her sister Evdokiia Leonteva. Both were important figures in Moscow society due to the influence of their father Zamiatnia Fedorovich Leont'ev, who had joined the Boyar Duma in 1662. They appear to have become interested in Old Belief after the sudden death of their father in March 1670.[36] Finally, there were unknown numbers of boyar women who had been deeply impressed by Morozova's martyrdom. We know, for example, that boyar women flocked to the Novodevich'ii Monastery when Morozova was temporarily held there during the early 1670s. Could it be that some of them followed Morozova's example of sheltering Old Believers in their homes? If so, we would have to look particularly at the women of the Sheremetev and Miloslavskii clans, who had strongly supported Avvakum and his family before the archpriest's exile from the capital.[37]

Outside Moscow, the households of provincial noble women became important nuclei of support for Old Believers. One might think, for example, of the manor (*usad'ba*) of the widow Katerina Palitsyna, which was regularly visited by Old Believers who were passing by on the nearby road.[38] *Pani* Tsekhanovitskaia, the wife of the voevoda of Mezen' and a noble woman from Poland, also converted to Old Belief, probably without the knowledge of her husband. Avvakum's wife and children who lived in Mezen' knew her and

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[35] "Rasprosnye rechi raspopa Prokof'ia," in *Dopolneniia k aktam istoricheskim, sobrannye Arkheograficheskoi kommissiei*, vol. 12 (St. Peterburg, 1872), 203–205; *Pamiatniki*, 315; R. Crummey, *Aristocrats*, 203.

[36] RGADA, fond 27, dela 607–608, Chelobitnye Evdokii I. Leont'evoi tsariu i patriarkhu; dela 609–612, Letters written by Evdokiia I. Leont'eva and members of her family; *Pamiatniki*, 71–77, 326–28; R. Crummey, *Aristocrats*, 28, 194.

[37] Avvakum's brother Gerasim was Evdokiia Bogdanova Sheremeteva's personal confessor during the 1650s and Avvakum frequently stayed at Anna Petrovna Miloslavskaia's home before his exile. See Andrei N. Robinson, ed., *Zhizneopisaniia Avvakuma i Epifaniia* (Moscow, 1963), 144, 163, 225, 265.

[38] RGADA, fond 159, Novgorodskii prikaz, opis' 1, delo 1395, listy 263–64; Vera S. Rumiantseva, *Narodnoe antitserkovnoe dvizhenie v Rossii v XVII veke* (Moscow, 1986), 191.

must have greatly benefitted from her support. Avvakum was deeply impressed by her religious zeal and spoke very highly of her ecstatic visions.[39]

Estates administered by elite women were also important for the survival of Old Belief. The Nizhnii Novgorod estate of Princess Ovdot'ia Vasil'evna Pozharskaia, the widowed wife of Semen Romanovich Pozharskii, produced numerous adherents of Old Belief among its peasants. Among them were the peasant women Darka and Marfitsa who lived in the company of several daughters, but without husbands.[40] Similar observations can be made about a Murom estate that belonged to Anna Vasil'evna Cherkasskaia, the wife of Prince Petr Akmurzin Cherkasskii.[41] During the 1680s, when Empress Sophia began a brutal campaign against Old Belief, female-run noble estates became more important than ever. Among them were the Poshekhon'e estates of the sisters and wife of one Fedor Tokmachev. Fedor was a fervent preacher of Old Belief and had fled to save his life. While he was hiding in the forests the female members of his family continued to abide by the old rituals. Investigators were greatly frustrated by the local influence of the female Tokmachevs. They threatened their peasants and noble neighbors with severe punishment because they apparently would not dare to report on these women.[42]

Similar roles were played by the female members of several Novgorod servitor clans. The widow Tat'iana Dirina became notorious because at least two of her sons were leading protagonists of Old Belief. When persecution forced the Dirin brothers to leave their own estates they fled to their mother's estate. Here investigators tracked them down, but Tat'iana and her daughters managed to hide them. Finally, Tat'iana was forced to flee herself and went into hiding on the estate of her granddaughter. The widow Afrosinia Bolkoshina, mother of the provincial nobleman Maksim Bolkoshin, was also identified as a major supporter of Old Belief. Indeed, she was considered so dangerous that she was imprisoned in the Pokrovskii Monastery at Suzdal'—a convent where numerous dissident women from the highest Muscovite circles were held in captivity during this period.[43] Finally, one might think of Uliana

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[39] A. Borozdin, *Protopop Avvakum*, 128, 303; *Materialy*, 5:67, 108–110.

[40] RGADA, fond 27, delo 258, chast' 2, list 2; chast' 4, list 134; chast' 5, list 69; *Dokumenty*, 105, 107.

[41] S. N. Vvedenskii, "Iz tserkovnoi stariny Muromskogo kraia," *Trudy Vladimirskoi uchenoi arkhivnoi komissii 11* (1909):16–17.

[42] RGADA, fond 210, Razriadnyi prikaz, Novgorodskii stol, delo 335, listy 16, 39, 46, 55, 62–65, 77.

[43] See, for example, a Polish szlachta woman who was kept under supervision in the Suzdal' convent during the 1660s, in Ivan F. Tokmakov, *Istoricheskoe i arkheologicheskoe opisanie Pokrovskogo devich'ego monastyria v gorode Suzdale* (Moscow, 1889), *Prilozheniia*, 22–25. We also know that Russian tsars send their discarded wives to this particular convent, see M.

Khvostova, who became caretaker of her brother Dmitrii's estate. When investigators forced their way into her manor Uliana stubbornly refused to tell them about the hiding place of her brother.[44]

Thus, there can be no doubt that noble women of all ranks contributed significantly to the dissemination of Old Belief. One might cite several more examples.[45] However, suffice it to refer in conclusion to one of the most spectacular and unusual cases of Old Belief among elite women.

In early 1678 officials tracked down Evdokiia Petrovna Naryshkina, who was none other than the aunt of Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich's second wife. After the death of her husband, boyar Fedor Poluektovich Naryshkin, in December 1676, Evdokiia had taken her children and fled to the home of her mother in the small town of Lobachevo outside Nizhnii Novgorod.[46] Evdokiia and her mother soon became known as fervent defenders of Old Belief who had frequent visitors from surrounding settlements. The tsar was very alarmed, and to prevent any further contact of the two women with the outside world ordered armed guards to take position in Lobachevo. Evdokiia greatly resented this interference and openly resisted the guards. We know, for example, that she assaulted the head of the guards—one Daniil Cherntsov—by beating him and pulling his beard. And not enough, she and the other Naryshkins, that is, her mother and children, began thrashing Daniil's wife. Still, such actions did not improve the Naryshkins' lot. They remained confined to their house and began plotting their escape. Indeed, they finally managed to execute their plans and escape with their entire household through a neighboring swamp. Soon afterwards they established another hideout in an isolated forest clearing where they lived without any trouble until August 1681, when agents of the tsar managed to locate and arrest them.[47]

Evdokiia's conversion to Old Belief probably remained a great mystery to Moscow elite circles. Everybody knew Evdokiia or at least had heard of her,

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Thomas, "Muscovite Convents in the Seventeenth Century," *Russian History/Histoire Russe*, vol. 10 (1983), no. 2:234.

[44] RGADA, fond 159, opis' 1, delo 1395, listy 25–39, 55–58, 86r–v.

[45] See, for example, the boyar wife Mariia Gerasimova Danilova; the boyar sisters Matrona and Paraskoviia who are known to us only under their monastic names; or the nun Afanasiia who was probably the sister of Evdokiia Leont'eva, in RGADA, fond 27, delo 613, Letter by Afanasiia to Evdokiia I. Leont'eva; *Pamiatniki*, 78, 328; A. Mazunin, *Povest'*, 101–105; N. Bubnov, *Sochineniia*, 166. A few other examples will be mentioned further on in this essay.

[46] Fedor Poluektovich apparently lost his influence at the court after the sudden death of Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich in January 1676. He died in December 1676 "either in Moscow or in exile." See Pavel I. Mel'nikov, "Avdot'ia Petrovna Naryshkina. Istoricheskaia zametka," *Russkii vestnik*, 1872, no. 1:145–59, esp. 152–53.

[47] P. I. Piskarev, "Chernushinskaia volost'," *Nizhegorodskie gubernskie vedomosti*, 1849, no. 67:267–68; P. Pascal, *Avvakum*, 524–25.

because not only was she the aunt of the tsar's wife but also the daughter of a Scotsman named Peter Hamilton.[48] In those days marriages of boyars to foreign women were still very unusual. However, when Fedor Naryshkin had married a Scottish woman during the 1660s he had only followed the example of his mentor, the well-known diplomat Artamon Sergeevich Matveev. Indeed, Evdokiia was the niece of Matveev's wife, who also was a Hamilton.[49] If we consider that Matveev was one of the most educated men of seventeenth-century Muscovy, we can assume with some certainty that Evdokiia herself was much more educated than the average boyar woman. It is likely that she had access to Matveev's library, which contained many foreign books on subjects such as science and geography. If not, she was constantly confronted with the abundance of European artifacts like mirrors, furniture, and maps which Matveev and his retainers had assembled in their homes. In short, Evdokiia belonged to an exclusive elite circle which was much more inclined to adopt Western mores than any other groups of Muscovite society. Indeed, while she was supporting Old Belief other members of the Naryshkin family promoted Western architecture and art—a phenomenon that became known as the so-called "Naryshkin baroque."[50]

Why did Evdokiia Naryshkina defend Old Belief? Why did this Scotswoman who had married into one of Muscovy's prominent families decide to leave Orthodoxy? These puzzling questions can only be answered in the context of the more general problem of why other Muscovite elite women adopted Old Belief. There is no easy solution to this problem, but I would like to propose a few possible avenues of investigation.

A crucial dimension which cannot be neglected, but can hardly be done justice by any historical analysis, is the strength of religious belief and conviction. A most moving example of this reality are the letters by Feodosiia Morozova's sister Evdokiia Urusova to her children. This boyar woman, who

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[48] Little is known about Peter Hamilton except that he was a Catholic refugee who—like the much better known Patrick Gordon and other Scotsmen—"was forced to seek his fortune abroad." See Archibald F. Steuart, *Scottish Influences in Russian History* (Glasgow, 1913), 41–43, 47–70; John H. Burton, *The Scot Abroad* (Edinburgh-London, 1881), 190–93, 348–72; *The Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 8 (Oxford, 1964), 222–24.

[49] One Scottish interpreter asserts that Evdokiia and Matveev's wife were sisters. However, he appears to ignore documents that identify Matveev's wife as Evdokiia Grigorevna Gamil'ton. See Steuart, 21–22; Nikolai V. Charykov, *Posol'stvo v Rim i sluzhba v Moskve Pavla Meneziia (1637–1694). Izsledovanie* (St. Peterburg, 1906), 2–3, 652.

[50] Lev Shchepot'ev, *Blizhnii boiarin Artamon Sergeevich Matveev kak kul'turnyi politicheskii deiatel' XVII veka: opyt istoricheskoi monografii* (St. Peterburg, 1906), 24–28; Sergei A. Belokurov, "O posol'skom prikaze," *Chteniia v Imperatorskom Obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom universitete* (hereafter *Chteniia*), 1906, bk. 3, 45–46; Lindsey Hughes, *Sophia Regent of Russia 1657–1704* (New Haven-London, 1990), 134–61, 295.

became an Old Believer under the influence of her sister, was tormented by a deeply personal struggle about faith and salvation. Not only was she willing to die for the old rituals, but her central concern was the spiritual future of her offspring who—as she feared—would be left like "orphans" without any proper guidance after her execution. Urusova was particularly in despair about the religious indifference and neglect of her only son Vasilii. Her agony was compounded by the fact that Vasilii had apparently cut all ties with his mother, thus following the example of his father, who had divorced her.

Urusova implored her son in tears to remember her, recalling in particular a deadly childhood illness which her son had miraculously survived:

> Oh! My dear friend, Vasenka! Did you really forget me or do I simply not cross your mind? Did you forget my love and tenderness, my tears and sobbing when I saw you lying on your deathbed. Did my eyes not give you peace day and night? Did I not hold you in my arms, wash you with my tears? And did I not ruin my heart for you?.... [I beg you] have mercy on your soul and think about eternity. Live a life that is pleasing to Christ and stand upright in the true old faith. Avoid contact with the new [liturgies] so that your soul will not perish... cross yourself now as you did when you were still living with me. Use the ancient and true Sign of the Cross and love your faith for its antiquity....[51]

Vasilii never responded to such emotional pleas. It is possible that he could not afford to do so because he was a young man on the rise and about to be appointed to high rank at the tsar's court.[52]

Urusova's only remaining hope were her daughters Evdokiia and Anastasiia, whom she also implored repeatedly to abide by the old faith.[53] Unlike their brother, Urusova's daughters did in fact side with their mother and make a strong religious commitment to Old Belief. Apparently Anastasiia did so with such great fervor that Avvakum thought it necessary to restrain her. After Urusova's martyrdom the archpriest wrote about her daughter: "Nastasiia is a person who wants to be a queen (*tsaritsa*). She should pray for me [instead]. She is a troublemaker (*smeshnitsa*) who is eager to baptize the unbaptized .... This virgin is like Judith who is determined to win victory. More than anything else she has the mind of her mother (*materin bol'she u neia um-ot*)."[54] Thus, we see the power of religious conviction transmitted from mother to daughter.

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[51] N. G. Vysotskii, ed. "Perepiska kniagini Evdokii P. Urusovoi s svoimi det'mi," *Starina i novizna* 20 (1916):20.

[52] Vasilii was about to be appointed *komnatnyi stol'nik*, see Petr I. Ivanov, *Alfavitnyi ukazatel' familii i lits, upominaemykh v Boiarskikh knigakh* (Moscow, 1853), 427.

[53] N. Vysotskii, "Perepiska," 22–25, 30–40.

[54] Vysotskii, 42.

We can observe a similar strength of religious sentiment in other women mentioned here. The letters of Evdokiia Leont'eva, for example, reveal this woman's efforts to come to grips with the death of her father. In despair Evdokiia wondered if her father's soul could ever be saved, because he had taken the new Nikonian host on his deathbed.[55]

Clearly, the religious dimension cannot be ignored. Still, there were a variety of other factors at play as well. For example, many of the women discussed here were widows. What did it mean to be a noble widow during the seventeenth century? Widowhood in Muscovy is a social reality which historians are only beginning to explore.[56] Evidence contained in the data discussed here reveals in particular two aspects of this reality. One is the pressure of remarriage. The other is simply social isolation resulting in boredom and loneliness.

For example, Morozova was commonly perceived to be a stubborn female who simply refused to remarry. As Patriarch Pitirim put it, "[the tsar] should simply hand this princess over to a prince and thereby give this affair some decent solution. For this is a female thing (*zhenskoe delo*) and they do not think much."[57] Thus, Morozova's refusal to accept the new rites can in part be seen as a revolt against the expectation that she should be subordinate to a husband. By contrast, Princess Volkonskaia was apparently never asked to remarry, but simply forgotten by elite circles. She sat alone in her palace all day sewing and embroidering with her chambermaids. Her boredom dissipated only when she found the tailor Iosif, who would entertain her with his speeches. Indeed, Iosif became the center of her life. As one of her maids put it, "this person comes to us to do some tailoring. He is very skillful and spiritual. He constantly teaches us how we should stay in prayer and fasting; and when he starts telling us stories from books he moves us to tears."[58]

We should also consider that most of the women mentioned here were not dependent on husbands for support. Katerina Palitsyna, for example, had her own manor. The widows Khvostova and Dirina had their own estates. Abbess Marfa ruled over a convent and Marina Potemkina lived on a family endowment in the Novodevich'ii Monastery. Thus, these women were free to make their own decisions irrespective of what the male-dominated world of Muscovy expected of them.

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[55] RGADA, fond 27, dela 607–609; *Pamiatniki*, 73–75.

[56] Carsten Goehrke, "Die Witwe im alten Russland," *Forschungen zur osteuropaeischen Geschichte* 38 (1986):64–96.

[57] N. Ponyrko, *Zhitie*, 129.

[58] "*... khodit k nam chelovek portnoe shit', bezmerno de iskusen i dukhoven; besprestanno de nas uchit, kak prebyvat' v poste i molitve, i kak de nam stanet rozkazyvat' ot knig, inde nas v slezy vvedet*" (*Pamiatniki*, 72).

For other elite women, conversion to Old Belief was an act of self-assertion against their husbands. In this they were helped by the Muscovite practice of keeping elite women in seclusion.[59] Anna Khilkova, for example, had her own Old Belief chapel unknown to her husband, who apparently rarely entered the chambers of his wife. Evdokiia Urusova also succeeded in hiding her religious identity from her husband. When he finally found out and divorced her she managed to draw away her daughters from his influence. Finally, one might think of Fekla Simeonova Pashkova, who secretly gave assistance to prisoners of her voevoda husband. After his death she asserted her independence by becoming a nun and eventually managed to become a powerful abbess.[60]

It is in this context that we can also understand the unusual story of Evdokiia Naryshkina. She and Pani Tsekhanovitskaia were the only foreigners among the Old Believer women identified here. Clearly, they were outsiders in Muscovite elite society from the very beginning and subject to more pressures to conform than other elite women. For them the decision to accept Old Belief must have been an enormous experience of liberation.

To illustrate this one might recall the tragic story of the English Baroness Anne Bearnesley which came to the attention of the German traveller Olearius during the 1630s. Anne, who was a Calvinist, had been forced by her husband to convert to Orthodoxy. This happened even though she had "prostrated herself [in front of the patriarch] and humbly pleaded that her life be taken, rather than her religion; for no matter what they might do to her, she wished to live and die in her religion." Anne's determination to assert her religious freedom was never broken, even after her children were taken away from her by force and baptized. When her husband died the widow "wished to discard her Russian clothing and to go once more to the Reformed church with her coreligionists." She was promptly arrested and exiled to the Kirillov Monastery in northern Russia. She finally managed to send word to her English relatives and was able to return to Moscow after the death of Patriarch Filaret. Olearius personally met this woman and expressed his amazement about the strength of her will power because, as he put it, "Lady Anne remained constant in her religion to the end." She thus had lived up to her vow that her soul would "remain unaffected" by forced baptism.[61]

While we do not know much about the life of Boyarina Evdokiia Naryskhina, it is obvious that she was also forced to give up her religious

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[59] Nancy Shields Kollmann, "The Seclusion of Elite Muscovite Women," *Russian History/Histoire Russe* 10 (1983), no. 2:170–87.

[60] A. Robinson, *Zhizneopisaniia*, 154, 252; P. Stroev, *Spiski ierarkhov*, 223; P. Pascal, *Avvakum*, 267, 326

[61] Samuel H. Baron, trans. and ed., *The Travels of Olearius in Seventeenth-Century Russia* (Stanford, 1967), 246–48.

identity. Otherwise she could not have married a Muscovite prince.[62] Like Lady Anne, Evdokiia could only begin to assert her religious independence after the death of her husband. She may have chosen Old Belief because returning home to Scotland was out of the question and profession of a dissenting religion was a symbolic protest against the Church which had forced her to convert. Also, by becoming a defender of Old Belief she completely set herself apart from the highly westernized family into which she had married.

Naryshkina's efforts to escape the family into which she had married are echoed in the stories of other elite women discussed here. We must consider that several of them had been born into less powerful boyar clans and had only by marriage joined the househoulds of very old and prominent families. For example, Feodosiia Morozova belonged to the Sokovnin clan, whose males were ambitious newcomers from the provinces. As was generally the case during this period, Feodosiia had not been asked whom she wanted to marry, but had been married off by her father in the best interest of the family. Feodosiia's 1649 marriage to the brother of Boris Ivanovich Morozov, who was then Muscovy's most powerful politician, was an excellent political move. With one stroke the Sokovnins had not only gained access to the inner circle of power in Muscovy, they also had married into the wealthiest family of Muscovy. In short, Feodosiia never had control over her own destiny. Not only had she been a pawn in the hands of her male relatives, but she also had to live in the midst of a family that probably looked down on her because of her inferior birth. The sudden death of her husband in 1662 gave the thirty-year-old Morozova an opportunity to escape such family pressures. She certainly used this opportunity and vigorously established her independence when she became a prominent advocate of Old Belief. Similar observations can be made about women such as Evdokiia Urusova and Palageia Volkonskaia. Also, we cannot exclude that nuns such as Elena Khrushcheva, whose clan was also politically on the rise, took the monastic habit to escape ambitious marriage schemes.[63]

Even if this observation must remain rather speculative, there cannot be any doubt about a closely related conclusion: The women discussed here were

[62] The general sensitivity toward the issue of confessional intermarriage is also revealed in the so-called Woldemar Affair, that is, the failure to arrange a marriage between a Danish prince and the tsar's daughter. For a good discussion and a brief summary of the historiography of this question, see Wolfgang Heller, *Die Moskauer "Eiferer fuer die Froemmigkeit" zwischen Staat und Kirche (1642–1652)* (Wiesbaden, 1988), 23–26.

[63] On the Sokovnin, Leont'ev, and Khrushchev clans with whom these women were affiliated by birth, see R. Crummey, *Aristocrats*, 28, 78–79, 155, 189, 194, 196, 203–205, 208, 212.

not typical Muscovite elite women. They were not subordinate to their husbands, brothers, or fathers. Indeed, they had their own voices and managed to develop an identity of their own. In short, they were the opposite of the ideal Muscovite elite woman, who was expected to be obedient to her family and play a visible role only in the marriage strategies of her male relatives.[64]

Instead of accepting seclusion, many of these women became highly visible and important personalities. Indeed, some of them were so powerful that entire convents and towns obeyed their religious teachings. Others made it possible for ordinary Old Believers to escape persecution by allowing them into their homes or simply by giving them money. Also, we should not discount the religious fervor of some of these women, which set a powerful example for the next generation of Old Believers. In short, the existence of these women was absolutely crucial to the formation and survival of early Old Belief.

If one accepts this conclusion, one must confront the remarkable silence about these women among later generations of Old Believers. By the turn of the eighteenth century, that is, shortly after the last of these women had died, Old Believers had forgotten about them. This amnesia is truly puzzling because even official circles became increasingly aware of the dangers posed by these women. For example, witness the great alarm of tsar and patriarch when Evdokiia Leont'eva died in 1681 and her corpse was smuggled out of Moscow and buried in a small village outside the capital. Orders were given to prevent secret death masses at the grave and the priest who had done so was arrested and exiled.[65] Or, one might add the direct involvement of the tsarist court in efforts to retrieve Anna Khilkova, who escaped from her confinement in a convent during the year 1685. A report sent to Moscow by local investigators makes reference to Anna's remarkable power to influence others: at least six nuns, four girls, and one male peasant were arrested for being her secret supporters.[66] By contrast, neither Leont'eva nor Khilkova are ever mentioned

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[64] N. Kollmann, "Seclusion," 179–83. On the efforts of some elite women to escape "the abuses of patriarchy" by means of litigation, see N. Shields Kollmann, "Women's honor in early modern Russia," in Barbara E. Clements, Barbara A. Engel, Christine D. Worobec, eds., *Russia's Women. Accommodation, Resistance, Transformation* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-Oxford, 1991), 60–73.

[65] Ivan N. Suvorov, "K istorii raskola," *Russkaia starina* 43 (1912), no. 12:674–75.

[66] "Pamiat' ... po delu o begstve iz podnachala raskol'shchitsy kniagini Anna Khilkovoi," *Chteniia*, 1884, bk. 1, 41–42; El'pifidor V. Barsov, comp., *Novye materialy dlia istorii staroobriadchestva XVII–XVIII vekov* (Moscow, 1890), 155. Evidence suggests that Anna was arrested again and confined to the Pokrovskii Monastery in Suzdal'. Here she died soon afterwards and lies buried in the midst of women from the highest elite circles. Thus, only in death did she rejoin the social milieu with which she had so dramatically broken during her lifetime. See I. Tokmakov, *Istoricheskoe opisanie*, 19.

with even a word in the histories which the leaders of the famous Old Belief community of Vyg began to assemble during the next decades.[67]

What then explains Old Belief's own silence about these remarkable women? I believe the reason lies in their disobedience, if not outright rebellion against the male leadership of Old Belief. Archpriest Avvakum, for example, appears to have been in constant conflict with these women. In several outbursts of anger he expressed what he thought was wrong with them. First, they were too conceited since they refused to give up their awareness of high birth. One might recall his letters to Morozova in this context, but one could also cite other examples such as his lecturing of one Anisiia, an unknown nun or abbess, because of her boyar pride.[68] Second, these women were not controlled by male authority because they were not living with husbands. For example, when he realized that Anastasiia Urusova would no obey him, Avvakum exploded by saying: "May God bless her with a powerful and honorable bridegroom."[69] Still, Avvakum was aware that his own well-being and the future of his cause depended in large measure on the support of these boyar women. In his letters to them he not only asked for simple things such as money and clothing, but also for their good will and leniency toward him.

Thus, there cannot be any doubt that boyar and other elite women of noble status played leading roles in early Old Belief. Indeed, ordinary Old Believers who were left leaderless after the arrest of preachers such as Archpriest Avvakum would hardly have survived without these women's protection. Most of these women were initially centered in Moscow where their palaces and convents became secret, or in some cases open, outposts of Old Belief. Indeed, their opposition reached even into the walls of the Kremlin itself, where the Voznesenskii Convent practiced Old Belief directly under the noses of tsar and patriarch. However, we find them also in small manor houses or large estates in the backwoods of Muscovy's provinces. When these women were discovered and persecuted they usually refused to succumb and did everything in their power to escape. By escaping and relocating to new towns and villages they contributed significantly to the geographic dissemination of Old Belief.

These largely forgotten facts should encourage us to look more carefully at the role of women not only in early Old Belief, but in subsequent centuries as well. Orthodox missionaries who tried to break the power of Old Belief often

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[67] See, however, the shortened version of Morozova's *Vita* which was included in Denisov's *Vinograd rossiiskii*, in A. Mazunin, *Povest'*, 208–210.

[68] A. Borozdin, *Protopop Avvakum*, 154–55; *Materialy*, 5:166–70. For a letter with a similar message to a community of unknown nuns, see "Poslanie bez"imennoe k neizvestnym chernitsam," *Khristianskoe chtenie*, 1888, no. 1:740–41.

[69] N. Vysotskii, "Perepiska," 42.

related the same stories: women were the principal teachers of Old Belief; they had leading roles in communities and monasteries; and finally, they were by far the most stable and fervent element in Old Belief. In 1905, during the revolutionary events which made possible the legal emancipation of Old Belief, a leading educator of missionaries at the Moscow Spiritual Academy, Petr Semenovich Smirnov, declared in public that he was not sure if the fight against Old Belief could ever be won. After all, he argued, neither his colleagues nor Russian Church scholarship had ever understood the crucial power of women in Old Belief.[70] One might add that Smirnov's speech still has validity today, more than ninety years later: scholars continue to ignore the woman Old Believer and have left more than three centuries of female religious dissent unexplored.

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[70] P. Smirnov, "Zhenshchina v dele oslableniia raskola," 50–51.

Maksim Grek's "David and Goliath" and the Skaryna Bible[1]

HUGH M. OLMSTED

Letterpress, when toasted,
Loses its good looks.

Lewis Carroll[2]

Down through the centuries, whether as inspiration for the humble believer or grist for the miller of commonplaces, the encounter between David and Goliath has remained among the best beloved and most cited episodes in all of biblical lore. It has provided the creators of untold mystery plays, sermons, puppet dramas, operas grand and comic, and instructive children's tales with image and example again and again and again, to the point of platitude. And these days we are apt to encounter it in the TV anchor booth or the corporate office suite, whenever somebody wants to invoke the image of the little guy who prevails against great odds. Then again, for the believer it can be a different story, one to be taken with deepest seriousness: it can prove once more the power of faith in the Lord to work any miracle, including reversal of all the world's savage disproportion of might over right.

Among the Slavonic biblical texts found scattered through the manuscripts of Maksim Grek's works a version of this story is to be encountered as well. Like other Old Testament texts similarly arrayed in those manuscripts—such as the "Prophetic Miscellany" set of excerpts from the Prophets, or the Slavonic translations of the Book of Esther and the Fourth Book of Maccabees[3]—this version of David and Goliath harmonizes closely with the original works of Maksim. All these biblical texts are selected and organized to assert the triumph of the righteous weak over brute force, justification through faith when the powers of this world have dealt with one unfairly. In a series of articles (one of them co-written with Moshe Taube), I have argued on codicological, textual, linguistic, and biographical grounds that the inclusion of those sacred texts was the direct result of Maksim's own labors—that is, he translated, selected, and/or organized them—particularly in his efforts to come to terms with his imprisonment and to struggle free of it.[4] The brief David and Goliath text (henceforth DG), though highly condensed, deserves consideration alongside the others: this text is the subject of the present article.

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[1] An earlier, rather different, version of this work was presented at the Library of Congress Conference on the Millenium of the Baptism of Rus' (Washington, D.C., May 1988). The discussant was Prof. E. L. Keenan; now it is only fair to warn him: here it comes again. It is scant recognition for all he has done in putting me onto Maksim in the first place and his genial aid and collegiality through the past thirty odd years. I should also like to express my gratitude to A. I. Pliguzov, M. Taube, and A. A. Turilov for helpful comments on early drafts of this article; and to E. Kasinec and staff of the New York Public Library Slavonic Division for their generous and knowledgeable assistance in providing access to the Library's Skaryna holdings.

[2] From Introductory verses to "The Pig-Tale," in *Sylvie and Bruno Concluded* (1894:371).

[3] See, respectively, Olmsted (1987), Taube/Olmsted (1987), and Olmsted (1994b).

[4] Cf. sources listed in the previous note.

DESCRIPTION

DG consists of literal passages from First Samuel, or First Kingdoms, verses 4–7, 32–37, 43, 45–47.[5] When it is set side by side with the full biblical story of David and Goliath, the reduction and focussing are striking: none of the personal, familial, and dynastic complications of Saul's and David's relationship remain, none of the arraying and jockeying of the opposing forces of Israelites and Philistines, none of the battle action—even the culminating moment of David's actual defeat of Goliath is stripped out. DG's theme is the power of faith to overcome brute force—the battle belongs not to force of arms, but to the Lord—and all is devoted to demonstrating this as forcefully and laconically as possible.

This takes up just three brief static scenes. The first sets an immediate context, portraying Goliath as the personification of brute force. The second, a dialogue between David and King Saul, introduces David as credible challenger to Goliath—credible not as traditional warrior, but as one empowered by faith in the Lord. The third, David's dialogue with Goliath himself, is the culmination: David overwhelms the giant verbally, forecasting his own actual victory. In the confrontation between force and faith the power of the Lord is proved. The latter two scenes—both of them dialogues—are similar in structure and dynamic: in each, David's interlocutor confronts him with a challenge which he effortlessly overcomes. The first establishes David's potential and the second fulfills it.

1. <u>Description of Goliath</u>. DG opens with a portrait of the professional warrior, a focused vision of the threat: we encounter Goliath's fearsome dimensions, his weapons and armor, massive and metallic, in a consistent series of depersonalized technological similes and imposing units of weight and extent.

2. <u>Encounter of David and King Saul</u>. Against the foil of the skeptical King Saul, David establishes himself as a credible opponent for the giant. The King would prohibit the match, convinced of the hopelessness of a contest between the seasoned warrior and the child; but David prevails effortlessly: he answers that in the time when he served as shepherd to his father's flocks, when a lion or bear had made off with a lamb he had set off in pursuit and had slain the marauder, rescuing the lamb from out of its jaws: now the Lord God, having delivered him from the lion and the bear, will deliver him from the Philistine.

3. <u>Encounter of David and Goliath</u>. David is now confronted by Goliath, who mocks him: does David take Goliath for a dog, that he comes to fight with the tools of a shepherd? But David easily bests the giant, responding that unlike Goliath, who comes with the traditional implements of battle, he himself comes in the name of the Lord—the Lord Whose army Goliath has taunted today. This Lord will give Goliath into David's hands; David will kill him and behead him and give the army of Philistines over to the beasts of the field and the birds of the air, so that all the earth may know that the Lord is in Israel: salvation is not in swords and weaponry; the battle is the Lord's. David utterly overwhelms Goliath in this duel of words: he throws the giant's heavy-handed taunts back at him, raising the level from insults, dogs, and force of arms, to faith, inevitable justice, and public consciousness of the Lord's transcendent power. David's forecast of victory is more than a confident

[5] It was listed by A. I. Ivanov (1969), s.nn. 71–72 as two purportedly separate works, one about David, the other about Goliath, with each however mysteriously consisting of the identical entire set of verses from First Samuel. DG is in fact a single unbroken narrative with no repetitions. On Ivanov's list see general cautionary notes and specific emendations in Olmsted 1971, with more corrections supplied *passim* by both N. V. Sinitsyna (1977) and D. M. Bulanin (1984). Ivanov's register, with all its problems, is the closest thing to a standard listing of Maksim's works available, and in the present article we shall identify them with references in the form 'Ivanov, no. xx.'

prediction: it has the imperative authority of a court sentence. A description of the physical contest itself is not needed: David has already won.[6]

And so, for all its brevity and fragmentariness, DG is not a haphazard set of excerpts. It is dynamically organized, with a beginning, a middle, and an end. It is far more concentrated than the original looser set of narrative chunks and strands from which it was pulled; it is as tightly structured as a parable, a fable, or a Russian anecdote. Altogether it reveals the hand of a very able editor.

INCIDENCE IN MSS

DG is met in several families of manuscripts which are among the most authoritative textually and codicologically; they arise in Maksim's lifetime or bear other traces of early roots which connect them closely with the author. This text is found together with the other biblical texts connected with Maksim, in particularly close association with the "Prophetic Miscellany" of extracts from the Old Testament prophets. The families include the so-called "Ioasaf" and "Burtsev," as well as several derivative later ones: the "Iona Dumin," the "Synodal," and the "Nikiforov"; and two isolated unique other manuscripts, RNB Q.I.219 and RNB Sol. 310/495/514. A fuller inventory is given in the Appendix.

As met in the manuscripts, the DG tends to be grouped with other biblical or related materials, frequently with no separate heading of its own, formatted as it might have been in an informal working notebook. Thus unobtrusive, it is sometimes not registered in the classical manuscript descriptions, even when inspection of the manuscript reveals that it is actually there.

It is neither particularly remarkable that such a set of extracts as DG might be found in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Muscovite manuscripts, nor strange that it be included together with other Old Testament texts of similar thematic direction. More striking are its textual affinities.

HISTORY OF STUDY

DG has drawn a modest measure of attention before; it has been tacitly taken as an independent Bible translation dating from the time of Maksim Grek or thereafter. No specific textual source has ever been suggested. A. I. Sobolevskii noted that it contains a certain number of "westernisms," and he suggested that some Ukrainian or Belorussian, perhaps Vlasii, had taken part in its translation.[7] Sobolevskii's observation was repeated with very much the same conclusion by I. E. Evseev,[8] and echoed again by Ivanov s.nn. More recently, the St. Petersburg scholar L. S. Kovtun has suggested that DG furnishes material for studying everyday spoken Russian of the sixteenth century.[9]

But there is a simpler explanation for the westernisms and colloquialisms in these fragments. A specific textual source can now be proposed: these texts reproduce,

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[6] Several of the published descriptions of the manuscripts containing DG describe it as "David's victory over Goliath," as if the actual battle were depicted. In one's perception of the story, the fact that it is only a predictive foreshadowing of the victory may thus even be passed over.

[7] Sobolevskii (1903:278).

[8] Evseev (1912–1913 2:1343).

[9] L. S. Kovtun (1972:24); the passage is quoted from the relatively late manuscript of Maksim Grek's compositions, RNB Sol. 310/495/514, f. 392v., dated 1660.

essentially word for word, the corresponding loci in Frantsysk Skaryna's 1518 edition of the biblical books of Kingdoms.[10] Let us compare the texts.

TEXTS

In the texts below, the left column reproduces the relevant passages from the Skaryna Bible. Omitted passages and sections in DG are represented by three points.

The right column reproduces the DG text as it is found in one of the most authoritative manuscripts of the Ioasaf family of manuscripts, from Maksim's lifetime: RGB, Ak. 42, Fols. 407v–408v. Variant readings are provided for key manuscripts from other manuscript families, as follows:

SIGLA FOR VARIANT READINGS IN DG TEXT (RIGHT COLUMN IN TEXT BELOW)

A—RGB MDA 42, 16C, our base text (from Maksim's lifetime)	Ioasaf type
B—BAN Burtsev 25, 16C	Burtsev type
D—Dobrokhotov 32, 17C	Burtsev type
P—Paris, BN MS slave 123, 16C	Synodal type
Q—RNB Q.I. 219, 16–17C (affinities to Burtsev type)	Unique MS, no type
R—RGB Rum. 265, 17C	Burtsev type
S—GIM Sin 191/491, 16C	Synodal type

[10] *Knigi tsarstv* (1518). The relevant passages are also cited at length under entries for selected significant words, in U. V. Anichenka's *Sloŭnik movy Skaryny* (1977–1984).

I K 17:	SKARYNA VERSION	DG (IN MSS OF MAKSIM GREK)
4	вышолъ є́сть . . .Голиа́ф . . . высота є́го бѣ шесть локтевъ и́пади ,	Ꙗ́ко[a] высота̀ тѣ́ла голїа́дова бѧше .ѕ҃. локтѐвъ[b] и̂ па́ди ,
5	и̂шоломъ медѧнъ наглаве є́го , и̂панце́р є́го коньже ѡ҃блачашесѧ бѣ ꙗ́ко ю́же звитые́ а̂важилъ пѧть тысещѐй лотовъ ,	шолѡ̑ мѣ́дѧнь на̀ главѣ є̂го̀ . И̂ панцерь є̂го̀[c] бѣ́ во́нже ѡ̂блача́шесѧ[d] а҃кы[e] ю҃же свитое , а̂ важи̑ .е҃. ло́товъ .
6	наногахъ теже наколе́нки медѧные́ и̂мела̂ше , и̂щитъ медѧнъ . . .	на̀ нога̑ также наколѣнкы мѣ́дѧные . ѹ̈щи̑ мѣ́дѧнъ
7	И҃дрѣво копиѧ є̂го было тако то́лсто ꙗ̂ко навивало ткачево , железоже ѡ҃строе́ є̂же было нако́нцї копиѧ є̂го важило е҃ шесть сотъ лотовъ . . .	и̂ дре́во копїꙗ є̂го̀ было а҃кы навива́ло тока́чево . желѣзо̑ ѡ̂строе на концѝ копїа его важи̂ло е҃ .х҃. лотѡвъ .
32	И҃внегда приведоша є̂го предъ Саꙋла , рече Дв҃дъ КъСаꙋлꙋ , данестрашитсѧ ср҃це чие́ ѡ҃то̑ А҃зъ рабъ твоѝ пои́дꙋ и̂бꙋдꙋсѧ бити съфилистымлѧном тымъ .	Поста́вленъ дв҃ъ пре̑ цр҃емъ саоу́лѡ̑ рече кнемоу̑ да̀ нѐстраши̂тсѧ ср҃це чїе ѡ̀ тѡ̑ . а҃зъ рабъ тво́и по́идꙋ и̂ бїю́сѧ съ филисти́млѧнѡ̑ [f] си́мъ .
33	И҃рече к немꙋ Саꙋ̑л неможешъ ты ѡ҃долети филистымлѧнинꙋ томꙋ , и̂нибитисѧ сни́м ꙗ̂ко мл҃а є̂си . . .	и̂ рече саоу̀лъ , нѐ мо́жеши ты̀ ѡ̂долѣ́ти є̂мꙋ нѝ битисѧ сни̑ занѐ мла̀дъ є̂си .
34	Речеже Дв҃дъ къСаꙋлꙋ , А҃зъ рабъ твоѝ внегда пасывах̑ ста́до ѿца свое̂го , прихожаше левъ и̂ли медведь и̂взимаше ѡ҃вцꙋ ѿстада ,	и̂ ре̑ дв҃ъ , а҃зъ ра̀бъ тво̀и внегда̀ пас̑ ста́до ѿца̂ мое̂го̀ И̂ прихожа́ше лѐвъ ли̑[g] медвѣ̂дь и̂ взима́ше ѡ̂вцꙋ ѿ ста́да[h] ,
35	текохъ занимѝ и̂выдирахъ ю҃ и̂зъꙋстъ и̑ . И҃егда противлꙗшемисѧ , взѧхъ зачелюсть є̂го и̂ꙋдавихъ и҃ и̂забихъ и҃:	теко̑ за нимѝ и̂ и̂зървахъ ю҃ и̂зъ оу̂стъ и̑ . И̂ аще сѧ противлѧше ми , є̂мъ за че́люсть є̂го и̂ оу̂дави̑ и̂ оу̂би̑ и҃ .
36	Ꙗ҃ко А҃зъ рабъ твоѝ и̂льва ꙋдави̑ и̂медведѧ забихъ Сегоради бꙋдеть и̂филистымлѧнин сеѝ ꙗ̂ко є̂динъ ѿ нихъ . . .	ꙗ҃ко а҃зъ ра́бъ твои и̂ льва̀ оу̂дави̑ и̂ медвѣдѧ оу̂би̑ , И̂ тъ̏ филїсти́млѧнинъ бꙋ́де̑ ми ꙗ҃ко̑ [i] є̂динъ ѿ ни̑ [j] .
37	. . .Гд҃ь богъ и̂же и̂збави́л мене ѿꙋстъ льва и̂ѿпащекъ медьведѧ , тоѝ теже и̂збавить мене ѿрꙋкꙋ филистымлѧнина погана сего . . .	г҃ь б҃ъ и̂зба́вивы мѧ ѿ оу̂стъ льва̀ И̂ ѿ па́щекъ мдвѣ́дѧ , тъ̏ и̂зба́ви̑ менѐ и̂ ѿ рꙋкꙋ пога́на сего̀ .

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[a] ^ всѧ — P, S

[b] локтевъ [=A] — D; лоте̑ — R; лактевъ — B; лакте̑ — P, S, Q

[c–d] вонже ѡ̂блачашесѧ бѣ — B, D, R, Q, P, S

[e] ꙗко — P, S

[f] филисти́млѧнинѡ̑ — B, D, R, Q, P, S

[g] и̂ли — Q, P, S

[h] стада да — R

[i] акы̑ B, D, R, S; ꙗкы̑ —P

[j] си̑ — B, P, S

43	И реч҄е филистымлѧнинъ къ Давыдꙋ, єдали песъ есмъ Азъ ꙗко идеши намѧ с посохомъ . . .	єгда приближисѧ двдъ къ голїаѳꙋ, рє кнемꙋ голїаѳъ, єдаⁱ ли песъ єсмь азъ ꙗко идеши на мѧ с посѡхѡ,
45	Речеже Давыдъ къ филистымлѧнинꙋ, ты идеши противꙋ мене з мечемъ а с копьемъ и з щитомъ. Азъже идꙋ противꙋ тебе во имѧ гда бога силамъ бога Ѵзраилева, єгоже воиско злоречилъ єси	рече двдъ кнемꙋ, ты идеши на мене съ копїемъ и мечемъ и щитѡ, азже идоу на тѧ въ имѧ гн҃ѧ саваѡѳа бг҃а ізрл҃ва, єгоже воиско ѕлословилъ єси
46	днесь. и предасть тебе гдь богъ в рꙋце мое и забию тебе и ѿсекꙋ главꙋ твою. И дамъ днесь тела мертва полковъ филистимскых зверемъ земным и птицамъ небесным. Да разꙋмеєть всѧ землѧ иже богъ єсть во Израили,	днь, И предасть тебе гь бг҃ъ в роуцѣ мои и оубїю тебе и ѿсекоу главоу твою, и дамъ днь тѣла мртва филїстимьскъ плъкѡ звѣремъ земны, И птицамъ нбнымъ. да разꙋмѣеть всѧ землѧ, ꙗко є бг҃ъ всесилен въ ізрли.
47	и . . . ꙗко не мечем ани оружиемъ спасаеть гдь богъ. тогоꙋбо єсть брань.	и ꙗко ниˡ мече ни орꙋжїемъ спсаеть гь бг҃ъ. того бо є брань.

LANGUAGE

With such consistent, literal word-for-word agreement there can be no doubt concerning the close relationship between these two texts. As to the nature and direction of that relationship, it would seem at first glance most likely that the DG derives from Skaryna's version. But this, like any preliminary impression in such a case, should be subjected to more careful consideration.

DIFFERENCES CONNECTED WITH NARRATIVE STRUCTURE

We must first allow for certain obvious editorial differences between the two versions, which have inevitable consequences in their textual interrelationship. Clearly, the DG is a shortened, extracted version, including highlights only, omitting amplification, while Skaryna's is the entire connected text. Not only does this result in compression of the text and omission of certain sections in DG, but it also motivates the introduction of minor readjustments in the narrative "glue" that binds the selections together, sets the scene, resumes an action already referred to in the full version but omitted in the extract, fills in a missing antecedent, or the like. In general, as we have noted, in DG except for the dialogue the scenes are static. In the original texts and in Skaryna the characters are more active: they come forth or are brought onto a stage where actions develop further before our eyes; in DG the scene opens with the actors in place and their presence already taken for granted. Compare the differing structures in verses 4 and 32 (again the left column represents the Skaryna text, the right, DG according to Ak 42):

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[k] єгда — B, D, P, S
[l] не — B, P

4	вышолъ єсть . . .Голиаѳ . . . высота єго бѣ . . .	Ꙗко высота тѣла голїадова баше . . .
32	Иєнегда приведоша єго предъ Саула, рече Двдъ КъСаулу . . .	Поставленъ двъ пре црємъ саоуломъ рече кнемоу

Similarly, in DG, with its much more focused action and its fewer characters, there is less introductory framework of the sort, "X said to Y" than in the original—cf. the following examples:

32	рече Двдъ КъСаулу	рече кнемоу
33	Ирече к нему Саулъ	И рече саоулъ
34	Рečеже Двдъ къСаулу . . .	и рє двъ . . .
45	Речеже Давыдъ Къфилистымлянину	рече двъ кнему,

Indeed, DG tends to trim out a variety of the words bearing a lighter functional load:

6	наколенки медяные имеяше	наколѣнкы мѣдяные
7	И дрѣво копия єго было тако толсто яко навивало ткачево железоже острое єже было наконцї копия єго	и древо копїя єго было акы навикало токачево желѣзо острое на концы копїа его
36	Сегоради будеть ифилистымлянин сей	И тъ филїстимлянинъ бꙋдє ми
37	той теже избавить мене ѿруку филистымлянина погана сего	тъ избави мене и ѿ рꙋкꙋ погана сего.

Likewise, in the DG version of verse 43, in order both to focus the action on David and to omit the preceding verses, the initiative in the two adversaries' approach to one another is transferred from Goliath (in the original) to David himself.

41	Тогда ифилистымлянинъ идяше противъ Давыда, . . .	. . .
42	Иєнегда приближился КъДавыдови и оузрелъ и погорделъ имъ.	. . .
43	Ирече филистымлянинъ КъДавыду . . .	Єгда приближися двъ къгѡлїаду, рє кнемꙋ гѡлїа . . .

FEATURES OF REGISTER

While it is known that Maksim in his later years was in favor of a certain degree of modernization of the Church language,[11] in DG there are limits. Here are some examples of replacement of some of the more colloquial or marked vernacular East Slavicisms found in the Skaryna text with more formal, even archaic forms in DG:

[11] See for example Kravets (1992:266–75).

33	неможешъ	не мо́жеши
34	пасывахъ	пасѧ́х
35	взѧхъ	ѥ҃мъ
37	иже избавилъ мене	изба́вивы́ мѧ
45	гд҃а бога силамъ	г҃а саваѡ҃а
46	полковъ филистимскыхъ	филїсти́мьскъ плъкѡ҃

POLISH FEATURES

A number of Polish features are evident in the Skaryna text. Of these, the DG text retains only a few: Skaryna's **панцеръ** (cf. Pol. pancerz 'armor'); retained in DG as **панцерь**; **важилъ** (cf. Pol. ważyć 'to weigh' [intrans.]), retained in DG as **важи҃**; and **лотов**, in DG retained as **ло́товъ** (cf. Pol. łut, Old Polish łot; a Polish unit of weight standardly used in Old Testament translations to render Hebrew sykiel, siclus, stater). It was just these three examples that were noted by Sobolevskii as "Westernisms."

But in the majority of cases where the Skaryna version has Polish features, these have been normalized out in the Russian DG to more standard Church Slavonic.

In a few cases the features are phonological, e.g.,

5	звитые	сви́тое
45	з мечемъ и зъ щитомъ .	съ копїемъ и мече́мъ и щитѡ҃ ,

More typically, features of morphology, syntax, and vocabulary are involved, in some interrelationship around the morpho-lexico-syntactic axis:

verse	SKARYNA	cf. POLISH	DG
6	теже	też	такоже
32	съфилистымлѧном тымъ .	ten, tym	съ филисти́млѧнѡ҃ симъ .
33	ꙗко мл҃а еси . . .	jako 'since, because, inasmuch as'	зане младъ еси .
35	выдирахъ	wydzierać	изървѧхъ
35 36 46	забихъ , забию	zabić	оуби҃ , оубїю
37	той теже избавить мене	też	тъ изба́ви҃ мене
45	злоречилъ еси	złorzeczyć	ѕлосло́вилъ еси
46	Даразѹмеетъ всѧ землѧ иже богъ есть воизраили ,	iż (in the sense of że)	да разѹмѣеть всѧ землѧ , ꙗко е҃ б҃ . . . въ ї҆зр҃ли .
47	не мечем ани орѹжием	nie... ani	ни мече҃ ни орѹжїемъ

OTHER DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TEXTS

Certain other differences may simply be noted without detailed discussion:

Morphological (Morpho-Syntactic: Tense and Aspect)

4	бѣ	баше
32	пойду йбудуся бити	поидꙋ̂ и̂ біюсѧ

Syntactic

5	коньже ѻ҃блачашеся бѣ	бѣ́ ко́нже ѻ̂блача́шеся[12]
35	противляшемися	сѧ противла́ше ми
36	будеть и̂филистымлянин сѐй	И тъ̏ филі́стимланинъ бж҃дѐ ми

Lexical

34	ѿца свое̂го	ѿца̂ мое̂гѐ
35	е̂гда противляшемися	а҃ще сѧ противла́ше ми
36	филистымлянин сѐй	тъ̏ филі́стимланинъ
45	противу мене	на менѐ
	противу тебе	на́ тѧ
46	и̂же богъ е̂сть вой̂зрайли ,	ꙗ҃ко е̂ бъ̂ вседѣ́лен въ і̂зр҃ли .
47	тогоꙋбо е̂сть брань .	того бо̀ е̂ брань ҇.

The Aky / Jako Feature

There are also two places in the DG text in which the word а҃кы as the equivalent for Greek ἦως replaces Skaryna's ꙗ҃ко, the latter being more in accord with normalized Church Slavonic usage.

7	И҃дрѣво копия е̂го было . . . ꙗ̂ко навикало ткачево	и̂ дре́во копі́ѧ е̂го̀ бы̂ло а҃кы навика́ло тока́чево
36	будеть и̂филистымлянин сѐй ꙗ̂ко е̂динъ ѿ нихъ . . .	И̂ тъ̏ филі́стимланинъ бж҃дѐ ми [акы̂][13] е̂ди̂нъ ѿ ни҃х .

Such a use of а҃кы is a feature particularly characteristic of Maksim's own idiosyncratic use of language. It seems generally to have been taken among Russian bookmen as abnormal and relatively unacceptable: instances of а҃кы in Maksim's compositions tend to be leveled out in the manuscript tradition—earlier manuscripts and those more retentive of Maksim's language have a greater incidence of а҃кы; the

[12] Note the variants cited for this locus in the full text above; here Ak 42 is alone among all the MSS examined in differing from Skaryna in this point.

[13] акы̂ — B, D, R, S; ꙗкы̂ — P; ꙗ҃ко̂ — A. Here, although our base Ak 42 text of DG has ꙗ҃ко̂ beside Skaryna's ꙗ̂ко, the other manuscripts sampled, from the Burtsev and Synod types, have а҃кы̂ (ꙗ҃кы̂ in the case of the Paris 123 manuscript, Synod type). Thus, in this instance the Ak 42 text stands alone, showing a more normalized form.

later and less authoritative ones, including the published nineteenth-century three-volume collection of his works, the "Kazanskoe izdanie" (KI), tend to replace more instances (typically, however, not all of them) with ӕ́ко.

This idiosyncratic usage is met throughout Maksim's corpus—whether in his original works, or in translations, or in transcriptions of biblical texts from other sources. And in the latter case, even when his sources have ӕ́ко, he changes the form to match his usage. A few examples are given below (they could easily be multiplied).

From his original works:[14]

Ivanov no.	TITLE OF WORK	AK42
128	Тѡго̑ инока маѯи́ма гре́ка сло́во ѿ рѫжествѣ г҃а и̑ б҃га и спа́са на́шего ѿц҃а х҃а вТомже і̑ на і̑оуд́ѣа[15]	х҃а б҃га на́шего да пою̀тъ . . . ӑкы ѿ семъ е̑динѡ̑ збытїе неблазненѡ̀ прїимшиⷯ всѣмъ вкѹпѣ ӕ́же ѿ не̑ прр҃чьство̑[16] . . . По́кло́нити̑ оу́бо достоитъ бл҃ти а̑кы бжⷭ҇твеномѹ да́роу[17] . . . Ѹ̑ на десны̑ пр҃ле̑ безначалнаго ро̑ⷣтелѧ своего сѣдѧ́ща ӑкы б҃га и̑ г҃а всѣмъ[18] . . .
232	Того̑ и̑нока маѯима грека сло́веса дш҃еполе̑зна ѕѣлѡ́ внимающиⷯ и̑хъ. бесѣдѹетъ ѹ̑мъ къ дш҃и своеи[19]	До́колѣ за несоущими ӑкы за сѹщими гонѧще пребоуде̑[20] . . .

From translations (here is a passage from the Fourth Book of Maccabees, not contained in Ak 42, but found in both the Synodal type and the unique Q.I.219, presented here in standardized orthography):[21]

Chap. 6, verse 20–21	. . . И̑ сие порѹга́еми ѿ всѣхъ ӑкы страшливїи . . .	Greek text: ... ὡς ἄνανδροι

From transcriptions of preexisting biblical texts (examples here are taken from the Prophetic Miscellany, repeated from Olmsted 1987 (39, example 9; and 42, example 16); the left column of Slavonic text represents the passage as found both in Maksim's Prophetic Miscellany and in his original compositions; the right column, the equivalent passage in the Ostroh Bible, which represents the original Church Slavonic text of the Prophet Isaiah used by Maksim as source).[22]

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[14] Text is cited according to the Ioasaf manuscript Ak 42, our base text (A) for DG above and generally one of the more authoritative lifetime manuscripts. Equivalent loci are cited from the published three-volume KI.

[15] This work, Ivanov, no. 128, is on fols. 25v–32 of Ak 42; it was published in the KI, v. 1:39–51.

[16] Ak 42 26v.8–11; the corresponding passage is in KI 1:41, with ӑкы normalized to ӕ́ко.

[17] Ak 42 26v.21–22; KI 1:42.

[18] Ak 42 27.20–22; KI 1:42.

[19] This work, Ivanov, no. 232, is in Ak 42 on fols. 172–200; in KI, v. 2:5–52.

[20] Ak 42 173v.15–16; KI 2:7.

[21] This locus is found in MS Q on fol. 519.7, and in P on fol. 357.8; the Greek text is cited according to Hadas (1953).

[22] See discusion in Olmsted 1987 (28–29), with further examples on succeeding pages.

Is 2:6	влъхвованїи акы иноплеменник[23]	волхвованїꙗ ꙗко иноплеменникъ
Is 47:14	се вси акы хврастїе огнемъ погорѧтъ[24]	се вси ꙗко хврастїе огнемъ погорѧтъ

TEXTUAL INTERRELATIONSHIPS

It is simplest and most natural on the face of it to expect that the DG derives from Skaryna. Alternatively, it might seem conceivable that both Skaryna and DG could have borrowed from some third source, or even that Skaryna borrowed from DG. But such possibilities can be dismissed quickly.

The sources for Skaryna's work are partly elucidated; they evidently included both a copy of the 1499 Gennadii Bible (to this day still mostly unpublished) and the Czech Bible of 1506.[25] One might wonder about a possible connection between the Gennadii Bible and Skaryna's text in the case of the book of Kingdoms.

But we can exclude any significant role for the Gennadii Bible as common source. Inspection shows that the Gennadii Bible version of First Kingdoms differs systematically from Skaryna throughout. Instead, it is close to the version in the Ostroh Bible. The Gennadii Bible is generally acknowledged to have served as the major source for the Ostroh Bible—and indeed, the similarity between the Gennadii and Ostroh versions is striking throughout most of Scripture.

It is of course possible that some other version might have served as common source for Skaryna and DG; but no evidence seems to be available at present that would suggest taking this possibility very seriously.

Could Skaryna somehow have taken his texts from DG, rather than the reverse? This is altogether unlikely. In such a case, where would the editor of DG himself have found his versions? Whence the Polonisms we have noted, otherwise evidently quite unknown in DG? How would Skaryna have fitted the partial extracts from DG back into the full texture of the complete biblical passages, and what would Skaryna's sources for the rest of the text have been? The problems of space and time are also perplexing: how would the DG text, known only from materials connected with Maksim's later activities in Muscovy, have been available to Skaryna in time for him to edit and integrate it and publish it in Prague, in 1518?

Altogether, then, it seems evident that the DG text in Maksim's collection derives from Skaryna. It is clearly a drastically shortened version of the full text, produced by an editor who knew what he was about, with minor narrative reworking to provide coherence and enhance its focus. DG shows linguistic features characteristic of Maksim's language. Despite some Russification of the text and minor adjustments in its register, on the whole the passages that coincide are in essential word-for-word agreement, with traces of Polonisms remaining. The story has thematic relevance for Maksim, both in his personal biographical predicament and in the thematic directions he developed in his writings. DG is closely associated in the manuscripts with other biblical texts whose organization, translation, and use we have reason to attribute to Maksim. The most plausible conclusion is that it was Maksim Grek himself who excerpted and edited the DG text from a copy of Skaryna's First Kingdoms with which he came into contact during his stay in Muscovy, placing the resulting text in an

[23] The "Prophetic Miscellany" version is found in Ak 42 on fol. 387v.5–6; the same passage is cited in Maksim's original work Ivanov, no. 158, Ak 42 fol. 144.11–12.

[24] PM version: Ak 42, fol. 393.3–4; original composition Ivanov, no. 158: Ak 42, fol. 149v.22.

[25] Kopreeva (1979), Florovskii (1940/1946).

informal working notebook of biblical materials, copies of which later were included in more formal manuscripts alongside the writer's original compositions.

There seems to have been no hint earlier in the literature devoted to either Maksim or Skaryna of any connection between them. Nor has it been suggested that any of Skaryna's editions might have been available this early anywhere in Muscovy—not only to Maksim Grek, but to anybody else or in any other locus. The connection is an altogether unexpected one.

HISTORICAL DISCUSSION

So what are we to make of all this? When and how could Maksim have come into contact with editions of Skaryna? Why would he have been moved to excerpt and edit the David and Goliath story from such a source, and transcribe it in his notebooks? Alas, to all such questions we have no firm answers, and we must content ourselves with the more or less likely, the more or less plausible.

We do have evidence of one intriguing possible link between Skaryna's Bible texts and Muscovy around Maksim's time. The source is a note dating from several decades later, ca. 1552, from the Polish king and Lithuanian grand prince Sigismund Augustus. Writing to his ambassador in the Vatican to warn him of the dim prospects for any ecclesiastical rapprochement between Rome and Moscow, the king refers to an incident which had occurred under the reign of his father Sigismund I (1506–1548): a man identified in the note as a Polish subject, the printer and/or publisher of Holy Scripture in Russian, had taken some of his editions to Moscow. He was not met hospitably: by order of the Moscow prince his books were subjected to public burning for the reason that they had been published by a Roman Catholic in territories under the authority of the Roman Church.[26]

The Latin text is as follows:

> ...cum Divo parente nostro regnante quidam de subditis eius pio studio ductus sacram Scripturam lingua Russica imprimi et in lucem aedi curasset, et ad Moschos venisset, publice eos libros iussu Principis concrematos esse, propterea quod a Romanae ecclesiae addicto et in locis eiusdem authoritati subjectis editi essent.[27]

The authenticity of the note seems beyond question. And in the reference to Russian-language editions of Scripture published in Catholic territory by a Polish subject there is little room for ambiguity of reference concerning the Russian language editions of Holy Scripture: it is hard to escape the conclusion that indeed they were Skaryna's. However, although the visitor is identified as the printer or publisher of the editions, he need not necessarily have been Skaryna himself.[28] Indeed, it seems more likely that the party referred to was the financial supporter of a number of the earlier

[26] This note has been known for well over a century: it was first published by Josef Fiedler (1862:110), and connected conjecturally with Skaryna by Pervol'f (1888 II:596–97n). It has been discussed at greater length by S. Braha (1963), as well as several times by A. V. Florovskii (1939:9–10, 1940/1946:210–212, 1969); M. I. Rizhskii has accepted it as well (1978:79), as has L. I. Vladimirov (1979:41–42). It has been published in Darashkevich 1988 (201–202), with translations into Belorussian and Russian in addition to the Latin text. More recently it has been examined by E.L. Nemirovskii (1990a:488), who summarizes preceding research.

[27] Florovskii (1969:156n), Darashkevich (1988:201).

[28] In the first version of this investigation (the draft delivered Washington, D.C. presentation in 1998—cf. note 1) my efforts to give a balanced assessment of possibilities seem to have been somewhat misleading. E. L. Nemirovskii (1990a:488–89) in a general summary of that presentation and its establishment of a Maksim Grek: Skaryna connection, represents part of my discussion as an effort to establish that Skaryna himself was in Moscow and that Maksim and Skaryna were in personal contact. This was not my intent, and indeed I fully accept Nemirovskii's conclusions concerning the greater likelihood of Onkov's visit.

Prague editions, the Vilnius merchant Bogdan Onkov.[29] Onkov is known from other sources to have travelled to Moscow to collect debts some time around 1526–1527, possibly arriving somewhat earlier.[30] Evidently a man of interests more financial than cultural or spiritual, Onkov would most likely have been engaged in an attempt to "open the Moscow market" for these editions. While Onkov's sponsorship of Skaryna's publishing ventures did not include the 1518 edition of Kingdoms itself (his support evidently terminated with the preceding edition of January 19, 1518; Kingdoms was issued in August of that year), if he had felt the venture likely to bring financial returns he could well have included one or more copies in a load of books bound for Moscow.

Without suspecting any textual connections between Maksim Grek and Skaryna, S. Braha and A. Florovskii have pointed out that this was just the time when Daniil, the Moscow metropolitan (1522–1539) was evincing particular evidence of zealous xenophobia—including the well-known persecution and prosecution of Maksim Grek himself (whose first trial and incarceration fell in the late winter and spring of 1525).[31] From the treatment accorded Maksim, the burning of a few "Polish" editions of Scripture might come as scant surprise. Maksim's own fate and that of the unfortunate incinerated imprints could be seen as somehow related, and all fitting rather well in the climate set by the militant metropolitan.

From his arrival in Moscow in March 1518, up until November 1524 Maksim was at liberty and at first, of course, much honored; but from late 1524 he was in custody or in the dock till May 1525, when he was sent off to continued detention under strict regime in the Iosifo-Volokolamsk Monastery. There he remained until 1531, when he was again brought to Moscow, retried, and recommitted to the Tverskoi Otroch' Monastery in Tver'. During his incarceration in the Volokolamsk Monastery, that is, around the time of Onkov's known presence in 1526–1527, despite Daniil's strict injunction that Maksim not write, and not read anything not specifically prescribed by Daniil,[32] it seems quite clear that he did both. Codicological evidence from one of the other Bible texts in Maksim's manuscripts, his translation of the Fourth Book of Maccabees, suggests that at least some of these texts may have been translated or copied by him during his incarceration in the Iosifo-Volokolamsk Monastery.[33] Maksim's work with the DG text, like much of his other work with the Old Testament texts associated with it in the manuscripts, most likely dates to early in the period of his disgrace and confinement—that is, from the mid-1520s to the early 1530s.

The specific timing of his encounter with the Skaryna text remains open to further interpretation. If we were to suppose that Onkov actually arrived in Muscovy as much as two years earlier than the end of 1526, when he is known to have been present—that is, enough earlier for Maksim to have seen Skaryna's edition while still at liberty—one might conjecture that Maksim's contact with such suspect foreign texts could have served as part of the impetus for his arrest and disgrace, although no charge of such possession or related activity seems reflected in the trial records.

On the other hand, if the Skaryniana reached him when he was already in detention, then, given the system of supervision and surveillance set up over Maksim, and the reporting to reliable higher-ups of any proscribed behavior on his part,[34] his access to

29 Florovskii (1969:157), Vladimirov (1979:42), Nemirovskii (1990a:233–37, 488).

30 Sb. RIO (1882—35:752, 759), cited by Nemirovskii (1990a:236).

31 Braha (1963:10–11); and A. Florovskii (1969:157–58).

32 Pokrovskii (1971:97, 122–23).

33 The earliest known copy of his translation of the Fourth Book of Maccabees survives in a manuscript miscellany that was written subsequently in that monastery (in the 1550s–1560s), in the hand of Dmitrii Lapshin. See Kloss (1975:139) and Olmsted (1994b:93).

34 Pokrovskii (ibid.)

the alien editions might easily have come to the attention of the authorities. Such disclosures could then have served as part of the grounds for the burning of the texts themselves, and would doubtless have fed Daniil's continuing hostility towards the willful and unrepetant monk—a disposition the Vladyka is known to have maintained for many years. In general, the climate, personalities, and events of the time could well lead us to suspect a connection between the incarceration and the incineration.

Maksim's evident choice of this particular source—the Western-looking Skaryna—might also be seen as indirect evidence of the contact's having occurred during his incarceration. Granted that ordinarily Maksim might not have been expected to choose such a source, his having done so may be seen as dictated by a restriction of his options and his heightened interest in the themes under his difficult and unfortunate circumstances. Alternatively, his having chosen this text to work on might also have been prompted by a negative reaction to such a Westernized text and a desire to produce an improved version, although this seems less likely.[35]

In any event, given present evidence all such conjecture is quite beyond the realm of the demonstrable. Further, any conclusions based upon what we might "expect" of such a rich and complex personality as Maksim's could easily turn out to be unfounded.

If Maksim's source was among the volumes brought by Onkov to Moscow, chances are that it perished in the fire ordered by the grand prince. But it is remotely possible that it could have survived. Granted Maksim's evident practice of entering corrections and other marginalia in his protographs (cf. Sinitsyna 1977, and discussion of GPB F.I.460 in Olmsted, 1987), perhaps there is somewhere a copy of Skaryna's Kingdoms waiting to disclose more samples of Maksim's autograph.

Whether or not his source was specifically among those particular books, might there survive today any copies of Skaryna's editions that were available in Muscovy early enough for Maksim to have seen them? Other than the evident indirect reference in King Sigismund Augustus's note, there is apparently no documentation of Skaryna's books in Muscovy until considerably later. The first firm evidence, adduced by E. L. Nemirovskii and G. Ia. Golenchenko, dates only to near the end of the sixteenth century, in the libraries of the Stroganovs and the Solovki Monastery.[36] It is only by the seventeenth century that the evidence becomes broader and more reliable, with attestations in such monasteries as the Moskovskii Novospasskii, Kirillo-Belozerskii, Vladimirskii Rozhdestvenskii, Suzdal'skii Spaso-Evfimievskii, Nikolaevskii Korel'skii, Tikhvinskii Bogoroditskii, and Krasnogorskii Bogoroditskii.[37]

Both of the two known extant copies of Skaryna's Prague Psalter bear evidence of later Muscovite ownership, as do copies of the 1519 Judges and the 1518 edition of Kingdoms itself. According to the preliminary census of early cyrillic imprints (fifteenth–first half of the sixteenth centuries) published in the *Methodological Instructions for compilers of the Union Catalog of Early-Printed Cyrillic and Glagolitic books*,[38] the Kingdoms edition was known to the describers in twenty-one extant copies, of which eighteen were in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus, and three

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[35] See Taube / Olmsted (1987:106) for a similar conjecture concerning Maksim's reasons for translating the Esther text. But with respect to the DG text, in view of the dramatic condensation of the story, the editor's primary interest seems to have been not textual, but thematic.

[36] We must also note the interesting discovery by A. A. Turilov of the Akafist name-acrostics written by Skaryna himself, in texts well known for generations, published by Skaryna in Vilnius in his *Malaia podorozhnaia knizhitsa*. This evidently circulated in Muscovy—or at least some of its contents became known there—in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, when the "Akafist imeni Iisusovu" was copied in the Iosifo-Volokolamsk Monastery (Turilov 1981:246).

[37] Nemirovskii (1985a:31–32); G. Ia. Golenchenko (1979:149–63).

[38] "Predvaritel'nyi spisok" (1976:32–41).

abroad (all in England; of these, two are fragments). In addition we may note that, unregistered in the preliminary census, a fragment is held as well at the New York Public Library.[39] The Russian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian copies are distributed as follows: L'viv, three; Minsk, one; St. Petersburg, three; and Moscow, eleven.[40] In a subsequent discussion by E. L. Nemirovskii, the total number of copies and fragments extant and mentioned in historical sources was extended to forty-two, a number greater than in the case of any of Skaryna's other editions.[41] This relatively large general quantity does not mean, of course, that any of these copies were likely to have been available in Muscovy at the time of Maksim. Whatever further evidence may accrue of actual copies locatable in Muscovite space and time, the Skaryna passages in Maksim's manuscripts seem clearly to represent much the earliest reflection of Skaryna's texts of which we have evidence in Muscovy.

In future work it would be interesting to ascertain whether there might be any other traces of the Skaryna texts in the original works of Maksim Grek. None are known at present; but any that might be discovered would serve to consolidate and verify the intriguing connection which is suggested by the textual coincidence of the DG text. It might also well be worth investigating in greater detail the connections between Maksim and Novgorod (considering especially the use of Novgorod texts by Skaryna), with the possibility that one of Maksim's acquaintances (e.g., Dmitrii Gerasimov?) might have served as intermediary.

But even lacking such further evidence, for the moment our conclusion seems hard to avoid: Maksim Grek in Muscovy evidently had access to a copy of Frantsysk Skaryna's 1518 edition of Kingdoms, quite possibly one of the exemplars evidently brought by Bogdan Onkov, and from this source produced the DG extract found in his manuscripts. Whether he saw one of the copies that was subsequently burned, or another copy which may still somewhere survive, this is earlier by well over half a century than any concrete attestation of Skaryna's biblical editions hitherto known in Muscovy.

Much more work is needed upon the textual interrelationships of scriptural and other texts circulating in East Slavic lands in the sixteenth century. It can be expected that such work will continue to show greater contact among nations, language communities, even confessions, than has frequently been supposed.

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[39] The New York Public Library fragment (shelf-mark *ZQ-461) comprises fols. 19–22v of First Kingdoms; note that this is identical with fragments found in the Francis Skaryna Library in London and in both the University Library and Trinity College in Cambridge, England (Nadson 1976:364); there may be an interesting story in this identity.

[40] Nemirovskii (1979:136–40).

[41] Nemirovskii (1990a:232); no details or further sources are given to explicate this general total.

ABBREVIATIONS

* starred items below have their own entries in the bibliography

AE*	Arkheograficheskii ezhegodnik
Ak.	Academy collection (Akademicheskoe sobranie [MDA]), RGB
AN SSSR	Akademii nauk SSSR (now Rossiiskaia akademiia nauk (RAN)
BAN	Biblioteka Rossiiskoi akademii nauk, St. Petersburg
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
DG	David and Goliath excerpts as found in manuscripts of Maksim Grek
Dobrokhot.	Dobrokhotov collection, BAN
Egor.	Egorov collection, RGB
FCh*	Fedorovskie chteniia
GIM	Gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii muzei, Moscow
IRLI (PD)	Institut russkoi literatury (Pushkinskii dom)
Ivanov, no. XX	see note 5
KI*	Kazanskoe izdanie Sochinenii prepod. Maksima Greka
MDA	Moskovskaia dukhovnaia akademiia
MGAMID	Moskovskii glavnyi arkhiv Ministerstva inostrannykh del, RGADA, Moscow
Nikif.	Nikiforov collection, RGB
OLDP	Obshchestvo liubitelei drevnei pis'mennosti
Pogod.	Pogodin collection, RNB
RGADA	Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov, Moscow; formerly Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov (TsGADA)
RGB	Rossiiskaia Gosudarstvennaia biblioteka, Moscow; formerly Gosudarstvennaia biblioteka SSSR im. V. I. Lenina (GBL)
RNB	Rossiiskaia Natsional'naia biblioteka, St. Petersburg; formerly Gosudarstvennaia Publichnaia biblioteka im. M.E. Saltykova-Shchedrina (GPB)
RO	Rukopisnyi otdel
Rum.	Rumiantsev collection, RGB
Sb. RIO*	Sbornik Russkogo istoricheskogo obshchestva
Shchuk.	Shchukin collection, GIM
Sin.	Synodal collection (Sinodal'noe sobranie), GIM
Sof.	Sofiiskoe sobranie, RNB
Sol.	Solovki Monastery collection (Solovetskoe sobranie), RNB
TODRL*	Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury / IRLI (PD) AN SSSR
Tolstoi	Tolstoi collection, RNB
Uvar.	Uvarov collection, GIM
Voskr.	Voskresenskii collection, BAN

APPENDIX: MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING DG

MANUSCRIPT TYPES AND INDIVIDUAL MANUSCRIPTS IN WHICH DG (DAVID & GOLIATH) HAS BEen identified are listed below.

The fact and locus of DG's inclusion in these MSS where unidentified is provided by Sinitsyna; other references are explicitly identified. Folia are given where available.

A. THE IOASAF TYPE

A type of collection closely associated with Maksim himself, arising during his lifetime, represented by manuscripts containing Maksim's autograph. DG is generally included as part of an unnumbered set of additions together with the Prophetic Miscellany. The type is characterized, its MSS registered, and contents listed by Sinitsyna (1977:223–34); DG is mentioned on p. 234.[42] Example of a specific early exemplar:
RGB Ak 42, DG included unnumbered on fols. 407v–408v (d.v.). Published description: Leonid (1884: 224–32); DG not registered.
Other manuscripts are listed by Sinitsyna, loc. cit.

B. THE IONA DUMIN TYPE

A type incorporating the Ioasaf contents literally, including the biblical texts, together with added compositions from other sources; the type arose during the 1590s, assembled by the churchman Iona Dumin. The type is characterized, its manuscripts registered, and contents listed by Sinitsyna (1977:264–65).[43]
Representative of this collection:
RGB Tsarskogo 241–42 = Uvarov 309–310; Published descriptions: Stroev (1848:200–211), Leonid (1893–1894 I:212–21); DG not registered.

C. THE BURTSEV TYPE

A type known from late in the sixteenth century, not from Maksim's lifetime but textually authoritative and bearing traces of close association with him; widely circulated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Ukraine and Belorussia. The type is characterized, its manuscripts registered, and contents listed by Sinitsyna (1977:239–42).[44] DG is generally included as part of numbered chapter 69, together with the Prophetic Miscellany. Manuscripts include:

1. **BAN 1.5.97** (Burts. 25); DG is on fols. 230v–31 (d.v.), late sixteenth cent.; Sinitsyna (1977:239–40). No full description exists; this manuscript is briefly and summarily registered in Burtsev 1901 (64–65); DG not mentioned.
2. **Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski (KUL), MS 378**, late sixteenth cent., fols. 1026–1028 (d.v.), between chapters 79 and 80; Sinitsyna (1977:240). Description: Shchapov (1976 2:17–23); DG not mentioned.
3. **BAN Dobrokhot. 32** (Voskr. 6), late sixteenth cent.; DG is on fols. 290v–91v (d.v.); Sinitsyna (1977:240). Description: Sreznevskii/Pokrovskii (1910–1915 2:63–69); presence of DG registered on p. 69.
4. **Vilnius 249/49**, seventeenth cent., ca. l. 280; Sinitsyna (1977:241). Description: Dobrianskii (1882:402–410); DG not registered.
5. **RGB Rum. 265**, 1st half of seventeenth cent.?, DG is on fols. 348v–49 (d.v); Sinitsyna (1977:241). Description: Vostokov (1842:374–80); DG registered on p. 380.
6. **RNB Sof. bibl. 1201**, third quarter of seventeenth cent., fol. [360 ob.]; cited by Evseev (1912–1913 I: 1343). Sinitsyna (1977:240).

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[42] The Ioasaf family is introduced, with references to preceding literature, in Sinitsyna 1977 (223–34) and in Olmsted 1977 (26–45, 321–28) and 1987 (16 and n.)

[43] For further discussion of the Iona Dumin type see Bulanin (1980 and 1984:232–33) and Olmsted (1977:286–308, 422–33), with additional corrections by Olmsted (1992:400–406).

[44] See in addition Bulanin (1984:223–27), Olmsted (1977:169–227, 362–84 and 1987:16 and n.), and Taube / Olmsted (1987:102, 113–14).

7. **RNB OLDP 15/1291**, 1720s, Description: Loparev (1892–1899 III [=OLPI 114]:26). Sinitsyna (1977:241–42).

D. THE NIKIFOROV TYPE

A type arising in the second quarter of the seventeenth century, based upon the Burtsev collection type and other sources; DG included in these manuscripts typically as part of numbered chapter 39. The Nikiforov family is inventoried by Sinitsyna (1977:236–39).[45] Manuscripts include:

1. **RGB Nikif. 79**, second quart. seventeenth cent.; Sinitsyna (1977:237). No other description.
2. **RGADA RO MGAMID no. 585**, second quart. seventeenth cent.; Sinitsyna (1977:237). No other description.
3. **GPB Pogod. 1144**, seventeenth cent.; Sinitsyna (1977:238). No other description.
4. **GIM Shchuk. 537**, fols. 302v ff., seventeenth cent.; Sinitsyna (1977:238). Description: Iatsimirskii (1896–1897 1:117–26); DG not mentioned.
5. **RGB Egor. 1198**, end seventeenth–beg. eighteenth cent.; Sinitsyna (1977:238–39). No other description.

E. THE SYNOD TYPE

Another type dating from late in the sixteenth century, with early roots in the manuscript tradition and contents uniquely organized. The Synod family was first identified in Olmsted 1971 (21–22); it is briefly surveyed also by Sinitsyna (1977:272–73). The most detailed description of one of the representatives of the type is provided for GIM Sin 191/491 by Gorskii / Nevostruev (1855–1917 II-2:520–78).[46] DG is typically included in these manuscripts as part of numbered chapter 112.

1. **Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Slave 123**, end sixteenth cent. Description: Langeler (1986:165–84).[47]
2. **GIM Sin 191/491**, end. sixteenth cent., ll. 613–[17].[48] Description: Gorskii/Nevostruev (loc. cit.); DG registered on p. 574.[49]

F. UNIQUE MANUSCRIPT RNB Q.I.219

RNB Q.I.219 (Tolstoi otd. II.241), a unique convolute of the sixteenth–seventeenth cents. DG is located on fols. 322–322v; not mentioned by Sinitsyna; description: Kalaidovich / Stroev (1825:390–400); DG registered on p. 396.[50]

G. UNIQUE MANUSCRIPT RNB SOL. 310 / 495 / 514

RNB Sol. 310 / 495 / 514, seventeenth cent.; DG on approximately fols. [392v–93v]; noted without description by Sinitsyna (1977:278); partial description: Porfir'ev et al. (1881–1898 1:486–89); DG not mentioned; its presence registered by Kovtun (1972:24).[51]

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[45] For a fuller discussion of its provenance see Olmsted (1977:208–227, 380–84), as well as Olmsted 1987 (16 & n) and 1994a (121–25); and Taube / Olmsted 1987 (102, 113–14).

[46] See also further elucidation in Olmsted 1994a (128–29).

[47] Langeler (1986:174). See also Bulanin's review (1987) of Langeler's book, and further discussion in Olmsted 1992 (399–400).

[48] Here reference to a final folio cited in square brackets indicates an approximate terminus, when only the first folio of the succeeding work is known from a published description.

[49] The provenance of this manuscript is examined by A. T. Shashkov (1983:10 and 1987:6–8) and Olmsted (1992:399–400); a discussion of its contents and affinities is initiated in Olmsted 1994a (125–29).

[50] RNB Q.I.219 is further described and discussed by Bulanin (1977:278–79 and 1984:58–66, 129 ff., 249) and by Olmsted (1977:80–122, 339–49; 1987:16&n; and 1994b:92 ff.)

[51] It seems likely, for reasons that cannot be detailed here, that this section of works in this manuscript originates with the Nikiforov tradition.

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Loving Silence and Avoiding Pleasant Conversations: The Political Views of Nil Sorskii

DONALD OSTROWSKI

Ever since I began studying the works of Nil Sorskii (1433–1508), I have been struck by the apparent contradiction in the images of him, on the one hand, as a renunciate and lover of silence and, on the other, as the leader of and spokesman for a political-religious group.[1] In surveying the secondary and tertiary literature, one finds general acceptance of the image of Nil Sorskii as a political activist, as the leading ideologist and spokesman for the "Non-possessors" Church party.[2] With that image in mind, historians have either found it not necessary to look at what Nil wrote or have looked at his writings only to find illustrations that they think will support this image. Thus, when Nil's writings are cited, often only certain words and phrases of his are chosen, and those mostly out of context. They are then "deconstructed" in order to support an already existing political interpretation. At the same time, commentators will describe Nil as a hesychastic Trans-Volga Elder who renounced worldly matters. It seems to me that holding these two images simultaneously is not justifiable.

Some scholars, including Ia. S. Lur′e, G. N. Moiseeva, and A. I. Pliguzov, have questioned whether the Non-possessors Church party existed during

1 I am grateful to Professor S. V. Utechin for conducting a seminar on sixteenth-century Muscovy in the fall semester of 1970 at Pennsylvania State University. It was in conversation with Professor Utechin and in my research paper for that seminar that I first articulated my uneasiness with the leader-and-spokesman image of Nil Sorskii. I would also like to thank David Goldfrank, Andrei Pliguzov, and Daniel Rowland for their invaluable advice and suggestions regarding this article.

2 The literature on Church parties in Muscovy is too extensive to be recounted here. Instead, I refer the reader to the historiographical surveys of Ia. S. Lur′e, *Ideologicheskaia bor′ba v russkoi publitsistike kontsa XV–nachala XVI veka* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1960), 7–38, 204–212, 285–294; N. A. Kazakova, *Ocherki po istorii russkoi obshchestvennoi mysli. Pervaia tret′ XVI veka* (Leningrad, 1970), 7–44; and A. I. Pliguzov, "Istoriograficheskaia zametki o 'nestiazhatel′stve,'" *Arkhiv russkoi istorii* 2 (1992): 5–33. Lur′e attributed the interest in Nil's political views to liberal Slavophile historians of the late nineteenth century who saw in Nil a "historical precursor" for their own reform agenda. Ia. S. Lur′e "K voprosu ob ideologii Nila Sorskogo," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury* (*TODRL*) 13 (1957): 182–183; see also Ia. S. Lur′e [Jakov S. Luria], "Unresolved Issues in the History of the Ideological Movements of the Late Fifteenth Century," in *Medieval Russian Culture*, ed. Henrik Birnbaum and Michael S. Flier (Berkeley, 1984), 163.

Nil's lifetime.[3] And I have questioned whether such a Church party existed at all other than in the historiographical imagination.[4] If there was no such Church party or political-religious group while Nil was alive, then it stands to reason he could not have been the leader or spokesman of it. Yet, those who maintain the consensus view remain unconvinced. In the following pages, I will present the evidence on which the claims of Nil as a political activist are based. I will then examine the evidence of Nil's own writings, that is those works that have a relatively high probability of having been authored by him, to see how they compare with this other evidence. In the process, I hope to demonstrate that it is fairer and more accurate to understand Nil's views within a religious rather than a political context.

The image of Nil as a political activist is based almost solely on his supposed participation in the 1503 Church Council. Recently, R. G. Skrynnikov has taken issue both with me and with Andrei Pliguzov for arguing that the polemical sources regarding the 1503 Church Council are unreliable: "The weakness of the hypothesis concerning the spuriousness of the Council of 1503 materials is contained in the fact that it does not explain at all the motives of falsification and mystification in which participated not one, but many bookmen and theologians (богословы), who worked at various times and who belonged to different currents of Church thought."[5] Skrynnikov proceeds to accept the reliability of these polemical works. Furthermore, he argues that, although the polemical sources may be late, the authors were told things by people who were at the Council. He accepts the conventional view that Nil was the leader and spokesman for the Non-possessors and writes: "The rise of the Non-possessors is totally associated with the activity of Nil Sorskii."[6]

Let us look at the sources that present Nil as a political activist at the 1503 Council. Three Muscovite works mention Nil in relation to that council: (1) *Pis′mo o neliubkakh inokov Kirillova i Iosifova monastyrei* (*Letter About the Enmities of the Monks of the Kirillov and Iosifov Monasteries*); (2) *Slovo inoe* (*Another Discourse*); and (3) *Prenie s Iosifom* (*Debate with*

[3] Ia. S. Lur′e, "Kratkaia redaktsiia 'Ustava' Iosifa Volotskogo—pamiatnik ideologii rannego iosiflianstva," *TODRL* 12 (1956): 123–126; Lur′e, *Ideologicheskaia bor′ba*, 414–416; G. N. Moiseeva, *Valaamskaia beseda—Pamiatnik russkoi publitsistiki serediny XVI veka* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1958), 27–28; A. I. Pliguzov, *Pamiatniki rannego "nestiazhatel′stva" pervoi treti XVI veka*, abstract of *kandidatskaia* dissertation, Moscow, 1986; and A. I. Pliguzov, *Polemika v russkoi tserkvi pervoi treti XVI veka* (Moscow, 1996), forthcoming.

[4] Donald Ostrowski, "Church Polemics and Monastic Land Acquisition in Sixteenth-Century Muscovy," *Slavonic and East European Review* 64 (1986): 357–379.

[5] R. G. Skrynnikov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov′ na Rusi XIV–XVI vv.* (Novosibirsk, 1991), 165.

[6] Skrynnikov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov′ na Rusi*, 162.

Iosif).[7] The *Pis'mo o neliubkakh* is extant in one copy in a codex in the State Historical Museum in Moscow. The codex was copied by Vassian Vozmitskii (also known as Fateev or Koshka) and dates to the 1560's.[8] The most likely candidate to have been the author of the *Pis'mo o neliubkakh* is Vassian Vozmitskii himself, who was tonsured in the Volokolamsk Monastery and may have become archimandrite of the Vozmitskii Monastery by 1554. He died in 1568.[9] In the *Pis'mo*, Vassian ostensibly explains the origins of the enmities between the monks of the Volokolamsk and Kirillo-Belozersk monasteries. He begins with the 1503 Church Council:

Егда бысть собор при великом князы Ивана Васильевича всея Русии и при Симоне митрополите, о вдовых попех и о дияконех в лето ҂з҃·в҃і, а на том соборе были архиепископы и епископы и архимандриты и честныа игумены и честныя старцы изо многих монастыреи. Да тут же был старец Паисея Ярославов, еже бысть приемник великого князя Василия от святыя купели, и ученик его старець Нил пореклу Маиков. Сеи Нил был в святеи горе и князь велики держал их в чести в велице. И егда совершися собор о вдовых попех и о дияконех и нача старец Нил глаголати, чтобы у манастыреи сел не было, а жили бы черньци по пустыням а кормили бы ся рукоделием, а с ним пустынникы Белозерские.[10]

[7] Neither the documentary or chronicle sources concerning the 1503 Council nor the other polemical sources—the *Zhitie Iosifa* (*Life of Iosif*), the *Zhitie Serapiona* (*Life of Serapion*), and the *Sobornyi otvet* (*Council Answer*) (all three versions)—that discuss the council mention Nil at all.

[8] GIM, Sinod. 927, fols. 187–190v. For a discussion of the dating of this codex and of the *Pis'mo o neliubkakh*, see Donald Ostrowski, "A 'Fontological' Investigation of the Moscow Church Council of 1503," Ph.D. Dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 1977, pp. 100–120. For a description of the codex, see Ostrowski, "A 'Fontological' Investigation," 637–638.

[9] V. T. Georgievskii, *Freski Ferapontova monastyria* (St. Petersburg, 1911), Prilozhenie, p. 22.

[10] Ostrowski, "A 'Fontological' Investigation," 393: "There was a council in the time of Grand Prince Ivan Vasil'evich of all Rus' and in the time of Metropolitan Simon, about widower priests and deacons in the year 7012 [1503/04], and at the council were archbishops, bishops, archimandrites, respected hegumens, and respected elders from many monasteries. The elder Paisii Iaroslavov, who was the baptizer of Grand Prince Vasilii, and his pupil, the elder Nil, named Maikov, were there too. This Nil had been at the Holy Mountain [Mt. Athos], and the grand prince held them in great esteem. When the council about widower priests and deacons was completed, the elder Nil said that monasteries should not have lands, and that monks should live in hermitages, and should sustain themselves through handicraft, and the Belozersk hermits were with him." Cf. *Poslanie Iosifa Volotskogo*, ed. Ia. S. Lur'e and A. A. Zimin (Moscow and Leningrad, 1959), 367. The word *село* had a variety of possible meanings, all interrelated. It could be *village*, *living place*, or *land*, either cultivated or uncultivated. See I. I. Sreznevskii, *Materialy dlia Slovaria drevne-russkogo iazyka po pis'mennym pamiatnikam*, 3 vols. (repr., Graz, 1956), vol. 3, cols. 326–329. I have chosen *land* as the meaning here, but I will discuss below

Following this in the text is a counterargument attributed to Iosif Volotskii, founder and hegumen of the Volokolamsk Monastery, to the effect that monasteries need lands in order to attract well-born men to monastic life. The assertion that Nil opposed monasteries having lands is then repeated in the *Pis′mo*: "Как не стало старца Нила и ученик его князь Васиян Косои, княж Иванов сын Юрьевича, и начя сеи князь велми побарати по своем старце Ниле, еже бы у монастыреи не было сел. . . ."[11] Thus, according to Vassian Vozmitskii, Nil wanted the monasteries to divest themselves of their lands, as well as have all monks move into hermitages (sketes) and perform handicraft labor.

The second source that mentions Nil in relation to the 1503 Church Council is *Slovo inoe*, which was also written at least fifty to sixty years after Nil's death. The only extant copy is found in the margins and empty spaces of a copy of Iosif Volotskii's *Prosvetitel′* that dates to the early seventeenth century.[12] The author of *Slovo inoe* describes Nil's going to the grand prince with another monk, Denis Kamenskii, and saying: «Не достоить чернцемъ селъ имѣти».[13] But the initiative for raising the question at the Council is given not to Nil as in the *Pis′mo* but to Ivan III. Thus, Nil is presented as supporting a grand princely attempt to take away lands from monasteries. Both the *Pis′mo* and *Slovo* contain inaccuracies and differ over particulars. For example, neither Paisii Iaroslavov (*Pis′mo o neliubkakh*) nor Vasilii Borisov (*Slovo inoe*) could have attended the Church Council of 1503. If the authors of these two works were given information about the Council, as Skrynnikov asserts, then they were given incorrect information.[14]

The third polemical source that mentions Nil's participation at the 1503 Church Council is the *Prenie s Iosifom*.[15] But it cannot be used as evidence

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the possibility it means *village* in this context.

11 Ostrowski, "A 'Fontological' Investigation," 394: "After the elder Nil died, his disciple Prince Vassian Kosoi, son of Prince Ivan Iur′evich, also forcefully advocated that monasteries not have lands according to his elder Nil's wish. . . ." Cf. *Poslanie Iosifa Volotskogo*, 367.

12 This codex is presently located in the Perm′ Public Library under the number 091/S-421. For a discussion of the arguments concerning the date of composition of *Slovo inoe*, see Ostrowski, "A 'Fontological' Investigation," 240–272.

13 Iu. K. Begunov, "'Slovo inoe'—novonaidennoe proizvedenie russkoi publitsistiki XVI v. o bor′be Ivana III s zemlevladeniem tserkvi," *TODRL* 20 (1964): 352: "It is not proper for monks to have lands."

14 See my discussion of these and other inaccuracies and contradictions in "Council of 1503, Orthodox Church," *Modern Encyclopedia of Religions in Russia and the Soviet Union*, ed. Paul D. Steeves, 6 vols. to date (Gulf Breeze FL, 1988–), 5:228–229.

15 The *Prenie s Iosifom* is extant in 5 MS copies: (1) RNB, Solov. 941/831, fols. 424–428v (1560's); (2) RNB, Solov. 963/853, fols. 466–472 (1580's); (3) RNB, Solov. 985/875, fols. 57–64 (1650's); (4) GIM, Sinod. 738, fols. 97–102v (1660's); and (5) Novosibirskaia publichnaia biblioteka, Tikhomirov 373, fols. 416v–421v (ca. 1600). For the dating of Solov. 941/831, Solov 963/853, and Sinod. 738, see Ostrowski, "A 'Fontological' Investigation," 587–599,

that Nil wanted to divest the monasteries of their lands because nowhere in the *Prenie* does it attribute this view to Nil. In the eleventh section, the author of the *Prenie* has Iosif say: «О еже како в второе лето князь великии Иван Васильевичь всея Росии велел быти на Москве святителем и Нилу и Иосифу, попов ради, иже дръжаху наложницы; паче же рещи—въсхоте отимати села у святых церквеи и у монастыреи».[16] The point is that the author of the *Prenie* attributes to Iosif the assertion that the grand prince wanted to take away the lands, and that he called Nil and Iosif to Moscow to discuss this. The author does not directly attribute that wish to Nil. The twelfth section of the *Prenie* moves on to discuss Vassian specifically: «О еже како и когда прииде на Москву Васиан пустынник, яко да великаго князя научит и вся благородныя человекы иже у монастыреи и у мирских церквеи села отимати».[17] There is no mention in the *Prenie* of Nil's views on this question. Thus, two polemical works that connect Nil with the 1503 Council attribute to Nil the view that monasteries (or monks) should not have lands—one source says that Nil himself raised the question at the Council, while the other source states that he merely discussed it with Ivan III, who then raised the issue at the Council. The third polemical work does not specify what Nil's opinion was on this matter and attributes the entire initiative to Ivan III. These three polemical works contain all the evidence we have concerning Nil's political activism.

Let us now look at the matter from a different perspective. What were Nil's views according to the writings that we can reliably attribute to him?

635–636. I also examined Solov. 985/875, but did not include that description in my dissertation. In December 1988, V. N. Alekseev, head of the Manuscript Division of the Novosibirsk Public Library graciously allowed me access to the MS. Tikhomirov 373. It is on the basis of that examination that I have been able to date that MS. See also A. I. Pliguzov, "Prenie s Iosifom," *Issledovaniia po istochnikoveniiu istorii SSSR. Dooktiabr'skogo perioda* (Moscow, 1989), 51. The *Prenie s Iosifom* has been published twice. A. S. Pavlov published it in "Polemicheskie sochineniia inoka-kniazia Vassiana Patrikeeva (XVI st.)," *Pravoslavnyi sobesednik*, October 1863: 200–210 according to Solov. 941/831, but provided no variants. N. A. Kazakova published it in her *Vassian Patrikeev i ego sochineniia* (Moscow/Leningrad, 1960), 275–281 according to Sinod. 738 with variants from the three Solovki copies, but her edition of the text is marred by many mistakes. For an edition based on Solov. 941/831 with variants according to Solov. 963/853, Solov. 985/875, and Sinod. 738, see Ostrowski, "A 'Fontological' Investigation," 492–516.

16 Ostrowski, "A 'Fontological' Investigation," 508–509: "Concerning how in the second year Grand Prince Ivan Vasil'evich of all Rus' ordered Nil and Iosif to be at holy Moscow, for the sake of priests who had concubines, that is to say he wanted to take away lands from the holy churches and monasteries." Cf. Kazakova, *Vassian Patrikeev i ego sochineniia*, 279.

17 Ostrowski, "A 'Fontological' Investigation," 510: "Concerning how and when Vassian the hermit came to Moscow to instruct the grand prince and all the nobles to take away lands from the monasteries and worldly churches." Cf. Kazakova, *Vassian Patrikeev i ego sochineniia*, 279.

And how do those views compare with the evidence of the sources that present Nil as a political activist?

In another study that I have prepared for publication, I analyze the credibility of the attribution to Nil Sorskii of nearly two dozen works. I set up five criteria for evaluating whether a work was written by him. Several works that formerly were attributed to him have already been eliminated from his corpus. Other works have a low probability of having been authored by him. These works I placed in the "outer corpus" of works attributed to Nil. For the time being, we have to suspend judgment on works of the "outer corpus." Other works, which have a relatively high probability of having been written by him, I placed in the "inner corpus." We can thus accept with some confidence three letters—to Vassian Patrikeev (L_1), to Gurii Tushin (L_2), and to German Podol'nyi (L_3)—as well as the *Predanie*, the *Ustav*, the *Predislovie*, and the *Posleslovie* as having been written by Nil Sorskii.[18]

We can now examine the works that constitute the "inner corpus" to see what views Nil expressed in them. In the letter to Vassian Patrikeev (L_1), presumably written after Vassian's forced tonsure in 1499, Nil indicates his reluctance to provide advice. He does provide advice to Vassian but only out of a sense of duty not to offend: "Но понеже множицею понудил мя еси на се — еже написати ми тебе слово к созиданию добродетели, и аз дерзнух написати тебе сиа, еже выше моея меры, не могый презрети прошениа твоего, да не множее оскорбишися."[19] Nil follows the same

[18] L_1, L_2, and L_3 were published in G. M. Prokhorov, "Poslaniia Nila Sorskogo," *TODRL* 29 (1974): 136–143. Prokhorov used the MS. RGB, Volok. 577, as his base copy and the MSS. GIM, Sinod. 355; RNB, Kirillo-Belozersk. 142/1219; and RNB, Kirillo-Belozersk. 101/1178 as his control copies. The letter to German Podol'nyi was also published in A. Muravev, *Russkaia fevaida na severe* (St. Petersburg, 1894), 249–252. Lilienfeld translated the letters into German on the basis of the MSS. RGB, Troits. 188; RGB, Fund. 185; and RGB, Volok. 577. Fairy von Lilienfeld, *Nil Sorskij und seine Schriften. Die Krise der Tradition im Rußland Ivans III.* (Berlin, 1963), 263–276. Maloney translated the letters into English on the basis of the MS. RGB, Troits. 188, fols. 93–108. George A. Maloney, *Russian Hesychasm: The Spirituality of Nil Sorskij* (The Hague, 1973), 245–256. The best edition of the *Predanie* and *Ustav* is M. S. Borovkova-Maikova, *Nila Sorskogo Predanie i Ustav*, in *Pamiatniki drevnei pis'mennosti i iskusstva*, 179 (1912): 1–9 and 11–91, respectively. Lilienfeld translated both the *Predanie* and the *Ustav* into German from the edition of Borovkova-Maikova. Lilienfeld, *Nil Sorskij und seine Schriften*, 195–255. Helen Izwolsky provided an abridged translation of the *Predanie* and *Ustav* into English, presumably also on the basis of Borovkova-Maikova's edition. *A Treasury of Russian Spirituality*, ed. G. P. Fedotov (New York, 1965), 90–133. The *Predislovie* and *Posleslovie* were published in A. S. Arkhangel'skii, *Nil Sorskii i Vassian Patrikeev. Ikh literaturnye trudy i idei v drevnei Rusi*, pt. 1: *Prepodobnyi Nil Sorskii*, in *Pamiatniki drevnei pis'mennosti i iskusstva* 25 (1882): 124–125 and 126–127, respectively.

[19] Prokhorov, "Poslaniia Nila Sorskogo," 136: "But because you have so strongly insisted that I write you a discourse on acquiring virtues and [because] I have dared to write [even] this [much] to you, which is [already] beyond by capacity, I cannot ignore your request, for you

theme in his letter to Gurii Tushin (L_2). In the following excerpt from that letter, Nil again declares he writes from duty:

Еже усты к устом беседова твоа святыни ко мне, честнеишии отче, тако и писаниа о том же присылал ми еси: требуеши от моеа худости написано послати тебе слово полезно — еже к благоугожению божию и к ползе души. И аз убо человек грешен и неразымен есмь и всеми страстми побежен есмь, боявся начяти такову вещь. Того ради отрицахся есмь и отлагах. Но понеже духовная твоя любовь устрои мя еже дерзнути ми выше меры моея, писати тебе подобающая, того ради убедихся на се.[20]

Further in the same letter to Gurii Tushin, Nil writes about those who are concerned about "the increase of monastic wealth and the acquisitions of possessions" and what Gurii should do about that:

Не въсхощи же приати обычных другов беседы, иже мирская мудрьствующих и упражняющихся в безсловеснаа попечениа, яже в прибытки маностырскаго богатьства и стяжений имений, яже мнится сиа творити в образе благости и от неразумиа божественых писаний или от своих пристрастий, — добродетель мнять проходити. И ты, человече божий, таковым не приобщайся. Не подобает же и на таковых речми наскакати, ни поношати, ни укорити, но — богови оставляти сиа: силен бо есть бог исправити их.[21]

One might question Nil's commitment to these words when one looks at them from the perspective of claims that Nil reproved monks at the 1503 Church Council for not living in hermitages and for not "sustain[ing] themselves through handicraft." On the other hand, neither Vassian Vozmitskii

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would be much offended." Cf. Maloney, *Russian Hesychasm*, 245; Lilienfeld, *Nil Sorskij und seine Schriften*, 272.

[20] Prokhorov, "Poslaniia Nila Sorskogo," 138–139: "As in your personal conversation with me, most honorable Father, so also in your letter that you sent me, you require from my unworthiness to send you some useful, written discourse that is pleasing to God and beneficial to the soul. But I am a sinful and unintelligent man, overcome by all passions, and I feared to undertake such a task. For this reason I declined and put it off. But because your spiritual love compelled me, even forced me, to be bold beyond my capacity to write you something fitting, for this reason I persuaded myself to do it." Cf. Maloney, *Russian Hesychasm*, 249; Lilienfeld, *Nil Sorskij und seine Schriften*, 267.

[21] Prokhorov, "Poslaniia Nila Sorskogo," 140: "Avoid the pleasant conversations of your usual friends who are worldly wise and who are absorbed in unreasonable worries, such as the increase of monastic wealth and the acquisition of possessions, which, under the guise of generosity and from a misunderstanding of Divine Writings or from their own predilection, they consider to pass for virtue. And you, man of God, do not have anything to do with such. It is not appropriate even to dispute with such, neither to scold nor reproach them. But let God do this, for God is powerful enough to correct them." Cf. Maloney, *Russian Hesychasm*, 251; Lilienfeld, *Nil Sorskij und seine Schriften*, 269.

nor the author of *Slovo inoe* was at that Council. So their assertions of what did or did not happen there are open to question.

German Podol′nyi had been a monk in the Kirillo-Belozersk Monastery when Nil was also a monk there. Nil wrote a letter (L_3) to him apparently soon after returning from Mt. Athos.[22] In it, we again see the theme of a brother monk requiring from him a response that he believes is beyond his capability:

Ты же веси мою худость узначала, яко присный духовне любимый мой. Сего ради и ныне пишу тебе, явленно о себе творя, понеже по бозе любовь твоя понужает мя и безумна мя творить — еже писати к тебе о себе.[23]

In all three letters, Nil is clearly hesitant about giving advice to others and does so only because he feels a moral obligation. In two of these letters, he writes back to avoid giving offense for not writing. In the third, he writes only because of his long association with the recipient. While one may look at Nil's expressions of reluctance as insincere boilerplate, or a topos of humility, they do conform to the image of Nil as a renunciate, a retiring monk who seeks peace of mind and to be closer to God.

The *Predanie* and the *Ustav* provide additional evidence for this image of Nil as a renunciate.[24] In the *Predanie*, Nil wrote on his view of heresy and heretics: «Лжеименныхъ же учителеи еретичиская учениа и преданія вся проклинаю азъ и сущіи съ мною, и еретики вси чюжи намъ да будутъ».[25] This statement would seem to controvert the views of those historians who see in Nil an attitude of sympathy toward the Novgorod-Moscow heretics.[26] Instead, those who see a connection between Nil and the

22 Lur′e dates it to the 1470's or 1480's. Lur′e, *Ideologicheskaia bor′ba*, 304–305.

23 Prokhorov, "Poslanie Nila Sorskogo," 142: "You knew my unworthiness from the beginning, since you were my favorite associate spiritually. For the sake of this I now write to you, speaking frankly about myself, because your love of God forces me and drives me crazy so as to write to you about myself." Cf. Maloney, *Russian Hesychasm*, 254; Lilienfeld, *Nil Sorskij und seine Schriften*, 264.

24 Lur′e dated the writing of the *Predanie* to before 1491. Lur′e, *Ideologicheskaia bor′ba*, 300 and fn. 78.

25 Borovkova-Maikova, *Nila Sorskogo Predanie i Ustav*, 3: "I condemn all heretical teaching and traditions of falsely named teachers and the others are with me. Let all heretics be alien to us." Cf. Lilienfeld, *Nil Sorskij und seine Schriften*, 196.

26 According to Golubinskii, Paisii Iaroslavov, Nil, and Nil's disciples opposed the death penalty for heretics and were in favor of reviewing the cases of heretics who had repented. E. Golubinskii, *Istorii russkoi tserkvi*, 2 vols. (Moscow, 1900–1911), vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 583. Yet, the only evidence we have of Nil's views on heresy is his statement in the *Predanie* that he "condemns all heretical teaching." See also J. L. I. Fennell, "The Attitude of the Josephians and the Trans-Volga Elders to the Heresy of the Judaizers," *Slavonic and East European Review* 29 (1951): 495–497, 504.

heretics "explain" that Nil's opposition is a relatively mild one in not calling for the punishment of heretics.[27] But in his writings in general, Nil never calls for people to punish or reprimand other people. Concerning the matter of heresy, we have to remember that parts of Iosif Volotskii's *magnum opus* against heretics, the *Skazanie o novoiavivsheisia eresi*, were copied in Nil Sorskii's hand (Solov. 326/346).[28] Nil discloses in his Letter to German that "what is in harmony with my understanding and pleasing to God and for the benefit of my soul I write down."[29] And in his *Posleslovie*, he writes: "Whatever is possibly true and in harmony with my understanding I copy down."[30] The principle is that a monk such as Nil would copy only those works that contributed to his spiritual improvement. Nil's copying of such works would seem to bring into question the notion that some kind of conflict existed between Nil Sorskii and Iosif Volotskii. When we consider also that all of Nil's "inner corpus" works, including copies in his own hand of his *Predanie*, his *Predislovie*, his *Posleslovie*, and the collection of Greek saints' Lives that he gathered were maintained in the Volokolamsk Monastery, then we have to wonder about the nature of the conflict that supposedly existed between the Volokolamsk monks and the Trans-Volga elders at that time.

Nil indicates in the *Predanie* that hermits (*pustynniki*), like himself, should perform their work indoors, in contrast to communal monks who work in the fields:

Сіе же отъ святыхъ отець опаснѣ предано есть намъ, яко да отъ праведныхъ трудовъ своего рукодѣліа и работы, дневную пищу и прочаа нужныя потребы Господь и Пречестаа Его Мати, яже о насъ устраяет: не дѣлаяи бо, рече апостолъ, да не ясть. Пребывание бо и потреба наша отъ сихъ хощетъ строитися. Дѣлати же дѣла подобает подъ кровомъ бывающая. Аще ли же по нужи и на яснинѣ супруг же воловъ гонити ораті, и иная болѣзненая отъ своихъ трудовъ въ общихъ житияхъ похвална суть, глаголеть Божественое писаніе, в сущихъ же особь укорно есть се.[31]

[27] For a discussion of this point, see Lur'e, "Unresolved Issues," 163–164, fn. 34.

[28] For analyses of redactions of this work, see N. A. Kazakova and Ia. S. Lur'e, *Antifeodal'nye ereticheskie dvizheniia na Rusi XIV–nachala XVI veka* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1955), 438–486; Lur'e, *Ideologicheskaia bor'ba*, 95–127, 458–474; and A. I. Pliguzov, "'Kniga na eretikov' Iosifa Volotskogo," in *Istoriia i paleografiia. Sbornik statei* (Moscow, 1993), 90–139.

[29] Prokhorov, "Poslanie Nila Sorskogo," 142.

[30] Arkhangel'skii, *Nil Sorskii i Vassian Patrikeev*, 127.

[31] Borovkova-Maikova, *Nila Sorskogo Predanie i Ustav*, 5–6: "This was taught to us precisely by the holy fathers that Our Lord and His Immaculate Mother commanded that our daily food and other necessities be from the righteous toil of our own handicraft and work. If one of us contrives not to work, then, says the Apostle, let him not eat. For he wants us to make our livelihood by these means. It is fitting to perform this work indoors [*lit.*, under the roof]. If it is laudable for those in a communal monastery to drive a pair of oxen in order to plow open fields

Besides making economic distinctions between hermits and communal monks, Nil provides a clear statement in the *Predanie* that the middle way is not for everyone and should be followed only voluntarily:

но аще и немощни есмы, а елика сила подобитися и послѣдовати приснопамятнымъ и блаженнымъ отцемъ, аще и к равности тѣхъ намъ достигнути не възможно. Аще ли кто не произволяетъ в сихъ, да престанетъ стужати моему окаяньству; азъ бо отсылаю таковыхъ бездѣлны, якоже предрѣкохъ. К такавымъ не прiхожу желая начальствовати, и приходяще къ мнѣ нудятъ мя на це. Аще ли же и пребывающеи у насъ не тщатся хранити сiя и не послушаютъ словеси нашего, еже глаголю имъ отъ святыхъ писанiи, азъ о сихъ слово въздати не хощу за самочинiе и неповиненъ есмь. Аще ли же произволяютъ тако жити свободнѣ и безбѣднѣ, прiемлемъ таковыхъ, глаголюще имъ слово Божие. . . .[32]

Note the use of the words *freely* (свободнѣ), as in without compulsion or coercion, and *easily* (безбѣденѣ, *lit.*, "without ferocity"), which contrasts with the claim in the *Pis′mo o neliubkakh* that Nil wanted to force all monks to live in hermitages.

In his *Ustav*, Nil discussed the issue of monastic lands and possessions in two places. In the section devoted to a discussion of pride, Nil lists these reasons as causes of pride:

А еже отъ мѣста имя имѣти добрѣиша монастыря, и множаишеи братiи, сiе гордыни мирскыхъ, рекоша отци, iли по удержавшему нынѣ обычяю, отъ стяжании селъ и притяжании многихъ имѣнiи, и отъ предспѣанiя въ явльшiихъ к миру.[33]

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and to take other pains from their labor, the Divine Writings say this is blameworthy for those living apart." Cf. *Treasury*, 91–92; Lilienfeld, *Nil Sorskij und seine Schriften*, 197–198.

32 Borovkova-Maikova, *Nila Sorskogo Predanie i Ustav*, 3–4: "We are weak indeed, but we must nevertheless follow, according to how much our strength allows, the memorable and blessed fathers, even though we are unable to become their equals. And anyone who does not hold in these must cease to oppress my wretchedness. I send such idle persons away, as I have said. I do not go to them desiring to be their leader yet they come to me demanding this of me. As for those who live with us, if they do not strive to maintain this and do not listen to our words, which I speak to them from Holy Scripture, I warn them that I do not want to be responsible for their self-will. But those who accept living this way freely and easily, I do accept them, speaking to them the word of God. . . ." Cf. *Treasury*, 90–91; Lilienfeld, *Nil Sorskij und seine Schriften*, 196.

33 Borovkova-Maikova, *Nila Sorskogo Predanie i Ustav*, 59: "And the fathers call this worldly pride if it is based upon the name of the place, having the finest monastery and the most brothers, or, according to the established, present custom, from the acquiring of lands and the obtaining of many possessions, and from success in worldly appearances. . . ." Cf. *Treasury*, 121; Lilienfeld, *Nil Sorskij und seine Schriften*, 234.

Further on, Nil describes his way as the middle way, yet he does not speak against the two other ways of monastic life for others:

Но в подобно время и среднею мѣрою, яко же зрится удобнѣе есть, проходити; и Писанію свѣдѣтельствующе, яко средніи путь не подателень есть. И подобно убо время еже преже обучятися съ человѣки. Средніи же путь еже съ единемь, или множае съ двемя братома житіе, якоже и Іоаннъ Лѣствичникъ рече, иже Христу пріснѣе работати хотящимъ, ключяема мѣста себе и образы и сѣдаліща избирати повелѣ, и въ тріехъ устроенихъ иноческаго жителства, рече, доблествено съдержаніе: или уединеное ошельство, или съ единѣмъ или множае съ двема безмолствовати, или общее житіе. . . .[34]

Nil is clearly not suggesting the elimination of the life alone or of the communal monastery in favor of the hermitage. Otherwise, he would not have said that John Climacus endorsed all three forms of monasticism. He is merely indicating his preference for himself and those who have reached the "appropriate time" (в подобно время).

Within that middle way, the life in the hermitage with one or two others, Nil defines, again following John Climacus, the difference between practices that are reasonable and those that are unreasonable:

Благословныа же вещі не сіа наричетъ, яже нынѣ въ обычаи имѣемъ о притяженіи селъ и о съдръжаніи многыхъ имѣніи, и прочая же къ миру сооплетеніа: сіа бо безсловесна суть; но яже въ блазѣмъ образѣ прилучяются и мнятся на спасеніе души бесѣды, и сіа бо в подобно время и в мѣру съ духовными и благоговѣиными отци и братьями подобаетъ творити. Аще бо сіа несъхранно творимъ въ втарая всякои неволею впадемъ. И се убо первыа благословныа рѣхомъ. Вторая же: любопрѣніа и прекословіа, роптаніа же и осужденіа и уничиженіа, и укореніа, и прочаа злаа, вня же отъ благословныхъ предваряющихъ впадаемъ.[35]

[34] Borovkova-Maikova, *Nila Sorskogo Predanie i Ustav*, 87: "But at the appropriate time, we are to go according to the middle measure, for that is more convenient. The Scriptures testify that the middle way is not given. For the appropriate time is to learn from men first. The middle way is living with one or, at the most, two brothers. For as John Climacus said those who really want to serve Christ are ordered to choose a suitable place, method, and residence, and he says there are three commendable forms of organized monastic life: either one alone; or with one other, or at most two, in silence; or communal life." Cf. *Treasury*, 131; Lilienfeld, *Nil Sorskij und seine Schriften*, 253. The reference is to John Climacus, *Scala Paradisi*, *PG*, vol. 88, col. 641C, Grad. 1.

[35] Borovkova-Maikova, *Nila Sorskogo Predanie i Ustav*, 81–82: "He [John Climacus] does not call reasonable those things that are generally considered to be such in our time, as, for example, the obtaining of lands and the maintaining of many possessions, and other worldly involvements. These in reality are unreasonable. By things reasonable, John means conversations with spiritual and good fathers and brothers, which we may believe to be conducive to our

Thus, Nil accepted John Climacus' reservation that hermits should engage in conversation only when "reasonable" [благословныи]. And "reasonable" is defined as a voluntary exchange in which the motivation of both conversants is one of achieving "spiritual improvement." Nil's letter writing to Vassian Patrikeev and Gurii Tushin, after they had requested his advice on spiritual matters, falls into the category of reasonable "conversations." All other conversations, in this view, are "unreasonable" [безсловесныи] and should be avoided. If Nil had followed his own advice, it is unlikely he would have spoken at the 1503 Church Council, or any other council for that matter, because it would not have involved a voluntary exchange of views for the purpose of spiritual improvement. In other words, there would have been opposition, a contesting of views, which would have led only to a stirring up or disturbance of the soul. This passage also helps us to understand why Nil would have nothing to do with heretics, for heresy involves explicit conflict with orthodoxy. I will consider below the possibility of a lapse or an exception on his part to this principle.

In addition, in the *Ustav*, Nil repeatedly defines a principle by which to approach other people. It is a principle not only of humility and silence (*hesychia*) but also of what the Jains call *ahimsa* (which has been been variously translated as non-action or non-injury and can be approximately understood as avoiding any action or thought that involves the imposition of one's being upon others either in a physical or emotional sense):

избираті всегда послѣднее мѣсто, и на трапезахъ и въ собраніихъ посреди братіи, и хыдѣишаа рисы носити, и бесчестная дѣла любити, и предваряти низким и неразлѣненымъ поклоненіемъ въ срѣтеніихъ братію, и молчяніе любиті, и не выситися в бесѣдахъ, и не любопрепірателну быти в словесѣхъ, и не безстудну, и не любоявленну, и не хотѣті слово свое съставити, аще и добро быти мнится. Понеже, рекоша отци, яко в новоначалныхъ внутреніи человѣк внѣшнему съобразуется.[36]

spiritual improvement. But even conversations of this kind should be pursued within measure and at suitable times, for if we are unguarded in this matter, we will involuntarily be disturbed with needless inner turmoil. Nevertheless we do call these conversations reasonable. Now unreasonable conversations are quarrels, discussions, complaints, accusations, humiliating remarks, rebukes, and the like that we fall into during conversations of the other kind—that is, the reasonable ones." Cf. *Treasury*, 129; Lilienfeld, *Nil Sorskij und seine Schriften*, 249.

[36] Borovkova-Maikova, *Nila Sorskogo Predanie i Ustav*, 57–58: "Always choose the last place, both at the dining table and in gatherings among the brothers. Wear the poorest clothes and prefer the most menial tasks. Upon meeting a brother, bow low and cheerfully before him. Love silence. Have no desire to shine in conversation, nor any delight in discourses. Avoid insolence and ostentation. Do not try to put in a word of your own, even if you think it a good one. For the fathers say, in speaking of the novice, that the inner man is formed according to external actions." Cf. *Treasury*, 120; Lilienfeld, *Nil Sorskij und seine Schriften*, 233. This last

If we take Nil at his word, practicing *ahimsa* for decades would have transformed his inner self so totally that he could not have spoken as he was supposed to have according to the polemical sources at the 1503 Council. He would simply not have tried to put in a word of his own even if he thought it a good one.

Upon investigating the writings that we have attributed to Nil, we find, first of all, that he never comes close to advocating the desirability of taking away lands from the communal monasteries. Second, he merely warns that monks can become proud as a result of their "monastery's wealth and in the acquisition of possessions" (letter to Gurii Tushin) or as a result of "the acquiring of lands and the gathering of many possessions" (*Ustav*). While he does say that lands are unreasonable for hermits, that is those living in hermitages (*pustyny*), he does not then write that communal monasteries should get rid of their lands. This is an important point, because, if Nil were leading up to suggesting that monasteries not have lands, we could expect that he would have written as much, especially if he was respected by the grand prince and could expect his protection. Yet, his own hermitage could not have survived very long without the wealth of the largest cenobium in the area, the Kirillov-Belozersk Monastery, whose solvency in turn depended, to a large extent, on ownership and management of agricultural lands.

The idea expressed in the *Pis′mo o neliubkakh* and *Slovo inoe* that Nil wanted all monks to live in hermitages contradicts his own writings on the matter, in particular, where he cites John Climacus that all three forms of monastic life—the communal, the solitary, and the middle way—are commendable. Nor do we find anywhere in the writings reliably attributed to Nil any expression of a necessary or one-right economic way of life for all monks. Instead, Nil is concerned almost exclusively with the spiritual way of life, which includes praying, reading the Holy Scriptures and writings of the Church fathers, and maintaining inner vigilance. Both the *Pis′mo o neliubkakh* and *Slovo inoe* are polemical works, written with a strong bias against the Trans-Volga elders. What is more, they were written some fifty to sixty years after the events they purport to describe at the 1503 Council. The people attacked in these two polemical works had no chance to respond or correct any misrepresentations or distortions. The events described in them are not confirmed by other reliable sources, and we must conclude that the principal characteristic of both the *Pis′mo* and *Slovo* is what we would otherwise call malicious gossip.

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statement anticipates the views of modern existentialists that action (or in this case "non-action") precedes belief.

Nil Sorskii is a prominent elder about whom we have little evidence, except what is in his own writings and what was said about him in the polemical literature some 50 to 60 years after his death. His own writings indicate a monk who actively shunned the role of leader. As he stated in his letter to German Podol′nyi, he moved out of the Kirillo-Belozersk Monastery to get away from the turmoil within that monastery.[37] Then he moved further into the forest to be away from those who were seeking him out. This escape from ardent potential disciples has certainly been a commonplace of monastic literature since the days of St. Anthony. But, in Nil's case, the evidence contemporary to him would seem to lend some support to this claim. His hermitage on the Sora River was some 20 km. from the monastery.[38] Besides his own writing, there is very little contemporary evidence about Nil. A letter from Gennadii, Archbishop of Novgorod, to Ioasaf, former Archbishop of Rostov, asks Ioasaf if he had talked with Paisii and Nil about the heretics.[39] Yet we have no evidence Ioasaf did talk with them or what they might have said. We have chronicle evidence that Nil attended the 1490 Council on heretics, but we have no information about what he said or did there.[40] We have no evidence that Nil participated in the 1504 Council on the Novgorod-Moscow heresy, although we do have his statement explicitly opposing heretics.

Nil's advice to his own disciples, in his *Ustav*, is "to observe true silence":

Исаакъ къ хотящимъ безмолствовати истинно и очищати умъ въ молитвѣ глаголеть: удалися отъ видѣніа мира и отсѣці бесѣды, и не въсхощи пріати въ обычаи другы в келію свою, ниже въ образѣ благости, развѣ единѣхъ, изже тебе едінонравныхъ и вкуповолныхъ и сътаинникы, и боися смущеніа душевнаго съвокупленіа, иже обыче неволно двизатися и повнегда отсѣщися и отрѣшити внѣшнему съвокупленію. И сіе глаголеть, еже

[37] Prokhorov, "Poslaniia Nila Sorskogo," 142; Maloney, *Russian Hesychasm*, 254; Lilienfeld, *Nil Sorskij und seine Schriften*, 264.

[38] For an artist's reconstruction of the hermitage, see the sketch in V. A. Bubnova, *Nil Sorskii (Istoricheskoe povestvovanie)* (St. Petersburg, 1992), 30.

[39] Kazakova and Lur′e, *Antifeodal′nye ereticheskie dvizheniia na Rusi*, 318, 320. The traditional date attached to this letter is February 1489, the date the scribe wrote that he copied it. But, as Pliguzov has pointed out, that is not necessarily an indication of the date of its composition. Instead, Pliguzov suggests a date of July or August 1488 based on other considerations. A. I. Pliguzov, "Archbishop Gennadii and the Heresy of 'Judaizers,'" *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 16 (1992): 284, fn. 27.

[40] *Sofiiskii vremennik ili Russkaia letopis′ s 862 po 1534 god*, 2 vols. (Moscow, 1820–1821), 2: 237 (Voskresenskii copy only); *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei*, 41 vols. (St. Petersburg/Petrograd/Leningrad and Moscow, 1843–1995), 4 (1848): 158; 4 (1925): 528; and 12: 225 (Shumilovskii copy only).

искусомъ вѣмы. Егда бо престанемъ отъ таковыхъ беседъ, аще и мнятся благы быти, абіе по престатіи бесѣдованіи въ смущені бываемъ душею и не хотящимъ намъ сіа, и неволею двізаются в насъ и съвокуплени с нами не мало время пребываютъ. Понеже и къ ближнимъ и любимымъ намъ излишнаа и безвременнаа словеса смущеніе сътворяютъ и умное храненіе и таиное поученіе зѣло истливаютъ. Индѣ же на сихъ жесточаишаа глаголеть пакы сице: о что зловидѣніе и бесѣда иже въ безмолвіи пребывающимъ истинною![41]

Then, in a rhetorical display of analogies, extended metaphors, and other devices, such as anaphora, ecphonesis, erotesis, and parabola, Nil warns about the dangers of turning away from silence:

О братіе, множае отъ разрѣшенныхъ безмолвіа, яко же зѣлство голота внезаапу нападшее на краевы садовіемъ иссушаетъ ихъ; сице и бесѣды человѣческыа, аще и малы отнюдь суть, яко мнимы на добро изводны, иссушаютъ цветы добродѣтелеи, иже вновѣ процвѣтающая отъ раствореніа безмолвіа и окружающаа с мяккостію и младостію садъ душа, всажденному прі исходіщихъ водъ покааніа. И якоже зѣлство сланы постизающее яже вновѣ прозябающаа пожизаетъ, сице и бесѣда человѣческаа корень ума наченши злаконосити добродѣтелеи злакъ. И аще бесѣда по нѣчему убо въздержащихся, по нѣчему же недостатокъ малъ имущихъ, вредити обыче душу, колми паче видѣніа и глаголаніа простецъ и юродивыхъ, да не реку мирскыхъ, якоже благороденъ человѣкь и честенъ, егда опіянится, забываетъ своего благородиа и обезчестѣвается чинъ его, и подсмиваемо бываетъ того честное отъ чюжихъ помыслъ, прившедшихъ ему отъ силы вина, сице и цѣломудріе душа помущается отъ видѣніа и бесѣды человѣча и забываетъ образъ храненіа своего, и оттирается отъ смысла еа блюденіе хотѣніе еа, и искореняется отъ неа всяко устроеніе стоаніа похвалнаго.[42]

[41] Borovkova-Maikova, *Nila Sorskogo Predanie i Ustav*, 82–83: "Isaac [the Syrian] says to those who want to observe true silence and to purify the mind through prayer: 'Retire from the sight of the world and cut off conversations. Do not let your pleasant and usual friends into your cell, even under the pretext of magnanimity, unless they have the same spirit and intention as yourself and are fellow mystics. Fear promiscuity between souls, which usually moves unwillingly and when cut off also releases external promiscuity. Against this we can warn from experience. For after we have emerged from intimate conversations, even when they have seemed to be good, our souls are troubled against our will, and these preoccupations continue with us for a long time. Therefore, it is unreasonable and imprudent, even in the case of persons whom we love and who are dear to us, to exchange words that may subsequently trouble us, disturbing our recollection and hindering the operation of mystical understanding.' Elsewhere he speaks even more severely about this: 'O, what harm seeing and conversing is for those who are truly living in silence!'" Cf. *Treasury*, 129; Lilienfeld, *Nil Sorskij und seine Schriften*, 249–250. The reference is to Isaak, Gr. Logos 23, p. 142. Cf. *Mystic Treatises of Isaac of Nineveh*, trans. A. J. Wensinck (Amsterdam, 1923), 36.

[42] Borovkova-Maikova, *Nila Sorskogo Predanie i Ustav*, 83–84: "O brothers, as when a burst of frost suddenly befalls a garden many who break from silence are withered. Similarly human conversations, even if they are brief and seemingly good, wither the flowers of virtue that have

Nil's advice to monks in general is to avoid taking pride in "monastic wealth and the acquisition of possessions," but he does not argue against communal monasteries' being based on wealth and land. Indeed, in his *Predanie*, he explicitly points out that communal monks should till the soil. They would not be able to do so if there were no soil to till. For hermits, like himself, he suggests crafts (indoor work) as a means of livelihood. His own group should not own lands but trade with laymen and the communal monks. Hermits may employ laymen, but should pay them fairly and promptly. In business dealings, hermits should never seek to take advantage of anyone, preferring to suffer a loss themselves.[43] We can conclude from this that Nil understood the handicraft work of hermits to be complementary with the agricultural work of communal monks.

It seems clear then that the polemical works *Pis'mo o neliubkakh* and *Slovo inoe* represent a distortion of Nil's views as expressed in his own writing. Instead of his acceptance of communal monastic land ownership and a rejection of land ownership for hermitages only, as stated in his own writings, we find his views presented in the polemical sources as rejection of land ownership for communal monasteries as well. Instead of his acceptance of three types of monastic life—communal, middle way, and solitary—we find his views presented as a rejection of the communal and the solitary ways and a demand that all monks should live in hermitages. Instead of his acceptance that communal monks should be involved in agricultural pursuits and hermits in handicrafts, we find his views presented that

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blossomed from the atmosphere of silence and pervade with gentleness and freshness the garden of the soul, which has been planted with the waters of repentance. Just as a stream of salt water wilts new sprouts, so human conversations cut off the blading grass of virtue from the root of the mind. And if the conversation of those who discipline themselves, yet are insufficient in it, troubles the soul, how much greater is the disturbance that results from our seeing and conversing with the simple and foolish, to say nothing of the worldly. For as a well-born and honorable man, when drunk, forgets his good birth, and his rank is disgraced, and his dignity is laughed at for the absurd thoughts he expresses from the power of the wine, so also the sobriety of the soul is troubled by seeing and conversing with men and forgets its method of maintaining itself, and tears itself away from the sense of it, the guarding and desire of it, and the entire structure is uprooted from its worthy base." Cf. *Treasury*, 129–130; Lilienfeld, *Nil Sorskij und seine Schriften*, 250.

43 Borovkova-Maikova, *Nila Sorskogo Predanie i Ustav*, 6. Typical of the carelessness in the historiography when presenting Nil's views is Borovkova-Maikova's claim that in this passage "we encounter his protest against wealth in the monasteries." M. S. Borovkova-Maikova, "Velikii starets Nil pustynnik Sorskii," *Russkii filologicheskii vestnik* 64 (1910): 66. Thornton Anderson used parts of the same passage in conjunction with the passage about hermits' performing their work indoors quoted above to declare that Nil "insisted . . . [t]he church must avoid temptation, must surrender its lands. . . ." Thornton Anderson, *Russian Political Thought: An Introduction* (Ithaca, 1967), 75. Nil is clearly and specifically directing this advice to those in hermitages, not making a statement about monasteries or the Church in general.

all monks should sustain themselves with handicrafts. In short, the authors of the polemical sources took the advice and suggestions that Nil made for hermits only and claimed Nil wanted to apply them to all monks including those living in communal monasteries.

Nil's Views According to:

His Own Writings	*Polemical Sources*
1) rejects land ownership for hermitages only	1) rejects land ownership for all monasteries
2) accepts three types of monastic life as commendable; states that hermit life is not for everyone	2) wants to force all monks to live as hermits in hermitages
3) believes communal monks should till the soil and hermits should be involved in handicrafts	3) believes all monks should be involved in handicrafts

To my way of thinking, Nil Sorskii is a true *pustynnik*, the Orthodox Christian equivalent of the Hindu *sannyāsi*, or holy man, a religious ascetic and renunciate, who disciplines himself through prayer and fasting toward an ever-increasing ascetic existence in order to experience transcendence of this world and a closeness to God. Nothing should be allowed to detract the *pustynnik* from this discipline. As he states in his *Ustav*:

О сущихъ же въ предспѣяніи и доспѣвшихъ въ просвѣщеніе рече: сіи не требуютъ глаголати псалмь, но молчаніе и нескудну молитву, и видѣніе, сіи бо съ Богомъ съвокуплени суть, и нѣсть имъ требѣ отторгнути умъ свои отъ него и вложити въ смущеніе, прелюбы бо дѣеть умъ таковыхъ, аще отступитъ отъ памяти Божіа и въ худѣишихъ вещехъ рачителнѣ емлется.[44]

In effect, those who assert that Nil wanted to take lands away from the monasteries, and that he spoke up at the Church Council of 1503, are accusing him of the most mortal sin of all from his point of view—betrayal of God

[44] Borovkova-Maikova, *Nila Sorskogo Predanie i Ustav*, 27: "Those who are in a state of progress and attaining enlightenment are not asking to recite psalms, but to practice silence, abundant prayer, and meditation. For such as these are united with God and should not detach their mind from Him and allow it to be troubled. For the mind of such fornicates if it turns away from the memory of God and zealously occupies itself with inferior things." Cf. *Treasury*, 103; Lilienfeld, *Nil Sorskij und seine Schriften*, 212–213.

(the Orthodox Christian equivalent of what the Muslims call *shirk*). Yet, the skeptical reader might ask, do we not have a recent example in Mahatma Gandhi of an ascetic who led a political movement? My answer is that we have evidence from Gandhi's own writings of his political activism. Not only do we *not* have such evidence from Nil's writings but also the evidence from his writings that we do have directly opposes such activities for himself. Besides being an exceptional individual, Gandhi was an exception as an ascetic, and one should not extrapolate from his life the views and activities of other ascetics. In one respect, however, we can draw a parallel. If one were to base one's conclusions of Gandhi primarily on the basis of the diatribes written against him by his enemies, in particular the British, even during his own lifetime, one would have a rather skewed understanding of his ideas and activities.

Similarly, the authors of *Pis′mo o neliubkakh* and *Slovo inoe* engaged in polemical misrepresentation, distortion, and fabrication. Far from being what Skrynnikov derides as a "mystification" and a conspiracy of many authors, we have, in this case, just two writers, one of whom may have borrowed from the other, who were reporting incorrect information about the views of Nil Sorskii. Indeed, when one considers that the participation of Nil in the 1503 Church Council and discussion at that council of the question of church and monastic lands is not mentioned in the chronicle accounts or Decisions of that council, nor in the *Stoglav* Council of 1551, which discussed the monastic lands issue, nor in the *Velikie Minei chetii*, nor in the *Stepennaia kniga*, one must begin to wonder which is the greater mystification—a conspiracy by many churchmen to keep this information out of these and all other Church documents or a "conspiracy" by two authors in two obscure polemical works to discredit Nil Sorskii and the Trans-Volga elders.

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We can test the validity of each side's hypothesis. If we were to find a reliable source contemporary to Nil that describes his actions as spokesman or leader of a political-religious group and his opposition to monasteries', not just hermitages', possessing lands, then that would tend to refute my argument as presented here. This source need not be something Nil wrote, but it should be a document, chronicle, or contemporary letter by a neutral observer. For those who think that Nil Sorskii was the spokesman of a religious-political group that wanted to divest monasteries of their lands, what kind of evidence would convince them otherwise? What evidence would convince them that these sources are unreliable, provide distorted information, and are not to be trusted? What possible objections could they

have to the evidence and argument presented above?

One could, I suppose, attempt a synthesis of the two images by suggesting that Nil Sorskii might have reversed his position, somewhat the way Vissarion Belinskii did under the influence of Right Hegelianism between 1838 and 1840.[45] According to this scenario, from the 1470's, or so, to 1503, Nil held one view, the view expressed according to his own writings. In 1503, he would have changed his mind to that represented in the *Pis'mo o neliubkakh* and *Slovo inoe*. Then he would have changed his mind again (as Belinskii did in 1840) to his previous view, retiring to his hermitage where he died five years later. Another possible attempt at reconciliation of the two images could involve making a distinction between villages and lands. That is, both the polemical sources refer to Nil's wish that monks not have селъ (gen. pl. of село), which could simply mean *villages*. And Nil refers in his *Ustav* and in his letter to Gurii Tushin to the acquisition of селъ. If, as he states in his *Ustav*, communal monks should plow the land, then presumably they could do so on land that did not have villages.

Both of these proposed syntheses involve certain unresolvable contradictions. The first proposal, the change-of-mind theory, would necessitate not only a change in mind of his views about the monastic life but also a change in the central principle of his approach to matters of this world. That approach is best described as holding the mind within the heart at all times, or at least striving to do so. We would have to argue that Nil practiced and preached holding the mind within the heart most of his adult life, then abandoned this main principle just for the occasion of the 1503 Council, then went back to maintaining the mind within the heart for the final five years of his life.

Yet, neither the polemical sources nor his own writings provide any indication that there was a *change* of views or principles, as the sources contemporary to Belinskii explicitly indicate. The polemical writings of Nil's opponents present him as a political activist with a specific agenda—monasteries are to get rid of their lands and all monks are to devote themselves to handicrafts. Instead, Nil's own writings preach tolerance for the views of other monks, especially other ways of monastic activity. He does express a personal preference for the middle way for himself and for those who accept it freely but only at the appropriate time and only when they are ready. Furthermore, he adds that it is not for everyone. What would have changed his mind so suddenly in 1503 to think that *all* monks should follow

[45] P. V. Annenkov, *The Extraordinary Decade: Literary Memoirs*, trans. Irwin R. Titunik, ed. Arthur P. Mendel (Ann Arbor, 1968), 29–37. See also Isaiah Berlin, *Russian Thinkers*, ed. Henry Hardy and Aileen Kelly (New York, 1979), 166–170.

the middle path? Or would this be a gradual change of mind, sort of building up to it?

One might argue that he may have felt a duty or obligation to rectify a bad situation, that is monks were becoming too full of pride because of monastic wealth, and Nil became "crazy" for the sake of their benefit. In this view, Nil would have temporarily abandoned his renunciation of matters of this world and his search for transcendence and, like a bodhisattva, helped other monks onto the right path. And in his letters he did feel an obligation or duty on occasion to respond to monks who asked questions of him, so as not to offend them. Thus, he was not completely free of matters of this world. Yet, even that duty is explained in his *Ustav* as helping monks who are united in a common pursuit, that is seeking transcendence. He explicitly makes the point that one should not engage in "pleasant conversations" with those who are not involved in this common endeavor. A speech or proposal at a Church Council that would have resulted in far-ranging changes of secularization of monastic lands is simply not within the scope of his writings. Such action would have been opposed to the central principle of his worldview. Even more, if approached with the idea, he would have simply said that speaking up at a Church Council was "безсловесно" (unreasonable) for him because it was not his duty to "upbraid" or to "correct" other monks, but that it was up to God to rectify any such problem. We might have to entertain the notion of a change of mind if the polemical sources were contemporary to him and could be confirmed in some way by other evidence. Without that, we cannot accept such a forced attempt at reconciliation of these two images.

The second proposed reconciliation, the lands-without-villages theory, does not reconcile anything at all. First, nowhere in any of the writings attributed to Nil Sorskii (either the ones I am accepting as reliably attributed to him or the others) does he suggest that communal monasteries should have only lands that do not have villages. Second, one can interpret his remarks on the matter as a pre-existing acceptance of communal monastic ownership because he says only that monks should not take pride in the fact that their monasteries own such lands. He is finding fault with one thing (monks' pride in their monastery's ownership of lands) but not the other (the monastery's ownership of lands itself). If Nil were objecting to monastic ownership of lands with villages, then one would expect to find in his writings some criticism of monasteries' accepting donations of lands with villages. That is, he would have written that monasteries should accept only "empty" lands, i.e., *pustoshi*. But we find no such objection or distinction between lands with and without villages in any writings attributed to Nil. We should not confuse, as the authors of the polemical sources clearly did, Nil's views in

regard to hermitages (and the proper behavior of monks therein) with what his views were in regard to communal monasteries and their monks.

Thus, the two images of Nil as political leader and renunciate are irreconciliable. In the end, we must base our interpretations on the reliable source evidence and on sound argument, not on the consensus view of the moment, nor on what we wish or hope to be the case, and certainly not solely on the basis of odd statements made in even odder polemical works, written over fifty years after Nil Sorskii lived by people who did not know him. Instead of accepting the accusations of two later polemicists, and concomitantly rejecting the ideas expressed in Nil's own writings, we would do better to give more credence to the ideas expressed in his own writings and less credence to the later polemical accusations and distortions. The reliable evidence does not support the image of Nil as a political activist and spokesman for a political-religious group or party, but it does support the image of him as renunciate and lover of silence.

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Novgorod and Muscovy as Models of Russian Economic Development

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> One would expect people to remember the past and imagine the future. But in fact, when discoursing or writing about history, they imagine it in terms of their own experience, and when trying to gauge the future they cite supposed analogies from the past: till, by a double process of repetition, they imagine the past and remember the future.
>
> —Sir Lewis B. Namier (1942, 69–70)

Now that the collapse of Soviet power has opened the way to the integration of the economies of Eurasia into the international capitalist system, the role of Russia in the world economy in the five centuries prior to the death of Peter I appears to the historian in a new light. Discussions of alternatives, whether historical or projected, appeared pointless as long as the economies of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European states remained centrally planned. The prospects of Russian capitalism in the future, as yet unclear, spur the imagination and stimulate interest in what Sir Lewis Namier called "supposed analogies from the past."

Although the condescending tone of Namier's comment betrayed the exasperation with which the professional historian regards unsystematic and shallow thinking by persons not trained in historical method, his observation need not be taken as a total condemnation. Indeed, his elegant paradox poses an intellectual challenge. To make sense of early Rus′ culture across enormous gulfs of time, space, and language, the twentieth-century American historian must exercise extraordinary empathy and imagination in formulating a plausible explanation of reality based on the few tantalizing clues that have somehow survived to the present. Imagination in this sense excludes invention and fantasy. At the same time, however, the contours of an interpretation arise not from the facts but from questions posed by the investigators. These, in turn, reflect the concerns of the present. Recent efforts to predict the shape of Russian capitalism in the future range from absurdly optimistic predictions based on the alleged primacy of monetary policy (Wanniski 1992) to discussions of the main determining factors: geographic realities, the remnants of Marxist-Leninist ideology, the militarist tradition,

and the perennial difficulties of inter-ethnic relations (Yergin and Gustafson 1995). To make a useful contribution to this debate, the historian must make clear the essence of Russian economic institutions of the past and ascertain the prospects of evolution in the new directions that now seem most likely.

Two distinct tendencies in Russian economic policy over the centuries deserve scrutiny. The impulse toward mutually beneficial trade with the outside world led Novgorod, in its period of prosperity and sovereignty between 1200 and 1478, to forge close economic ties with the non-Slavic world. In contrast, medieval Muscovy displayed a principled hostility to foreigners between 1400 and 1700, when, by virtue of its conquests of Novgorod and other nominally independent political entities, it grew into the largest country in the world. Its "military-autocratic" political system (Owen 1991, 13) differed from the classic Weberian forms (traditional, charismatic, and rational-legal) in its fidelity to state power, to the detriment of folk traditions, individual and group immunities from bureaucratic power, and constitutional limits on the prerogatives of the ruler. It extended the principle of mandatory state service to merchants of all ranks, whose commercial and industrial activities remained subordinate to the needs of the state and its ruler.

The rhetoric of the medieval Slavic world, the theme of this collection of essays, might seem far removed from a discussion of Novgorodian squirrel-skin exports and the Muscovite government's treatment of English merchants in Archangel. The issue of foreign trade, however, has occasioned some of the most heated rhetorical battles in Russian history. At stake were not only the material interests of merchants and the tax revenues of the state, but also the ability of the autocrat to define the relationship between his realm and the outside world. Unregulated trade threatened the entire concept of cultural insularity, whether Orthodox Christian or Marxist-Leninist, that underlay the Muscovite, imperial, and Soviet pretensions to military-autocratic rule. Moreover, just as Edward L. Keenan found it fruitful "to deal with political behavior as a form of culture" (1986, 116) and economists often stressed the cultural determinants of economic behavior in widely differing times and places, as in Puerto Rico after World War II (Cochran 1959) and Japan under the Meiji Restoration (Marshall 1967), so the economic historian seeks clues to the nature of commercial institutions in the rhetoric of debate in medieval Russia.

The rhetorical devices by which Novgorod's leaders inspired the population to embrace the outward economic orientation have been mostly lost, but the impressive accomplishments of that policy spoke eloquently in the deeds that brought the city to heights of prosperity: the civic pride symbolized by St.

Sophia Cathedral, the maintenance of political independence in the course of many centuries, and the long tradition of elective self-government. No less than sixty-one treaties, primarily with Norway, Sweden, Gotland, and the German states, defined Novgorod's relationship with its neighbors in the Baltic region between 1191 and 1493 (Ianin 1991, chap. 2). This constant negotiation of the conditions governing trade between Novgorod and its trading partners did not constitute rhetoric in the narrow sense of the word. The effort, however, to reconstitute the economic network after every military conflict over the course of three centuries demonstrated the Novgorodians' consciousness of the supreme importance of trade with Europe. This striving was typified by the terse promise to German and Gotland merchants, in the treaty of 1270, that they "shall receive protection from the prince, the mayor, and all the Novgorodians in accordance with the previous treaty and without any hindrances" (Treaty 1991, 115).

Such rhetorical flourishes as have survived in the Novgorodian Chronicle served in most cases to obscure reality, not reveal it. For example, the claim that "God, ...the great and sacred apostolic cathedral church of St. Sophia, and St. Cyril, and the prayers" of the archbishop, the princes, and "the very reverend monks" saved Novgorod from the Mongol army that came within a hundred versts of the city in the spring of 1238 (*Chronicle* 1914, 84) after ravaging more than a dozen other Russian cities reiterated the familiar logic of divine dispensation, the source of all good and bad fortune. The miraculous salvation of Novgorod showed God's power and love. But so too did the terrible destruction wrought by the invaders in other principalities, "as punishment for our sins." An alternative hypothesis, that the Novgorodians negotiated a halt to the Mongols' military campaign with the promise of substantial future payments of tribute, finds support in the Chronicle's documentation of such payments in following years, as collected by Prince Aleksandr Nevskii in 1259 despite considerable resistance by the population (*Chronicle* 1914, 96–97).

The economic prosperity of Novgorod rested on the city's exploitation of the wealth of the vast forests that lay to the north and east. The hinterland reached to the northern ocean, the Ural Mountains, and even, between 1360 and 1409, to the Kama and Volga basins, much to the consternation of Suzdalians, Volga Bolgars, and others (Bernadskii 1961, chap. 1). It is therefore essential to recognize the role of brute force in maintaining the Novgorodian economic system.

Nor can the Novgorodians' relationship with the merchants from Gotland and the Hanseatic cities be characterized as intimate. All the available evidence suggests that the two sides, Orthodox and Catholic, regarded each other

warily. Novgorod never became a member of the Hansa but served only as the site of one of its settlements (*Kontore*), like London. In the German Peterhof, merchants generally stayed for only one season, either summer or winter, using the Church of St. Peter as a warehouse and assembly hall (Dollinger 1970, 27). To judge from fragments of German pottery and chess pieces discovered in recent excavations of the Gotland settlement (Rybina 1978, 138, 151–52), these merchants filled their households with objects brought in from Germany, not purchased in Novgorod.

Within the Hanseatic settlements, hazing rituals and the maintenance of a strict hierarchy among the all-male population minimized social contacts with the local population. The Hansa elders in Lübeck discouraged intermarriage between Germans and Novgorodian women in order to safeguard commercial secrets (Gade 1951, 71–74). Any member of the Peterhof who entered into a partnership with Russians or served as their commercial agent became liable for a fifty-mark penalty. In 1399, the Hanseatic towns banned all credit operations in the Russian trade, a measure that severely limited the scope of commerce (Dollinger 1970, 200, 205–206, 230). Although Novgorod supported a large population of artisans who produced a wide variety of goods in leather, wood, and pottery, these products found no external markets. Europeans came to Novgorod only to acquire the raw materials of the Russian forest, above all furs and wax, and to import European cloth, salt, and other goods.

The extent to which real political power in the town's assembly (*veche*) remained in the hands of the boyars and wealthy merchants or flowed to the mass of inhabitants remains a matter of dispute (Froianov and Dvornichenko 1988, 171; Birnbaum 1993, 41–47). In any case, the resistance by the common people (*narod*) to the conquest by Muscovy in 1477–1478 (Bernadskii 1961, 294), which included the destruction of the *veche*, indicated that they derived substantial political advantage from it. To this plea, Ivan III of Muscovy answered with the stern cadences of autocracy during his siege of Novgorod in December 1477: "the *veche* bell... shall not be, the mayor shall not be, but it is for us to exercise absolute power [*gosudarstvo vse nam derzhati*]" (quoted in Bernadskii 1961, 304). Ivan's confiscation of 96,000 Lübeck marks from the Peterhof in 1494 and the capture of the forty-nine German merchants who lived there, all of whom perished in a shipwreck on their way home after three years' imprisonment in Moscow, signalled the end of Novgorod's unique economic relationship with Europe (Dollinger 1970, 234, 182). The Swedish settlement that existed near the former Gotland and Hanseatic compounds from 1626 to the turn of the next century merely echoed Novgorod's earlier centuries of commercial glory (Rybina 1984, 128).

However oligarchical the inner workings of the Muscovite government may have been, as the leading clans vied for access to the tsar's favor and acquired influence by means of marriage bonds with the dynastic family (Keenan 1986, 132), the state acted with impunity in imposing burdens of service on clerks, merchants, soldiers, and peasants. The military-autocratic system could not accommodate freedom of economic activity on the Novgorodian model.

A recent study of the Russian fur trade suggested that Muscovy's fur resources, which included forested regions that produced highly prized martens, ermines, and sables, may well have been more valuable than the squirrel forests of independent Novgorod (Martin 1986, 163–66). The issue of institutional structure outweighed that of mere economic value, however. Ivan IV expressed his fidelity to the primacy of military power over commercial pursuits in Muscovy when, in conversation with Anthony Jenkinson in March 1572, he uttered an implicit critique of the English preoccupation with trade: "We know that merchant matters are to be heard, for that they are the stay of our princely treasures. But first princes' affairs are to be established and then merchants'" (quoted in Baron 1978, 568). The primacy of politics over economics, a key to Russian statecraft from the time of Ivan III to that of Leonid Brezhnev, has rarely been expressed more succinctly.

The contrast between Novgorod and Muscovy was especially marked in the attitudes of the merchants toward foreign trade. Whereas the Novgorodians spared no effort to maintain their trade links to Europe, the Muscovite merchants displayed hostility toward foreigners. Unable to compete in Flanders with European merchants and lacking commercial skills and a merchant fleet, the Muscovites jealously guarded their own privileges in the Russian market, where they operated under the tutelage of the all-powerful tsar. When the English Muscovy Company received exclusive rights of overland trade from the White Sea to Persia, Russian merchants undertook an energetic campaign to diminish these rights.

Anderson (1958, 12–13) stressed that the English encountered general hostility from Muscovites from the very beginning. Although no documentary evidence of merchants' complaints before 1627 has been found, Baron (1978, 575) surmised that petitions from the Moscow merchants probably contributed to the tsar's policy of limiting English commercial activities in 1569 and 1584. In a typical rhetorical flourish, a petition of 1648–1649 alleged a host of illegal acts by the English, including the importation of goods on Dutch and Flemish ships instead of their own, as required by treaty, and the avoidance of the payment of duties, all in an effort to "steal the sovereign's customs revenue.... Because of their foreign trickery the various merchants of the Muscovite state have perished completely, they

have been driven away from their old markets and their age old eternal occupations and become impoverished and burdened with great debts because of a lack of business" (quoted in Hellie 1970, 87).

A high point of this argumentation came from an unlikely source: the tract, called *Politika*, written in the mid-1660s by the Croat scholar Juraj Križanić, in exile in Tobolsk, Siberia. In this work, addressed to the tsar but not published until the mid-nineteenth century, Križanić sought to defend the Slavs, including Russians, from what he considered unjust criticisms leveled by Germans, notably Olearius. He eloquently expressed the Moscow merchants' sense of wounded pride, hatred and fear of foreigners, and utter dependence on the autocratic state for protection against foreign competition:

> If everyone is allowed to trade with foreigners, or if foreigners receive permission to live among us, the people suffer greatly; they take our wealth away from us and we starve, while they consume the fruit of our land before our eyes.... All of our Slavic people are so cursed that everywhere they look they see Germans, Jews, Scotsmen, Gypsies, Armenians, Greeks, and merchants of other nations sucking their blood (Križanić 1985, 18, 29).

The solutions to this evil lay in the expulsion of all foreigners and the tsar's assumption of a monopoly on foreign trade, even to the detriment of the greatest merchants. Defense against foreigners required the maintenance of absolute power in the hands of the autocrat.

Because the tsar retained extensive economic interests and acted as the first merchant of the state, he occasionally sought immediate advantages at the expense of his own merchants. He lacked the administrative machinery to control the entire economy. Only Stalin had the determination to pursue Križanić's prophetic vision. It proved easier to grant trading privileges to non-Russians, beginning with the Muscovy Company of England. A Holstein company received the right to send its merchants from Archangel to Persia in 1634–1639, and an Armenian company received a similar right of free passage between Persia and Europe for five years under a treaty signed in 1667, in contravention of the New Trade Statute promulgated that same year (Baron 1983, 35, 49).

To dissuade the tsar from granting such privileges, the merchants of Muscovy adopted what Baron (1979, 146) called a "defensive strategy": arguments to the all-powerful state to hinder foreign commercial activity for the sake of revenues that the state treasury stood to gain from high duties as well as the merchants' own profits. Such arguments required emotional appeals phrased in the rhetoric of extreme patriotism. Only by equating their

economic interests with those of the realm could the merchants spur the autocrat to action on their behalf.

Why did the merchants of Muscovy not create companies of their own? Having come into close contact with the English, who set up the Muscovy Company in 1555, Russian merchants saw the potential advantages of corporate activity, yet they avoided that form of enterprise for approximately 150 years. According to Baron, who has delved most deeply into this complex problem, the Muscovite merchants correctly perceived the benefits of short-term gain, which they pursued by virtuoso skills in cheating, reported widely in Europe in the works of Fletcher, Olearius, Kilburger, and other visitors. The merchants acted not out of perversity, however, but in keeping with the unique legal and economic environment imposed by the autocratic state. In Baron's words: "Except in Novgorod in earlier centuries, Russian merchants simply had no experience of group organization and collective action." The policy of avoiding the corporate form of enterprise made sense because the merchants considered it prudent "to conceal their wealth from a government that unceremoniously laid hands on the substance of others in time of need. They refrained from organizing trading companies because to do otherwise would attract attention and invite trouble" (Baron 1983, 54–55).

The propensity of the autocratic state to tax and confiscate wealth, therefore, constituted the main impediment to Russian companies. According to Baron:

> A long-term strategy is thinkable only in an environment that affords security of property, reasonable assurance of fulfillment of expectations, and, conversely, little likelihood of arbitrary interference in private economic matters. None of these conditions obtained [in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries], and, accordingly, Muscovite entrepreneurs were inclined to eschew long-term planning and to favor the pursuit of short-term advantage. In this, they were at one with their government, which paid little attention to economic development while striving everywhere and always to increase the immediate flow of revenue to the treasury (Baron 1983, 54).

Corporate activity, founded on the sale of shares to investors, the entrusting of the fortunes of the firm to an elected board of directors, and the intermittent division of profits, posed too many uncertainties in the unpredictable environment of medieval Muscovy. Because the tsar's word had the force of law, even the most privileged merchants enjoyed no legal protection for their property.

The historical record, therefore, contains no trace of Russian enterprises modeled on English, Dutch, French, or German trading companies until the reign of Peter I. Even then, the few companies (*kompanii*) chartered by the

Russian state—nine in Peter's reign and four under Catherine II—tended to engage in fishing, whaling, and manufacturing enterprises, rarely in shipping and foreign trade. These numbers appeared tiny in contrast to the vigorous growth of joint-stock companies in England and France before 1800. To be sure, the new capitalist institutions of Europe fell victim to occasional flurries of speculation, typified by the South Sea Bubble, when 190 new companies were formed in London alone between September 1719 and September 1720, including a "Company for Design Which Will Hereafter be Promulgated" (Clough and Cole 1941, 300). However, the trading companies of the European powers in the early modern period (Cawston and Keane 1896; Hunt 1936) laid the foundations for modern capitalist enterprise that ultimately altered the economies of every continent.

Until 1836, when the Russian state finally promulgated a corporate law, one that remained in effect to the end of the tsarist period, the autocratic state showed little interest in creating a legal environment capable of calling forth entrepreneurial activity on a wide scale. Corporate charters published in the *Polnoe sobranie zakonov* (Complete Collection of Laws, 1649–1913) contained no mention of limited liability until the early nineteenth century. The Russian-American Company, which exploited the riches of Alaska for more than six decades (1799–1867), did not receive limited liability until 1821 (*PSZ* 1-28756).

Peter I announced his desire to see a host of Russian trading companies (*PSZ* 1-1706, dated October 27, 1699), which appeared to him a means of building large land and naval forces and equipping them with the best possible cannons and ships of domestic manufacture. His enthusiasm for transforming Russia into a Slavic version of the frugal and prosperous Netherlands blinded him, however, to the coarseness and, ultimately, the perversity of his own mode of rule. At the end of his reign, Peter established the Spanish Trade Company (*PSZ* 1-4540, dated August 4, 1724), in emulation of the Dutch East Indies Company. It received a financial subsidy, the use of a naval frigate, and the services of a consul in Cádiz, to whom Peter sent detailed instructions in hopes of establishing a permanent Russian trading community on the Atlantic Ocean (*PSZ* 1-4286, dated August 20, 1723, and 1-4355, dated November 8, 1723). His decrees ordering the establishment of commercial relations with French cities, especially Bordeaux (*PSZ* 1-4341, dated November 1, 1723, and 1-4351, issued one week later) likewise testified to the emperor's determination to build a Russian merchant fleet. The failure of these initiatives and of the Spanish Trade Company revealed much about the Russian merchants' caution and lack of entrepreneurial ability in Russia.

The failure can also be attributed largely to Peter's preferred methods of rule, which included the crudest forms of coercion. Partners (*tovarishchi*) in the Moscow Linen Textile Company found in their charter a chilling reference to the awesome power of the autocratic state:

> and if they cause this plant to grow and become profitable through their zeal, they shall receive the tsar's favor [*milost'*]; but if it does not grow and through their lack of zeal becomes smaller, then from them and those who are their partners shall be taken a fine: one thousand rubles from each man (*PSZ* 1-2324, dated February 28, 1711).

Peter's fertile mind had invented an antithesis of limited liability, for which no term exists in the lexicon of European corporate law. Such a threat of course heightened the risks of entrepreneurship.

To be sure, repression weighed less heavily on managers than on the orphans and "guilty women" who were transferred to factory barracks to serve out their sentences under guard as laborers. The founders of the Moscow Linen Company (*kompaneishchiki Andreia Turka s tovarishchi* in the merchants' tortured grammar) requested that "guilty women" be assigned to spin linen yarn for the duration of their prison sentences, even to death. The company would bear the expense of their food and lodging and the food for the women's guards, to be recruited among former soldiers (*PSZ* 1-3313, dated February 26, 1719). Two years later, the Senate approved this system (*PSZ* 1-3838, dated July 26, 1721). Although the decree did not mention companies, it assigned the women to *kompaneishchiki*, a word that carried the connotation of a corporate enterprise. The militarization of Russian industry, familiar to students of Stalin's Five-Year Plans, had already taken root under Peter I, not only in the state's shipyards and cannon plants but in this nominally civilian textile company.

The enormous power of the state over the few companies founded in the early eighteenth century was reflected in the ominous opening words of several corporate charters: "The tsar has decreed" (*Velikii Gosudar' ukazal*; *PSZ* 1-3526). Peter explicitly defended the use of "compulsion" (*prinuzhdenie*), by which he apparently sought to substitute for the economic incentives granted by the Dutch East India Company to attract merchants to its banner. Those who displayed insufficient zeal deserved to be "cruelly punished" (*zhestoko nakazany*) (*PSZ* 1-4348, dated November 8, 1723, arts. 4 and 5). Like petulant children who at first resisted learning the alphabet but eventually thanked their stern teacher, Russian merchants must be forced into risky industrial and commercial enterprises (*PSZ* 1-4345, dated November 5,

1723, art. 2). Max Weber himself could not have invented a more dramatic antithesis of the legal norms on which modern capitalism rests.

The irony of the Muscovite mode of economic policy lay in the far greater role played by foreigners in the domestic economy of Russia after 1500 than in Novgorod in the previous three centuries. The paradox is resolved by the realization that it was precisely the growing role of foreign merchants, physicians, smiths, and soldiers in Muscovy that prompted the tsars to segregate them in the "German Settlement" in the mid-seventeenth century. The great drama of Russian cultural history—how to borrow technology, especially military hardware and organization, from Europe without allowing the foreign presence to contaminate the Orthodox and autocratic foundations of Russian life—began long before Peter ascended to the throne (Platonov 1972).

The Muscovite mode of economic policy persisted to the end of the imperial period. Merchants continued to plead for tariff protection against the threat of European and American competition in rhetorical arguments that echoed those of Križanić. Humiliated by defeat in the Crimean War, the merchants of the Moscow region and their Slavophile allies elaborated a program of economic development based on notions of the moral superiority to Europe and the lack of class conflict in patriarchal factories, but their "Slavophile capitalism" failed to meet the challenges of European competition, so that by the end of the century Finance Minister Witte saw no alternative to massive imports of foreign capital and technology (Owen 1995, 126–38). The tiny number of corporations in the Russian Empire in comparison to those of the major European countries on the eve of World War I typified the insularity of the Russian economy over the centuries.

Elements of the Muscovite mode persisted into the 1920s, as the Soviet government attempted to manage the economy through a series of monopolistic trusts and manufacturing corporations, the shares of which belonged to various ministries and other state agencies. The Bolsheviks' attempt to raise investment capital by selling raw materials—timber, gold, and manganese—to foreign concessionaires might seem to indicate an unconscious attempt to emulate the Novgorodians. Such concessions, however, came to naught, largely because the Soviet authorities did not grant foreigners adequate time to recoup their investments before seizing their mines and plants. In some cases, this short-sighted policy of "scavenging" extended to the solicitation, from prospective concessionaires, of detailed plans of economic development in a given sector, followed by a denial of the concession and an attempt, usually unsuccessful, to implement the foreigners' plan by administrative fiat (Triche 1991).

The Five-Year Plans represented perhaps the most extreme form of hostility to spontaneous economic activity in world history. Throughout the centuries, activities of foreign corporations fell under strict regulations, including a policy that economists called "trade aversion," enforced by the state's monopoly on foreign trade, which lasted until 1988 and recalled both the exclusionary policy of Ivan IV and the xenophobia of Križanić centuries before. The privileges granted to the Muscovy Company by Ivan IV, to the Dutch Marselis family by Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich, to International Harvester in 1910, and to Ford Motor Company in the 1930s signified not an opening to Western culture but an effort to achieve technological borrowing under bureaucratic regimentation that limited contacts with foreigners to the absolute minimum.

The Novgorodian experience, although ended by Muscovite conquest in 1478, may hold out useful clues to future economic possibilities by way of contrast with the Muscovite model. The Novgorodians pursued economic prosperity by a combination of specialization within the world economy, a relatively hospitable attitude toward foreign experts, and self-confidence in the Russian cultural identity that wealth made possible. It may even be justified to speak of a nascent "Slavic bourgeoisie" in this specific historical context. *Mutatis mutandis* (as economists say), the model may be relevant once again, although Russia now extends from Kaliningrad on the Baltic Sea to Vladivostok on the Pacific Ocean. Instead of German merchants, the foreign element now includes oilmen from Houston and Baton Rouge in the Sea of Azov and timber concessionaires from Seoul in the Maritime Provinces. And it shows some prospect for the export of manufactured goods processed with imported machinery: furniture, textiles, and computer software. The essential feature of this model is that it responds to changing price structures in the world economy and rejects autarchy. As in the medieval period, it allows political participation to the population, the natural concomitant of high levels of literacy. In contrast, the Muscovite model made only limited concessions to the concept of economic specialization, with emphasis on exports of raw materials or semi-manufactures, typified by naval stores and pig iron in the eighteenth century; grain, timber, and petroleum in the late nineteenth century; and petroleum, diamonds, and gold under Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Gorbachev, and Yeltsin (Kempton and Levine 1995).

The modern representatives of the two modes of conduct are the economist Yegor Gaidar on the one hand and the spokesman for heavy industry, Arkadii Vol'skii, on the other. Interviewed in April 1992, Gaidar, then deputy prime minister in charge of economic reform, stressed the importance of Russia's

integration into the world economy. He insisted that Russians need not feel threatened by foreigners because

> Russia is very large. It is hard to feel threatened by a possibility that, say, Germany or France will buy up the entire country.... We can get large amounts of western investment. We are also different from East Europeans. We don't have so much xenophobia. The social and political problems connected with foreign investment are easier here than, for instance, in Poland, which is preoccupied with its relationship with Germany (Gaidar 1992, 18).

This optimistic view required considerable qualification, however, especially in view of the brevity of Gaidar's own career as an economic reformer.

For his part, Vol'skii embraced some aspects of the post-Soviet reform policies of Boris N. Yeltsin, including an explicit condemnation of Stalinist reaction and paranoid xenophobia. However, his policy recommendations in 1992—to protect the financial interests of state-managed industrial enterprises, particularly in the military sector, to retain wage and price controls, to return "to the system of state procurement," and to halt the transformation of large enterprises into corporations—all smacked of the Muscovite economic model. The former Soviet bureaucrat chose his words carefully, but the xenophobic content was clear in his rejection of advice offered by Swedish and American economists: "A real transformation to the market is not possible without considering national traditions and specific features of our country" (Nelson and Kuzes 1994, 80–83; quotations from 83, 81).

Enormous nostalgia for the Muscovite model among a significant minority of the Russian population was demonstrated by the surprisingly large proportion of votes cast in December 1993 for the extreme nationalist Liberal-Democratic Party, led by Vladimir V. Zhirinovskii. His electoral rhetoric, far more fiery than that of Vol'skii, portrayed world capitalism as a mortal threat to Russian military power and cultural integrity. In perhaps his most immoderate statement on economic policy during the parliamentary campaign, Zhirinovskii predicted that Russians someday would gain their rightful place in the world,

> not sitting in tanks and eating out of pans, but dining in the proper manner in the grandest restaurants in Europe and America; that Russian firms would be the most powerful in Europe; that Gazprom would supply all Europe with our natural gas and that Agrozim would bury the world with our fertilizers; that Russian actors would be recognized on the streets of the crummiest small town in America; that every black in Harlem would know that it was useless to compete with the Russian mafia; that every girlie [*devchonka*] in Australia would feel physically aroused by the word "Russian" because she would know that Russians [*russkie*] are the liveliest, the

wealthiest, [and] the most generous [men of all; and] that the streets of the world would be empty whenever the Russian President spoke on television (1993, 6).

Zhirinovskii's acceptance of a leading role of corporations in the Russian economy was overshadowed by his appeal to the old Muscovite tendency to give primacy to politics over economic rationality. In this speech, he combined the extreme rhetoric of *kvas* patriotism, or glorification of all things Russian, with his peculiar vulgarity. Although Zhirinovskii's party lost much of its popular support in the following two years, the parliamentary election of December 1995 showed its continued influence as one of the four largest in the State Duma. Appeals to Russian economic nationalism couched in slightly less inflammatory rhetoric than that of Zhirinovskii allowed the Communists, led by Gennadii Ziuganov, to make the most impressive showing, with twenty-one percent of the vote for parties (Devil 1995, 59).

Baron and others have probed the social psychology of the Muscovite merchants, but more work needs to be done on the attitudes of the Novgorodians now that the contemporary relevance of their historical experience has become clear. A useful working hypothesis is that openness to foreign economic interests coincided with and promoted democratic political institutions. This notion is worth investigating in other crucial episodes of Russian history, for example the reign of Alexander I and the era of the so-called Great Reforms under Alexander II, when the tsarist government experimented briefly with reduced import tariffs and the relaxation of its autocratic power. The admonition of an early scholar of Novgorod legitimized research on the economic institutions of Russia in all periods of its history:

The mercantile side of history has often been treated with contempt. But what form of man's energy has done more to bring about the discovery of the earth, "to clear the mind of cant," to break down the obstacles of ignorance, fear, and prejudice which once hemmed in mankind and separated lands and races? (Beazley 1914, xix).

By the mid-1990s, some successes of the Novgorodian model had already become apparent in St. Petersburg and Vladivostok. One of the fateful questions facing Russians in their current time of troubles is whether the economy can throw off the shackles of the Muscovite model and go beyond the limitations of the Novgorodian model to enter the world economy on a basis of efficiency and productive exchange five centuries after Ivan III closed the Peterhof.

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ОТ ФЛОРЕНТИЙСКОЙ УНИИ К АВТОКЕФАЛИИ РУССКОЙ ЦЕРКВИ

АНДРЕЙ И. ПЛИГУЗОВ

Светлой памяти Нины Михайловной Прицак

В 1440-х годах феодальная усобица до такой степени нарушила обычный порядок ведения политических дел Северо-Восточной Руси, что шаткое равновесие часто держалось уже не на традиции или правах наследования, но на одном обряде крестоцелования.[1] Когда московский великий князь Василий, бежал от своих врагов в Троице-Сергиев монастыри, заслышал приближение погони, он закричал князю Ивану Можайскому, указывая на последнюю гарантию своей безопасности: «целовали есмя животворящий крест и сию икону» преподобного Сергия Радонежского,[2] но был вытащен из храма и вскоре ослеплен. Гарантами крестоцелования были избранные русские святые, а главным условием соблюдения условий крестоцелования—сохранение чистоты веры. Однако именно в этом вопросе было весьма непросто разбираться в эпоху конфессиональных споров и унионистских соборов.[3]

Русские рассказы о Ферраро-Флорентийском соборе 1438–1439 гг. пристрастны, намеренно неточны, легендарны, и во многом принадлежат к области политической мифологии. Да иным и не мог быть цикл русских известий о хождении на собор и возвращении митрополита Исидора—уже не православного владыки, а оборотня, папского легата (получил это звание от папы Евгения IУ 17 августа 1439 г.), перед которым несли латинский «крыж» (крест, от польского krzyż), и благочестивые московиты должны были «приклякивать ко крыжу» (от польского przyklękać/-ęknąć, стать на колени). Компиляторы московского Свода 1479 г. не отказывали себе в привилегии неканонически толковать правила святых апостолов[4] и, как видно, не испытывали

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[1] См. исторический обзор событий феодальной войны второй четверти XУ века: А. А. Зимин, *Витязь на распутье. Феодальная война в России XУ века.* М., 1991.

[2] ПСРЛ. Т. 25. С. 265.

[3] См., например: *Русский феодальный архив XIV–первой трети XVI века* (далее РФА). Ч. I. № 46; ч. V. С. 989–991.

[4] ПСРЛ. Т. 25. С. 259. Здесь находим странное изложение правил святых апостолов, будто бы повелевавших «развратника церкви», то есть еретика, «огнем сожеши или живого в земли засыпати». Обсуждение вопроса о казни еретиков в русской традиции см.: А. I. Плигузов, Полемика о новгородских еретиках и «Ответ кирилловских старцев» // W. Moskovich et al., ed. *Jews and Slavs*, vol. 3 (Jerusalem, 1995), pp. 135–155.

угрызений совести, вкладывая в уста императора Иоанна напыщенный панегирик русскому православию и московскому князю Василию. «Восточнии земли суть Рустии болшее православье и вышше христианьство Белые Руси»,—будто бы торжественно говорил константинопольский император папе Евгению IУ, называя Василия II «государем великим», «ему же въсточнии царие прислухают», да и, если верить все тому же легендарному рассказу 1479 года, Василий называет себя всего лишь «князем», а не «царем» лишь по причине христианского «смирения».[5]

Титулатурные претензии московских князей не случайно вплетены в рассказ о церковных событиях: вступая на путь политического самоопределения, московиты должны были привить северный дичок к разветвленному стволу европейского генеалогического древа, а это было невозможно без критического пересмотра всех бытовавших на Руси сакрально-политических формул. Двигаясь наощупь, московские политики постепенно создавали свой вариант национальной религии, и считали своей внешнеполитической задачей отстаивать чистоту и благодатность своего *право*славия. Протестуя против решений унионистского собора 1439 г., княжества северо-восточной Руси бесповоротно исключали себя из многих религиозно-культурных процессов Европейского мира, и, начиная во всяком случае с 1459 г., объявляли греческое православие «изрушившимся»[6] и находились в состоянии excommunicatio с церквями православного Востока. Этот курс оставлял русской церкви подчиненное положение по отношению к великокняжескому двору, но и создавал наиболее благоприятные условия для сложения национального государства,[7] той самой Московии, известной дипломатам и путешественникам следующего, ХУI-го столетия.

Основные русские рассказы о Ферраро-Флорентийском соборе 1438–1439 гг. могут быть разделены на три группы свидетельств: краткие летописные заметки, повести-хожения на собор, сохранившиеся в

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[5]ПСРЛ. Т. 25. С. 254. Эти же слова находим в полемическом «Слове избранном... еже на латыню», которое традиционно относится исследователями к 1461–1462 гг. (А. Н. Попов, *Историко-литературный обзор древнерусских полемических сочинений против латинян (XI–XV вв.).* М., 1875. С. 364–365); мне представляется, что этот памятник возник в более позднее время, уже после того, как был составлен великокняжеский Свод 1479 г.

[6]РФА. Ч. I. С. 187 (июль - 13 декабря 1459 г., см. РФА. Ч.V. С. 999); РИБ. Т. VI. СПб., 1908. Стб. 711 (22 апреля 1468 – 22 января 1469 г., см.: РФА. Ч. V. С. 955), 729 (22 марта 1471 г.).

[7]См.: J. Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, 1959), p. 361.

составе летописей и в рукописных сборниках,[8] а также документальные памятники, подлинные или претендующие на подлинность, включенные в летописные своды или уцелевшие в составе сборников. Последней группе источников и посвящена наша статья.

В тех фрагментах документации, которые, по моему мнению, восходят к архиву московских митрополитов ХУ–начала ХУI столетия, не обнаруживается никакой коллекции документов, посвященных Ферраро-Флорентийскому собору. Все, что сохранилось на эту тему до сегодняшнего дня, распылено по отдельным четьим сборникам, либо сохранилось в составе летописных компиляций. Отмеченное обстоятельство дает основания сомневаться в подлинности того или иного документа (такие сомнения были высказаны недавно Я.С. Лурье[9] и до сих пор не рассмотрены критически).

В настоящей статье автор ставит себе цель дать обзор всех сохранившихся в московской рукописной традиции документов о Ферраро-Флорентийском соборе и ближайших за ним событиях, вплоть до поставления Ионы первым автокефальным митрополитом на Руси (15 декабря 1448 г.).

Первое по хронологии послание, сообщающее московитам об итогах Ферраро-Флорентийского собора,—грамота папы Евгения IУ великому князю Василию Васильевичу, неизвестная в греческих и латинских списках и вызывающая сомнения в аутентичности документа.[10] Грамота Евгения сохранила datum: «А дано въ Флерентии священства нашего въ 9 лето» (вариант: «въ 5 лето»; Евгений вступил на кафедру 11 марта 1431 г.,[11] следовательно, датум указывает на март 1439 – март 1440 г.), не могла быть составлена прежде 17 августа 1439 г. (Г. Хофман принимает именно эту дату), ибо называет Исидора «послом» апостольского

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[8]О них см.: Н. А. Казакова, *Западная Европа в русской письменности ХУ–ХУI веков.* Л., 1980. С. 7–67; Ф. И. Делекторский, Критико-библиографический обзор древнерусских сказаний о Флорентийской унии // ЖМНП. 1895. Июль; А. Д. Щербина, *Литературная история русских сказаний о Флорентийской унии.* Одесса, 1902. См. также: Ihor Ševčenko, "Intellectual Repercussions of the Council of Florence," *Church History*, 24 (1955): 291–323.

[9]Я. С. Лурье, Иона // *Словарь книжников и книжности Древней Руси.* Л., 1988. Вып. 2. Ч. 1. С. 420–426. В неизданной работе о Завещании митрополита Ионы, которая войдет в публикацию «Русский феодальный архив XIV–первой трети XVI века» (2-е изд. Ч. III) автор пытается доказать, что все русские сочинения XV в., посвященные поставлению Ионы, были скомпилированы не ранее 1467 г., следовательно, грамоты 40–50-х гг. XV в. являются не подлинными документами, а позднейшими публицистическими трактатами.

[10]См.: G. Hofmann, ed. *Concilium Florentinum. Epist. Pontif. ad Concilium Florentinum Spectantes*. Romae, 1944. Ser. A. Pars II. No. 204. pp. 95–96.

[11]V. Grumel, *La Chronologie* (Paris, 1958), p. 433.

престола, а Исидор был назначен папским легатом именно в этот день.[12] Впервые послание Евгения попадает в круг чтения русских книжников как фрагмент «Слова на латыню»,[13] оно было включено в московский великокняжеский свод 1479 г., что произошло по прошествии сорока лет после Флорентийского собора и уже при Иване III.[14] Мнимое или подлинное послание Евгения именует Василия II титулом, которым тот никогда не титуловался («князем Московским и всея Руси»); Василий не носил титула «всея Руси»; впервые титул «всея Руси» уже после смерти Василия II по отношению к московскому князю Ивану III встречается лишь с 1479 года.[15] Титул митрополита («митрополит всея Руси» вместо «митрополит Киевский и всея Руси») также дан в том виде, который он приобрел лишь к марту 1461 г.[16] Послание Евгения не углубляется в догматические вопросы, а лишь объявляет о воссоединении Восточной и Западной церквей и просит Василия II помогать митрополиту Исидору. Подобная грамота в составе московской летописи могла вызвать у православного читателя обратно противоположную реакцию, ибо нельзя было дать худшую характеристику церковному иерарху, чем предъявить рекомендательное письмо, данное ему самим римским папой.

Следующее в нашем действительном или воображаемом хронологическом ряду стоит окружное послание митрополита Исидора, отправленное им из Буды всем христианам Речи Посполитой, Великого княжества Литовского, Священной Римской империи и Руси. Дата в тексте послания отсутствует; исследователи обычно датируют грамоту 5 марта 1440 г., следуя указаниям русских летописцев. Впервые окружное послание Исидора было включено в «Слово избрано... еже на

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[12] Hofmann, *Concilium Florentinum*, No. 202.

[13] А. Н. Попов, *Историко-литературный обзор*. С. 376–377.

[14] ПСРЛ. Т. 25. С. 259 (опубликована по рукописи ГИМ, Увар. 1366/4, л. 361 об.; послание с неверной датой: «въ 5 лето» священства Евгения); т. 18. С. 187 («въ 5 лето»); т. 6. С. 160–161 (Софийская II летопись, с датой «въ 9 лето»); т. 8. С. 108–109 («въ 5 лето»); т. 12. С. 40–41 (с датой «въ 9 лето»); т. 20. Ч. 1. С. 250 (с датой «въ 9 лето»).

[15] В. Л. Янин, *Актовые печати Древней Руси X–XУ вв.* М., 1970. Т. II. С. 27; Н. А. Соболева, *Русские печати*. М., 1991. С. 157. №. 37; в публикации этой грамоты И. З. Либерзон, как указал мне Б. А. Успенский, титул Ивана III на печати приведен неверно, см.: *Акты Соловецкого монастыря 1479–1571 гг.* Л., 1988. С. 16; С. М. Каштанов, *Социально-политическая история России конца XУ – первой половины XУI века*. М., 1967. С. 123; В. А. Кучкин, О времени написания Буслаевской псалтыри // *Древнерусское искусство. Рукописная книга*. М., 1972. С. 223–224; иного мнения держался А. А. Зимин, относившим первое употребление титула «всея Руси» к сентябрю 1484 г.: А. А. Зимин, *Россия на рубеже XУ–XУI столетий*. М., 1982. С. 281–282.

[16] A. Pliguzov, "On the Title `Metropolitan of Kiev and All Rus'" // *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 15(1991): pp. 340–353.

латыню»[17] и в московский великокняжеский Свод 1479 г.[18] Титул Исидора передан в грамоте 1440 г. аутентично: «архиепископъ кыевъскы и всея Руси». Дж. Гилл обратил внимание на странный вариант intitulatio в грамоте Исидора; митрополит называет себя «легатосъ и от ребра апостольскаго седалища Лятскаго и Литовского и Немецкого», тогда как грамота о его поставлении дает Исидору полномочия над христианами Литвы, Ливонии, России и Лехии, то есть Польши.[19] Некоторые неясности с титулом папского легата, впрочем, не дают нам основания заподозрить подлог: в заповедной грамоте («листе») Исидора, данной 27 июля 1440 г. по челобитию священника холмской Спасо-Столбовской церкви Вавилы, Исидор также именуется «легатосом и от ребра апостолского седалища Лятъского и Литовъского и Немецъкого».[20] Исидор объявляет в своем послании из Буды о воссоединении церквей, утверждает равенство православного и католического крещения, кислого и пресного хлеба для просфор, призывает восточных христиан приходить на исповеди к латинским, а западных - к греческим священникам. Дата подписания Флорентийской унии в тексте послания Исидора приведена с ошибкой: 6 *июня* вместо 6 *июля*.

Архив московских митрополитов в начале 1470-х гг.[21] хранил уставную грамоту киевского князя Александра (Олелько) Владимировича от 5 февраля 1441 г., данную митрополиту Исидору. Редактор-составитель сборника митрополичьих грамот Увар. 512, работавший в 1539–1542 гг., не нашел ничего подозрительного в тексте уставной грамоты киевского князя, хотя она была выдана крайне одиозному митрополиту-униату. Почему? Дело в том, что в тексте грамоты нет ни одного упоминания ни о Флорентийском соборе, ни о службе Исидора папе Евгению, ни о воссоединении церквей. Грамота опирается на

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[17]Попов А.Н. Историко-литературный обзор. С. 374–375.

[18]ПСРЛ. Т. 25. С. 258; последующие своды воспроизводят тот же текст: ПСРЛ. Т. 18. С. 181–186; т. 6. С. 159–160 (Софийская II летопись); т. 8. С. 108; т. 12. С. 36–38; т. 20. Ч. 1. С. 249–250. По изданию Софийской II летописи текст был опубликован в статье: Gill J. Isidore's Encyclical Letter from Buda // Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni. Romae, 1963. Ser. II. Sec. II. Vol. IV (X). Fasc. 1–2. P. 1–4.

[19]Gill J. Isidor's Encyclical Letter. P. 4–5.

[20]АГАД. Метрика коронная, кн. 132. Л. 179 об. Публ.: АЮЗР. Киев, 1883. Т. VI. Ч. I. № II. С. 4–7; Известия ОРЯС. XIII. № 3. С. 258 (издано по рукописи Vat. Slav. 12, f. 18в-19. Эта уставная заповедная грамота не имеет прямого отношения к теме нашей статьи, так как не была известна в восточно-славянской традиции; отметим лишь, что и здесь Исидор утверждает идею воссоединения церквей: «едино братя християне латыни и русь».

[21]Грамота сохранилась в сборнике ГИМ, Увар. 512, л. 311–313, и издана: АИ. Т. I. № 259; ДКУ. С. 179–181. О сборнике Увар. 512 см.: РФА. Ч. IV. С. 595–598 и РФА. Ч. V. С. 1029–1032. О князе Александре Владимировиче см.: РФА. Ч. V. С. 1025–1026.

«старину», утверждает незыблемый порядок управления митрополичьими владениями в Киеве, без каких-либо ссылок на униатские взгляды Исидора. Как известно, с 1451 г., когда Казимир IУ признал святительские права православного митрополита Ионы, вплоть до признания в Великом княжестве Литовском униатского митрополита Григория Болгарина (берестейский сейм мая 1460 г.),[22] Киевская земля оставалась вполне православной и не признавала унии, подписанной во Флоренции, а после 1484 г., когда собор Константинопольской церкви проклял отцов Флорентийского собора и отверг унию, Киев вновь начал исповедовать греческое православие, хотя уже и не присоединился к московской митрополии. Поэтому у православного редактора второй четверти XVI века уставная Александра Владимировича не вызывала никаких опасений и попала в коллекцию документов «киевской и всея Руси митрополии».

По-иному обстояло дело с двумя посланиями московских властей в Константинополь. Оба эти послания, судя по всему, никогда не были отправлены по причине сомнений московитов в православности константинопольских властей, и так и остались достоянием московских книжников. Первое из них составлено от имени великого князя Василия II и адресовано, вероятно, константинопольскому патриарху Митрофану II (занимал кафедру с 4/5 мая 1440 г. по 1 августа 1443 г.[23]). Послание сохранилось не среди официальных материалов митрополичьей кафедры, а в сборнике кирилло-белозерского книгописца Ефросина 90-х гг. XV в. РНБ, Кир.-Бел. 11/1088, по которому и было дважды издано.[24] Послание явно было составлено после того, как в Москве состоялся малый собор иерархов, осудивших неправославие Исидора (между 19 и 22 марта 1441 г., когда Исидор был посажен «за сторожей» в Чудовом монастыре). Здесь цитируется окружное послание Исидора из Буды, около 5 марта 1440 г., акт Флорентийского собора (не сохранился среди материалов московского происхождения) и дается список архиереев, соборно решавших в Москве судьбу Исидора. Автор послания излагает историю поставления Исидора и посылки в Константинополь русского кандидата - рязанского епископа Ионы. В отличие от позднейшей грамоты июля 1451 г.[25] грамота Василия Митрофану сооб-

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[22]Подробнее см. DPR. T. I. No. 82–87, 93–94; Halecki O. From Florence to Brest (1439–1596). 2nd. ed. Archon Books, 1968. P. 84–87; РФА. Ч. IV. С. 895–896 ; ч. V. С. 1026.

[23]Grumel V. La Chronologie. P. 437.

[24]АИ. Т. I. № 39; РИБ. Т. VI. № 62.

[25]Послание Василия II Константину XI Палеологу, сохранившееся в двух сборниках митрополичьих грамот - ГИМ, Синод. 562 (публ. по этому списку: АИ. Т. I. № 41; РФА.

щает о том, что Иона был послан в Константинополь с великокняжеским боярином Василием, но не был поставлен митрополитом, тогда как грамота 1451 г. передает пространный и, как кажется, фольклоризованный рассказ: Иона будто бы опоздал на поставление, и царь и патриарх скорбят о поспешном поставлении Исидора и желают ему скорой смерти и говорят Ионе: «А что воля Божия о Сидоре произмыслит, или смертью скончается, или иначее о нем что ся състанеть» (читатель 1451 г. вполне мог добавить: или митрополит Исидор подпишет унию с латинами - А.П.), «и ты, Иона, епископ рязанский, готов благословлен на той великий престол киевский и всея Руси».[26] В грамоте Митрофану мы видим лишь зачаток этой легенды о заблаговременном благословлении Ионы, что позволяет предположить некоторый промежуток времени, разделивший грамоту Митрофану и послание 1451 г.

В послании содержится просьба к патриарху разрешить поставление митрополита без предварительного благословления кандидата в Константинополе. Подобная практика, как известно, установилась в киевской митрополии начиная примерно с 1481 г., когда православный митрополит «киевский и всея Руси» Симеон был избран на престол и впоследствии получил благословение константинопольского патриарха Максима III.[27]

Послание 1441 г. в переработанном виде содержится также в Софийской II и Львовской летописях. Эти летописи, как показали исследования, восходят к митрополичьему Своду 1518 г., которому, в свою очередь, предшествовал неофициальный церковный (монастырский?) свод 80-х гг. ХУ в.,[28] вероятно, именно в этот свод 80-х гг. ХУ в. впервые была включена летописная версия послания Василия II константинопольским властям.

Летописный извод послания обнаруживает некоторые отличия от текста, известного по сборнику Евфросина. Послание адресовано «греческому царю», вероятно, императору Иоанну УIII Палеологу (правил с 21 июля 1425 г. по 31 октября 1448 г.[29]). Летописный текст

Ч. I. № 13) и ГИМ, Увар. 512 (публ. по этому списку: АИ. Т. I. № 262; РИБ. Т. VI. № 71). Комментарий см.: РФА. Ч. IV. С. 912–915.

[26] РФА. Ч. I. С. 90.

[27] Документы, посвященные этому событию, не сохранились; все, чем мы располагаем, - позднейшее сообщение «Палинодии» Захарии Копыстенского: РИБ. Т. IV. Стб. 1037.

[28] См.: Насонов А.Н. История русского летописания XI – начала ХУШ в. М., 1969. С. 305–307, 369–376, 460.

[29] Grumel V. La Chronologie. P. 359.

содержит иную дату послания: оно было написано через 455 лет после крещения Руси, то есть по прошествии двух лет после послания, известного нам по сборнику Евфросина (1441 г.), в 1443 г. В летописной версии в рассказе о крещении Руси Владимиром опущены упоминания об «арменской» и «иудейской» верах, вместо слов «поганьскаго на ны нашествия» сказано: «нахожениа безбожных агарян», добавлено определение «отца нашего» по отношению к епископу Ионе, отсутствующее в послании 1441 г., посланный в Царьград боярин Василий не назван «честнейшим», киевский князь Владимир именуется «великим оным» и т. д.[30]

Послание содержит в тексте хронологическое указание: «имѣемъ нынѣ четыреста и пятьдесят лѣт и три лѣта», прошедших со времени крещения Руси. Если считать, как считали и многие летописцы, что годом крещения был 6499 (988) год, то рассчет лет указывает на 1440/41 г., а упоминаемое в тексте осуждение Исидора позволяет сузить датировку до 22 марта – 31 августа 1441 г.

Послания 1441 и 1443 гг. обнаруживают текстовое родство с сочинением 1461–1462 гг. «Слово избрано..., еже на латыню»:

«Аще имаши възвратитися к нам, то принеси к нам древнее наше благочестие...» (Послание 1441 г.)

«Аще же како поидеши и паки аще имаши возвратитися к нам, то принеси к нам древнее наше благочестие...» (Послание 1443 г.)

«Егда възвратишися оттуду к нам, то принеси к намъ изначальственеишее прежнее благое съединение нынешнее въсиавшее в нас благочестие» («Слово избрано»).[31]

Как кажется, текст Посланий первичен, а повторяющее его «Слово на латыню» амплифицирует свой источник, дополняет повествование эмоциональными эпитетами.

Изоляция Руси, вызванная категорическим непризнанием московскими властями Флорентийской унии, несколько ослаблялась тем обсто-

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[30]Отметим, что Свод 1518 г. содержит пропуск текста по отношению к Посланию 1441 г.: после слов «конець приаша» и перед словами «и еже о нем божественаго и священнаго собора» выпущены описания латинских ересей Исидора, московского собора, созванного на Исидора в 1441 г., а также прошение константинопольским властям разрешить поставление митрополита в Москве без санкции императора и патриарха, см. старший список Софийской II летописи: РГАДА. Ф. 181. № 371. Л. 82–87 об., особенно л. 87. См. публикации: ПСРЛ. Т. 6. С. 162–167; т. 20. Ч. 1. С. 251–254. О редакциях Свода 1518 г. см.: *Б. М. Клосс, В. Д. Назаров*, Рассказы о ликвидации Ордынского ига на Руси в летописании конца XУ в. // *Древнерусское искусство. XIУ–XУ вв.* М., 1984. С. 302–305.

[31]*А. Н. Попов*, *Историко-литературный обзор*. С. 363.

ятельством, что почитаемые восточными христианами афонские монахи, хотя представители афонских монастырей Лавры, Ватопеда, св. Павла и Пантократора и подписали акт Флорентийского собора,[32] однако вскоре после 1439 г. отказались признавать законность унии и выполнять ее условия. Переписка великого князя Василия II с протом Афонской горы, сохранившаяся в рукописных сборниках XVI столетия, внушала читателю уверенность в том, что русские сделали верный выбор в конфессиональном вопросе и ничуть не погрешили против истинной веры.

Старший список посланий афонских монахов Василию II и ответной грамоты Василия на Афон находится в сборнике 1539–1542 гг., составленном, вероятно, в Троице-Сергиевом монастыре—РНБ, Соф. 1454, л. 436 об.–441, 444–446 об. На л. 452 об. помещен список русских митрополитов, и последним назван Иоасаф, что довольно определенно указывает на время создания рукописи. В основе сборника—выписки из кормчей русской редакции, статьи из патерика, а также подборка посланий и статей XV столетия, посвященных важнейшим областям восточно-славянской политической мифологии: чин венчания Дмитрия-внука 1498 г., послание Вассиана Рыло Ивану III 1480 г., повести о взятии Царьграда 1453 г., о митрополите Исидоре, послание патриарха Иосифа II митрополиту Фотию о Григории Цамблаке, здесь же—переписка Василия II с афонскими монахами.

Послание прота Афонских монастырей (очевидно, Пахомия) обращено ко всем православным князьям и «властелям», но в заголовке адресовано «великому князю», то есть Василию II.[33] В тексте упоминается изгнание некоего «волка, а не святителя», вероятно, митрополита Исидора, который бежал из Москвы 15 сентября 1441 г., а из Твери—в феврале – марте 1442 г. Далее речь идет о «неких», находящихся «в островех морскых», что, возможно, должно напомнить читателю о судьбе Марка Евгеника, заключенного на Лемносе вплоть до 4 августа 1442 г.[34] Таким образом, послание должно относиться к первой половине 1442 г. Однако формулярный анализ послания заставляет усомниться в его подлинности. Начальный протокол построен как аналогичный протокол окружных посланий, заголовок убеждает читателя, что послание было направлено великому князю, далее адресаты послания определяются как «христолюбимии», «любимици». Один

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[32] Е. Е. Голубинский, *История русской церкви.* М., 1900. Т. 2. 1-я пол. С. 456, прим. 3.

[33] Публикацию послания по рукописи Соф. 1454 см.: *ЛЗАК за 1864 г.* СПб., 1865. Вып. 3. Приложения. С. 28–32.

[34] C. Tsirpanlis, *Mark Eugenicus and the Council of Florence: A Historical Re-Evaluation of His Personality* (New York, 1979) pp. 42–43.

из примеров превосходства православной веры над латинством предполагает, что между унией 1439 г. и временем составления послания прошло куда больше времени, чем 3–4 года: речь идет о некоторых ватопедских монахах, что последовали латинским учителям, по «отшествии» латинян успели умереть, и «ныне в гробнице черни суть, яко углие».

Послание афонских монахов настаивает на том, что Царьград уже не хранит подлинной веры, «продал» «свою благочестивую веру на злате студнымъ латыномъ», и призывает московитов бесстрашно соблюдать непорочную православную веру.

Послание Василия II афонским монахам и проту Пахомию также вызывает сомнение в его аутентичности.[35] Титул Василия, «великого князя московского и всея Руси», читающийся в intitulatio, не употреблялся московскими великими князьями до 1479 г. (см. выше), зато использовался в разобранных выше грамотах 1441 и 1443 гг. Послание Василия, согласно воле составителя, должно было восприниматься как ответ на послание иноков Афонской горы («прияхом убо еже к нам посланное писание от васъ», сообщает Василий II в послании). Текст послания частью повторяет послания 1441 и 1443 гг., а также летописную повесть об Исидоре, изобилует странными в великокняжеском послании богословскими рассуждениями и призывает афонских монахов хранить чистоту веры и просит прислать на Русь новое послание «достовернейшее противу сего писания».

Объединенные единством темы, но разбросанные по различным неофициальным сборникам и летописным сводам, документы по истории антиунионисткой полемики на Руси составляют единый цикл известий со соборе 1439 г. и последующих событиях. Связность и взаимозависимость подлинных и апокрифических текстов, составляющих этот цикл, настолько велика, что порой их невозможно отличить друг от друга. В глазах у читателя они сливаются как бы в единый текст, границы которого колеблются, и сами аргументы в защиту православия готовы выплеснуться из узкой сферы письменной полемики в открытое пространство религиозно-политической жизни.

Цикл документальных свидетельств о Флорентийском соборе не отразился в материалах архива московских митрополитов, так как вплоть до декабря 1448 г. (поставление Ионы митрополитом) кафедра в Москве пустовала, митрополичья казна явно находилась в небрежении,

[35] По рукописи Соф. 1454 послание опубликовано: *ЛЗАК за 1864 г.* СПб., 1865. Вып. 3. С. 33–36.

архив великих князей был захвачен галицким князем Дмитрием Шемякой (1446–1448 гг.).[36]

До самого последнего времени исследователям оставались неизвестны еще два переводных сочинения, имеющих все основания быть рассмотренными в рамках того же полудокументального-полупублицистического цикла.

В 1988 году, приступая к подготовке публикации краткого собрания ханских ярлыков русским митрополитам, автор этой статьи взялся за постатейное описание сборника РГБ, Троицк. 177, который до сих пор считался вторым по древности списком краткого собрания ярлыков.[37] Палеографический анализ привел меня к выводу о том, что кодекс Троицк. 177 является древнейшим из сохранившихся кодексов с краткой коллекцией ярлыков и относится ко второй половине 60-х гг. XУ века. Медленное чтение статей, составляющих этот сборник, позволило обнаружить среди текстов Троицк. 177 переводные с греческого статьи, на которые не обратил внимания ни один исследователь и которые не были отмечены в описании собрания Троице-Сергиева монастыря, выполненного Иларием и Арсением (1878).[38] Статьи эти имеют прямое отношение к славянской рецепции решений Ферраро-Флорентийского собора 1438–1439 гг. и, учитывая относительно раннее время возникновения сборника Троицк. 177, дают нам важные свидетельства того, как в Москве разворачивались споры о каноничности решений Флорентийского собора.

Кодекс Троицк. 177 составлена из трех блоков (л. 1–40, 41–285, 286–339) примерно во второй половине 60-х годов XV столетия. Сборник был вложен в библиотеку Троице-Сергиева монастыря келарем Андреяном Ангеловым в 1560-х гг. в память по Семене Федоровиче Киселеве[39] (вкладная запись на первых листах). Подробный палеографический анализ сборника дан в специальной работе;[40] укажем лишь, что Троицк. 177 был скопирован четырьмя писцами (П 1: л. 1–40; П 2:

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[36]РФА. Ч. I. № 19. С. 107.

[37]См.: А. А. Зимин, Краткое и пространное собрания ханских ярлыков, выданных русским митрополитам // *Археографический ежегодник за 1961 год*. М., 1962. С. 30. Прим. 19 (здесь сборник Троицк. 177 датирован 70-ми годами XV века).

[38]Арсений Иларий, *Описание славянских рукописей библиотеки Свято-Троицкой Сергиевой лавры*. М., 1878. С. 159–160.

[39]Сохранились сведения о службе С. Ф. Киселева в 1545/46–1549/50 гг., см.: *Разрядная книга 1475–1605 гг.* М., 1977. Т. 1. Ч. 2. С. 320, 377. О С. Ф. Киселеве см. также: АСЭИ. Т. I. № 398; АРГ. С. 302.

[40]А. I. Плигузов, Древнейший список краткого собрания ярлыков, данных ордынскими ханами русским митрополитам // РФА. М., 1987. Ч. III. С. 574–576.

л. 41–252, 274–285; П 3: л. 253–272; П 4: л. 286–339). Здесь переписана подборка сочинений Св. Иоанна Дамаскина (л. 41–79 об.; 113–252 об.; переписаны с чернового протографа со следами редакторской правки (как установил Н.К. Гаврюшин, список восходит к рукописи 1414 г.[41]). Здесь же скопированы Житие Иоанна Дамаскина, написанное антиохийским патриархом Иоакимом (л. 80–112),[42] апокрифическая «Апология» Марка Евгеника Ефесского, умершего 23 июня 1445 года и канонизированного в 1456 году (л. 111 об.–112 об., 274).[43] Далее следуют краткое собрание ярлыков, данных русским митрополитам ордынскими ханами (л. 274–280)[44] и трактат Михаила Синкелла «О ересях латинских» (л. 280 об.–285 об.). Материалы, составившие кодекс Троицк. 177, вероятно, были извлечены из митрополичьего архива в Москве, где, по наиболее вероятному предположению, хранились ханские ярлыки митрополитам.[45] Это могло произойти не ранее 1445 г. (упоминание о смерти Марка Евгеника) и не позднее второй половины 1460-х гг. (дата рукописи Троицк. 177).

В сборнике Троицк, 177, на л. 108 об.–111 об., находится окружное послание александрийского патриарха Филофея, иерусалимского патриарха Иоакима и антиохийского патриарха Дорофея [I], отрицающее законность решений Флорентийского собора, и верительная грамота митрополиту Кесарии Филипповой Арсению от апреля 1443 года.

Окружное послание 1443 года в славянских кодексах впервые было найдено А.И. Яцимирским, который изучал рукописи молдавского писца Гавриила Урика. Яцимирский обнаружил три идентичных списка Послания в трех кодексах, которые, хотя и не могли быть скопированы самим Гавриилом, восходят к его рукописям—речь идет о кодексах 1512

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41 Н. К. Гаврюшин, О ранних списках славяно-русской «Диалектики» // *Записки Отдела рукописей ГБЛ*. М., 1987. Вып. 45. С. 282.

42 Греческий текст издан: J. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Graeca*. Paris, 1860. Т. 94. cols. 429–490.

43 О Марке Евгенике см.: Joseph Gill, "Mark Eugenicus, Metropolitan of Ephesus," Joseph Gill, *Personalities of the Council of Florence* (New York, 1964) pp. 55–64. Описание погребения Марка см.: C. L. Kayser, *Philostrati libri de Gymnastica* (Heidelberg, 1840) pp. 142–152.

44 Публикацию и разбор ярлыков по этому списку см.: А. И. Плигузов, Краткое собрание ярлыков. // РФА. Ч. III. С. 585–594. Мне представляется, что краткое собрание ярлыков было составлено в 10-е гг. ХУ в. (Там же. С. 583); см. также: А. И. Плигузов, А. Л. Хорошкевич, Русская церковь и антиордынская борьба в XIII–ХУ вв. (По материалам краткого собрания ханских ярлыков русским митрополитам) // *Церковь, общество и государство в феодальной России. Сборник статей*. М., 1990. С. 84–102.

45 См.: А. И. Плигузов, Краткое собрание ярлыков. С. 576.

г. (ныне БАН, 13.3.23), 1557 и 1629 г.[46] Исследователь намеревался опубликовать славянский перевод Послания 1443 г. (по рукописи 1629 г.) во II выпуске книги «Из истории славянской письменности в Молдавии и Валахии ХУ–ХУII вв.», однако обещанный второй выпуск так и не вышел в свет, и славянский текст Послания остался неизданным.[47] Яцимирский предполагал, что Послание было переведено с греческого оригинала монахом Гавриилом Уриком.

Греческий текст Послания известен в нескольких рукописях и неоднократно издавался, начиная с «Церковной истории» Алляция (1648).[48] Г. Хофман (1953) опубликовал Послание по кодексу Ватиканской библиотеки Ottobonianum gr. 418 с разночтениями по Barb. gr. 493[49]

Дж. Гилл привел убедительные аргументы в пользу того, что Послание 1443 г. не является подлинным документом собора трех патриархов, но скорее представляет собой публицистический памятник полемики о каноническом достоинстве решений Ферраро-Флорентийского собора.[50] Послание 1443 г. резко критикует унию с католической церковью и объявляет церковное отлучение всем, кто будет следовать решениям Флорентийского собора (славянский текст Послания см. ниже). Несомненно, для русского читателя Послание 1443 г. могло иметь значение официального документа, подтверждающего правильность позиции московского великого князя. Славянский текст отличается от греческого оригинала присутствием вступительного абзаца («Да весте≈ниже речи»), а также вставкой Символа веры («яже есть ˜ и утверди»).

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[46]См.: А. И. Яцимирский, *Из славянских рукописей. Тексты и заметки.* М., 1898. С. 69–70, 85–91; Он же. *Из истории славянской проповеди в Молдавии и Валахии XV–XVII вв.* СПб., 1906 (Памятники древней письменности. Т. 162). С. LXVIII.

[47]См.: А. И. Яцимирский, *Из истории славянской проповеди в Молдавии*. С. V. Ср. А. Д. Паскаль, Итоги и задачи изучения рукописей Гавриила Урика как ранних источников по истории славяно-молдавской книжности ХУ века // *Исследования по источниковедению истории СССР дооктябрьского периода.* М., 1989. С. 4–32

[48]Leo Allatius, *De ecclesiae Occidentalis atque Orientalis perpetua consensione. Coloniae Agrippinae*, 1648. Libr. III. cols. 939–941 (рукопись, по которой опубликован текст, Алляцием не указана).

[49]G. Hofman, ed., *Concilium Florentinum. Documenta et Scriptores. Orientalium Documenta Minora* (Rome, 1953), ser. A. vol. 3. fasc. 3. pp. 68–72. О других публикациях см. обзор Ж. Даррузеса: J. Darrouzès, “Les Regestes de 1410 a 1453,” *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople* (Paris, 1991), vol. 1, fasc. 7, pp. 53–54 (No. 3391). См. сведения об афонском списке XV в.: S. Lampros, *Catalogue of the Greek MSS on Mt. Athos* (Cambridge, 1900), vol. 2, №. 4502.

[50]Gill, *The Council of Florence*, pp. 353–354. Подлинность Послания 1443 г. принята в кн.: L. Mohler, *Cardinal Bessarion.* Paderborn, 1923. T. I. S. 188–189.

В Троицк. 177 находим и еще один перевод с греческого, который мне удалось идентифицировать с текстом, опубликованным Ж. Минем в 160 томе «Patrologiae Cursus Completus» как «Апология» Марка Евгеника.[51] Отличия славянского списка таковы: автором записи назван некий Иероним, добавлен заголовок с датой («месяца априля ˜ Иромнимом»), добавлено послесловие («того же оставим волне ˜ аминь»). Сочинение, переписанное редактором-составителем Троицк. 177, не принадлежит Марку Евгенику (например, его нет в исчерпывающем каталоге К. Цирпанлиса).[52] Однако русскому читателю были важны не запутанные проблемы атрибуции, а резко антиуниатское настроение «Апологии» (в русском тексте оно похоже на устное завещание («словеса на кончине живота своего»): Марк Евгеник был единственным греческим иерархом, кто открыто не подчинился унии и до самой смерти (1445 г.) яростно критиковал решения Ферраро-Флорентийского собора.

Теперь наш перечень московских списков документации, имеющей отношение к рецепции решений Ферраро-Флорентийского собора, можно считать исчерпывающим.

В приложении публикуем неизданные славянские тексты Послания 1443 года и апокрифической «Апологии» Марка Евгеника. При передаче текста я придерживался следующих принципов: все славянские буквы оригинала сохранены в публикации, надстрочные знаки не воспроизведены, сокращения под титлами раскрыты, необходимые для этого буквы поставлены в круглых скобках; титла всюду раскрыты по новейшей орфографии, выносные буквы внесены в строку и обозначены курсивом, опущенные перед ними или после них буквы также внесены в текст и помещены в круглых скобках; конъектуральные дополнения выделяются квадратными скобками ([); киноварные буквы переданы полужирным шрифтом (**bold**).

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Institute of Russian History, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow

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51 Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Graeca* (Paris, 1866) vol. 160. cols. 536–537.

52 Tsirpanlis, *Mark Eugenicus and the Council of Florence*, pp. 109–118.

Приложение

I.

Окружное послание александрийского патриарха Филофея, иерусалимского патриарха Иоакима и антиохийского патриарха Дорофея [I], отрицающее законность решений Флорентийского собора, и верительная грамота митрополиту Кесарии Филипповой Арсению.

Иерусалим.
1443 г., апреля.

Публикуется по рукописи: ГБЛ, Троицк. 177, л.108 об.–111 об.

(л. 108 об.) Да вѣсте вси православнии хрестиıанѣ, ıак(о) сиє настоıащеє писанїє преписас(я) ѡт ч(е)стнагѡ и с(вя)т(о)го писанїѧ с(вя)тых триє ж(е) патриархь, иже в Сирии. Прелѡжении или ѡт(ъ)ıатсѧ ѡтнюд(ь) в себѣ не имаєть ни єдиною стрѡкы, ниже рѣчи.

Понеже приидеть преѡс(вя)щ(е)нныи митрѡпѡлит здѣ с(вя)тѣишаıа митрѡполиıа Кесареискыıа, иже прьвѣпр(е)ст(о)ленъ сыи и єѯархъ оучитель всеи Востѡчнѣи странѣ, вкоупѣ оубѡ поклѡнитисѧ всеч(е)стн(о)мѹ Г(оспод)а н(а)шегѡ Ї(су)с(а) Х(ри)с(т)а (л. 109) грѡбоу и иже въ Иєр(у)с(а)л(и)ме видѣти с(вя)щеннаıа мѣста, в них же преславнаıа свершишасѧ Христѡва смѡтренїѧ, таиньствѡ изыıавити, иже въ Ц(а)рѣградѣ[а] съблазны всѧ за сѡбранноую коустѡдию въ ѳлѡрентии иже во Итали с[к]вернагѡ сбѡра и латыньскаıа съ Евгѣнїємъ папѡм прославльша, ıаже нѣс(ть) пѡд(о)бна и приложенїє ıавѣ, єже вѣры нашеıа б(о)жественым и непѡрѡчнымъ сложенїємъ, ıаже єс(ть): «Вѣрѹю въ єдинагѡ Б(о)га ѡтца вседръжителѧ», подписавше и оувѣриша се, ıакѡ и[з] Ѡтца исхѡдить б(о)жественыи Д(у)хъ, и ѡпрѣснѡк прелѡживше и простивше нам и жрети сѧ и поминати сих ради папѹ, єще ж(е) и инаıа, єлика из вѡнь правилъ безакѡнна соут(ь) ихъ, сниде и оутверди. И какѡ иже Кизикоу Митрѡѳѡнѡсъ, сирѣчь м(а)т(е)рооубиица, разбѡинеческыи Коньстѧнтина града ц(е)рк(о)вь[б] престѡл въсхитити и спѡспѣшенїєм єретик и реченнымъ папою, и ц(а)р(е)мъ[в] грьчьскым Иѡаннѡмъ Палеѡлѡгѡмъ латинѡм(у)дреным, (л. 109 об.) вѣрным же протѧ гѡнѧ, моучѧ и запрѣщаıа, невѣрных же и славных

[а] *слово написано под титлом с надстрочной* с.
[б] *слово написано под титлом с надстрочной* с.
[в] *слово написано под титлом с надстрочной* с.

презываꙗ, почитаѧ, ꙗко своєє єреси смоудрьствоующимъ, наипаче си*х* при своꙗ въспрѡтивленїє, и прерѣканїє правѡславию и бл(а)гочестию, ꙗкѡ ѡ*т* сегѡ ѡбраза митрѡполїꙗ скверная и неч(ис)таа єпископидиꙗ повсюдоу на б(о)ж(е)*с*твеныꙗ и с(вя)тыꙗ престѡлы с(вя)тыи великии ц(е)ркве[г] Костѧнтина гра*д*(а) повелѣ, ꙗко по*д* єго воутаха (?) ѡбласть по*д*лежащихъ показа, иже предѣреченныи и всес(вя)щеннѣишии митрѡполитъ кѵръ Арсенїє с(вя)тѣишиє митрополии великїꙗ Сесарїѧ Каподокиискыꙗ первѡпрестолни*к* же ї єѯархъ, оучитель всеи Востѡчнѣи странѣ, ꙗкѡ не тѡчию ко ины*м* ц(е)рквамъ[д] Митроѳѡнѡсъ патриꙗрхъ безакѡннаꙗ роукѡположениꙗ повелѣ латинѡм(у)*д*ренымъ, но сеи паче и къ ѡбласти всеа Въстѡчныꙗ страны, четырѣ нероукѡположенныꙗ роукѡположи митрополидїа въ Амасии ꙗвѣ, ꙗкѡ Нѡвыꙗ же Кесарїа, Тоу(л. 110)ана и Мокисона, латиньскаа всѧ и моудрьствоующи*х* и твѡрѧщи*х*, иже не тѡчїє своє ѡ*т*соудоу прїємлющи*х* растлѣнїє и пагоубоу, но по тѡлїцѣмъ прѡдръзнѡвении и соущи*х* Христѡва стада всѣхъ тамѡ хрестиꙗнъ такѡ прельщающи*х* и много правѡславнымъ ц(е)рквамъ[е] *съблазны* хѡ*датаиствоующихъ*, то *сегѡ ради бл*(а)*гѡчестивыи* вѣрнѣишии правѡславиꙗ соборникъ и ревнитель.

Сеи же реченныи всес(вя)щеннѣишии митрѡпѡлитъ Кесарїꙗ Капѡ*д*(о)киискїꙗ не тръпѣ зрѣти Х(ри)с(то)вѣ ц(е)ркви[ж] измѣненїꙗ и пагоубоу инѡславны*х* и правѡз*д*равьствоующихъ, нѡ мѡли збѡрнѣ взѧти съвѣ*т* ѡ*т* насъ, трїєхъ патрїархъ правѡславны*х*, иже в Сирїи - Ѳилѡсѡфиꙗ Алеѯанд*р*иискаго, Їѡакима Иєр(у)*с*(а)л(и)мьскаго и Дорѡтѣꙗ Антїѡхиискагѡ, ꙗкѡ да ѡ*т*женеть неправѡм(у)*д*рьствоующи*х* ѡ*т* всеꙗ[з] ѡбласти своєꙗ, ꙗкѡ прьвѡроденъ сыи и правѡславенъ. (л. 110 об.)

Тѣм же и мы повелѣ ва*м* събѡрнѣ коупнѡ во имѧ єдинѡсоущныꙗ и живѡначалныѧ С(вя)тыꙗ Трѡица, иже не за ра*д*(и) дѡбрѡдѣтелеи бл(а)гочестїꙗ роукоположенны, митрѡполити же *и* єп(и)*с*(ко)пи повсюдоу и вѡ всѣ*х*, и єще игоумени вкоупѣ и д(у)х(о)вникы таха (sic!), також*д*е же и с(вя)щенникы и дьꙗкѡни и всѧкѡго ц(е)рк(о)внаго[и] прѡ*сто* чина нескверны*х* соущи*х* и недостѡины*х* єресїи и гѡненїѧ православїа вѡсхотивши*х* времѧ, точию текше недѡстѡинѣ тщеславїа и єреси ѡбразѡ*м*. Къ єпископиꙗмъ и митрѡпѡлиѧмъ, ꙗ*к*(о) рекше таха (sic!) Сп(а)с(и)т(е)лю д(у)шамъ, ꙗкѡ да съ собою па*ч*(е) растлѧть Христѡвѡ истиннагѡ Б(о)га н(а)шегѡ все православнѡє стадѡ, никако же страха Б(ож)їꙗ, прав*д*ы же и бл(а)гочестна стѧжавши*х* плѡ*д*, нѡ презрителеи бестрашны*х* соуще къ бл(а)гострашїю всѧкѡмоу соуще, си*х* повелѣ вамъ ѡ*т* дн(е)*с*ь без*д*ѣлны*х* и нес(вя)щенны*х* быти всѧкогѡ с(вя)щ(е)ннодѣиствїѧ и ц(е)рк(о)внагѡ[к] състѡꙗнїꙗ, дѡнели же и стѧ(л. 111)заниꙗ боудеть бл(а)гочестїє ѡбщеє вселе*н*скыи, такѡж*д*е же оубѡ ї сїа приємшеи и повинѹвшесѧ, да соуть без*д*ѣлны и нес(вя)щ(е)ннии и пререкаю-

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[г] *слово написано под титлом с надстрочной* с.

[д] *слово написано под титлом с надстрочной* с.

[е] *слово написано под титлом с надстрочной* с.

[ж] *слово написано под титлом с надстрочной* с.

[з] *первоначально было:* ѡт всу..., *затем буква* е *написана поверх подтертого.*

[и] *слово написано под титлом с надстрочной* с.

[к] *слово написано под титлом с надстрочной* с.

щим же и съпрωтивлающимъса разбωинеческы иже без[за]кωнѣ, да соуть прωклати и ωтлоучени и спωспѣшествоующии же и спωмагающи в такωвыхъ.

Полагаем же всакω прωпωвѣдника бл(а)гочестїю и правωславию, иже вышереченнагω всес(вя)тѣишаго митрωпωлита, иже пр(е)ч(е)стнаго ї єѯарха всеи Анатωлии прωпωвѣдати всюдоу бл(а)гочестїє, не стыдащиса къ истиннѣ лица ц(а)ра[л] или патрїарха, иже неправωм(у)дрствоующих и дѣиствоующих, нї б(о)гата ни властелина, или прилоучшагоса ч(е)л(ове)ка недрьзнωвенїемъ и вѣрою, и правωславие сдръжа без страха и безъ сωмнѣнїа. По запωвѣди имѣти тωмоу свωбωдоу ωтн(ы)нѣ бл(а)гочестиа ради ωбличити и запрѣтити, и исправити, иже неправωмоудрьствоующихъ. Въ всакωм мѣстѣ (л. 111 об.) въ нем же аще вωзмωжеть прїити, ωт нас самѣхъ приемъ ωбласть, данныа ради намъ бл(а)гωдѣти и силы С(вя)того Д(у)ха, ємоу же подωбаеть сїє съблюсти не даропрїатнѣ же и правѣ бл(а)гωчестие, єгω же ради дасть се ємωу написанω н[а]шь съвѣт.

Събωрнѣ написанω н(а)шею роукою, м(е)с(я)ца априла, в лѣто 6851.

II.

Апокрифическая «Апология» Марка Евгеника, архиепископа Ефесского

Публикуется по рукописи: РГБ, Троицк. 177, л. 111 об.–112 об., 274.

(л. 111 об.) М(е)с(я)ца априла в лѣто 6951 бл(а)женнагω и с(вя)т(о)го ω(т)ца н(а)шего Марка архиеп(и)с(ко)па Єѳескагω, иже изрече слωвеса на кончинѣ живωта свωєгω, исписана же Иромнимωм.

Хощоу пространнѣишеє мои разоумъ изрещи, паче же иногда и н(ы)нѣ приближающоуса концю мωємоу, ıакω да с(о)гласенъ єсмь себѣ ωт начала и дω кωнца. И да не мнать нѣции, ıакω инаıа гла(гола)хъ, инаıа же крыıах в мыслї, ıаже подобнω бѣ ωбличити. В час сеи моєгω разрѣшенїа г(лаго)лю же ω патриıарсѣ, да възметса ємоу юже чти ради ıаже кω мнѣ на пωгребеннагω смиреннагω моєгω тѣла или на пωманѣх мωих пошлетъ нѣции ωт архиерѣи или ωт причта своєгω или кого лю(л. 112)бω ωт причащающихс(я) ємоу єже вкоупѣ спомωлитиса, или съωблещиса, иже соуть намъ спрачастни (sic!). С(вя)щенникωмъ, иже соуть на сїє прїзвани, непщевавъ ıако некωимъ ωбразωмъ приемлють по нескрωвеннѣ єгω причастїє, и да не мωлчанїє мωє снизхожденїє нѣкωє вънати пωдасть нѣкым же недωбрѣ въ глоубиноу вѣдоущимъ мωю мысль, г(лаго)лю и засвидѣтельствоую пред прилоучивъшимїса мнозѣх и дωславных моужии, ıако не хωщоу не приемлю тогово и соущих с нимъ причастник с весма никакωже, ни в животѣ мωємъ ни пω см(е)рти, ıако же не бывшеє съєдиненїє и преданїа латыньскаıа, ıаже прїıатъ тωи и иже с нимъ во

[л] *слово написано под титлом с надстрочной* с.

єже застоупати и ѡбладати тѡ властию сїєю, вроучи се къ развращению правымъ ц(е)ркве[а] преданїємъ. Вѣм бѡ потонкꙋ, ꙗк(о) єликѡ оудалꙗюсѧ сегѡ и такѡвых, приближаюсѧ Б(о)гоу и всѣмъ с(вя)тымъ, и ꙗже сих ѡтлоучаюсѧ, такѡ съєдинꙗюсѧ истиннѣ и с(вя)т(е)мъ (л. 112 об.) ѡ(т)ц(е)мъ великимъ б(о)гѡслѡвцем ц(е)ркве[б]. И ꙗко же пакы повиноуꙗсѧ слагающимсѧ симъ оудалающесѧ истиннѣ и б(о)жественых ц(е)рк(о)вныхъ[в] оучитель. Да сего ради г(лаго)лю, ꙗко же вѡ всемъ мѡємъ животѣ бѣх разлоученъ ѡт нихъ, тако и въ времѧ исхѡда моєгѡ, такѡ и по моєи см(е)рти ѡбращающасѧ тѣх и причастника и съєдиненїа и клатвою завѣщеваю, да никтѡ же ѡт тѣх приближитсѧ на погребенїє мѡє или на паметехъ мѡих, нъ ниже инѡмоу комꙋ иже соуть ч(е)сти ихъ, ꙗкѡ съѡблещисѧ покоуситисѧ[г] или слитургисати с нашими. Се бѡ єс(ть), єже не смѣшаємаꙗ смѣшати, подобает бѡ всѧкѡ ѡт ѡнѣх ѡтлꙋченных насъ быти, донележе дасть Б(о)гъ добрѡє исправленїє и смиренїє ц(е)ркви[д] своєи, того же ѡставим вѡлнѣ, ꙗже всѧкѡ ноужнѣ сладѡстнаа вмалѣ, горестнаꙗ помалѣ.

Зри чтѡ бѣсте и чтѡ боудеши, се ѡтходимъ оубѡ камѡ идемъ. Что желаєм, их же ѡставимъ, чтѡ не зримъ, къ имї же ѡтходим. Помни за что колико лишаємоє, им жє прєлежеши всѧко ѡставиши, что не ищеши, с ними же идеши.

Въ вѣкы и на вѣкы, аминь[е].

[а] *Слово написано под титлом с выносной буквой* с.

[б] *Слово написано под титлом с выносной буквой* с.

[в] *Слово написано под титлом с выносной буквой* с.

[г] *Первоначально было добавлено*: ємоу, *зачеркнуто чернилами того же цвета.*

[д] *Слово написано под титлом с выносной буквой* с.

[е] *Слова* ѡтходим ~ аминь *написаны на нижнем поле листа другим почерком и чернилами другого цвета. На л. 274 находим заключение текста, написанное основным почерком и зачеркнутое*: Ѡтхѡдимъ, помни за чтѡ коликѡ лишаємоє им же прележеши всѧкѡ ѡставиши, чтѡ не ищеши, с ними же идеши. Съ вѣкы и на вѣкы, аминь.

The Zaporozhian Cossacks in Western Print to 1600

MARSHALL POE

The early history of the Zaporozhian cossacks is known to us almost exclusively through the writings of foreigners. The Dnieper bands of the sixteenth century were composed of freebooters organized into small, loosely-knit, and highly mobile groups.[1] Though the cossacks could certainly write when necessary (for example, when conducting diplomacy), they generally needed to keep no records and apparently kept none. Fortunately for modern historians, their European neighbors were more willing to describe the lower Dnieper and its inhabitants. Beginning in the first half of the sixteenth century, information about the cossacks began to appear in the diplomatic papers of the Ottoman Empire, Muscovy, Poland, Lithuania, and the Papacy. Somewhat later in the century references to the Dnieper bands filtered into printed ethnographies of the major kingdoms of eastern Europe. Yet despite the importance of unpublished diplomatic and published ethnographic sources for early Zaporozhian history, scant attention has been paid to them. To be sure, these sources have long been used to write the history of the Dnieper cossacks. However no systematic effort has been made to catalogue the foreign writings or describe their contents. There are indeed three scholarly works touching on the subject of foreign sources: the *Sbornik materialov dlia istoricheskoi topografii Kieva*, published by the Kyiv Archeographic Commission in 1874; Volodymyr Sichyns'kyi's monograph on "Ukraine" in foreign writings from the sixth [*sic*] to the twentieth century (1938); and, finally, a recent article concerning depictions of Kyiv in foreign accounts from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century.[2] Though these works provide some

[1] On the early organization of the Dnieper cossacks, see Günter Stökl, *Die Entstehung des Kosakentums* (München: Isar Verlag, 1953), 143–78 and Linda Gordon, *Cossack Rebellions. Social Turmoil in the Sixteenth-Century Ukraine* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1983), 61–98.

[2] *Sbornik materialov dlia istoricheskoi topografii Kieva i ego okrestnostei* (Kyiv, 1874). Volodymyr Sichyns'kyi, *Chuzhyntsi pro Ukraïnu* (reprint, Kyiv: Dovira, 1992). There is an English translation: idem, *Ukraine in Foreign Comments and Descriptions from VIth to the XXth Century* (New York: Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1953). Hennadii V. Boriak,

guidance to foreign Ucrainica, all are in one way or another deficient. Due to this lack of *hilfswissenschaftliche* attention, at present we know neither *what* is available in the foreign record nor *when* the Zaporozhian cossacks became known in central and western Europe.

The present work attempts to address both of these queries for printed accounts relating information about the Zaporozhian cossacks. The first section below provides a list of printed texts describing the lower Dnieper to 1600. The bibliography organizes and expands the stock of known foreign sources, thereby providing researchers with a new reference tool. The second section tracks the growth of European awareness of the Dnieper bands as reflected in the content of printed works. In the course of this investigation it will become clear that information about the Zaporozhian cossacks was completely unavailable in print before 1549 and remained fragmentary until the last decades of the sixteenth century.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PRINTED FOREIGN ACCOUNTS OF THE LOWER DNIEPER, 1487–1600

Though written descriptions of foreign governments seem natural to us, they were a novelty in the later fifteenth century when the first descriptions of the Dnieper appeared.[3] Among medieval genres, we find none dedicated to the ethnographic description of foreign states. State-description as an organized cultural practice finds its origins in three late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century phenomena: the rise of the early modern diplomatic system, which encouraged the collection of foreign reconnaissance; the explosion of print, which made it possible to disseminate data about parts foreign; and, finally, the emergence of a class of readers interested in the ethnography of foreign peoples and governments. Since the chronology of the formation of state-descriptive discourse is well outside the scope of this essay, suffice it to say that by the mid-sixteenth century state-description constituted a discrete cultural arena comprising several genres: the state-descriptive monograph (a work offering a synoptic view of a state); the cosmography (a work containing several reduced synoptic views under one cover); the compendium (a work republishing several state-descriptions under one cover); and the narrative

"Inozemni dzherela pro Kyjiv XIII–seredyny XVII ct.," *Ukrajin'skyi istorychnyi zhurnal* 12 (1981): 31–41.

[3] The following is drawn from Marshall T. Poe, "'Russian Despotism': the Origins and Dissemination of an Early Modern Commonplace" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1993).

relation ("news" or "historical" works offering narrative information about states). State-descriptive information had several distinctive features. It was putatively non-fiction: authors writing in this vein understood themselves to be describing, not inventing (though in fact they did much of the latter). It was by and large public: state-descriptive information was not generally part of personal correspondence, though there are exceptions, particularly in the earliest period of the discourse. Finally, state-description was political in a particular sense: the object of discussion was almost always the structure of states, resources of rule, and the activities of the powerful.

The present bibliography describes the entry of the lower Dnieper into the purview of printed state-description. Included are works sharing three characteristics:

a. They were printed between 1450—the earliest beginnings of state-description—and 1600—the time at which descriptions of the Dnieper cossacks are commonly found in all the branches of state-description.
b. They include some reference to the lower Dnieper, the traditional locus of Zaporozhian power.
c. They refer to "Rus'ians," "Ruthenians," "Cherkassians," or "Cossacks"—populations living along the lower Dnieper not likely to be Polish, Muscovite, or Tatar.

Entries are formatted as follows. Items are arranged according to the year in which they were first printed ("date + p," i.e., "year of publication"). The date of drafting is also offered where available ("date + w," i.e., "year(s) of writing"). Drafting dates are approximate in two senses. First, even where a more exact date is available in an account, only the year has been provided. Second, though some effort has been expended to date undated sources, the estimates below could easily be wide of the mark by several years. If more exact information is necessary, the date provided should be checked in the original and in secondary treatments. After the dates of printing and drafting, the author's name (with vital dates, nationality, and occupation, where known), original title, place, and date of the original edition are given. Following this, the genre of the work is given. Finally, each entry indicates whether the item is noted in the three existing treatments of early foreign accounts of "Ukraine" ("*Sbornik*," "Sichyns'kyi," or "Boriak"). Convenient modern editions of the original and translations, if available, are cited in the notes.[4]

[4] For a complete accounting of modern editions, see the relevant entries in Marshall T. Poe, *Foreign Descriptions of Muscovy. An Analytic Bibliography of Primary and Secondary Sources*

1487p;1474–1487w: Ambrogio Contarini (d. 1499; Venetian envoy), *Questo e il Viazo de misier Ambrosio Contarin ambassador de la illustrissima Signoria de Venzia al Signor Uxuncassam Re de Persia.* Venice, 1487.[5] Compendium. *Sbornik* and Boriak.

1517p;1517w: Maciej z Miechowa [Miechowita] (ca. 1457–1523; Polish scholar), *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis Asiatica et Europiana et contentis in eis.* Cracow, 1517.[6] Cosmography. Boriak.

1518p: Maciej z Miechowa [Miechowita] (ca. 1457–1523; Polish historian), *Chronica Polonorum.* Cracow, 1518.[7] Narrative. Boriak.

1519p: Albert Krantz (1448–1517; German cleric, scholar, Hansa official), *Wandalia in qua de wandalorum populis, et eorum patrio solo, ax in italiam, galliam, hispanias, aphricam, et dalmatiam, migratione: et de eorum regibus, ac bellis domi, foris que gestis.* Cologne, 1519.[8] Cosmography.

1520p;1520w: Johann Boemus (fl. 1500; German geographer), *Omnium gentium mores leges et ritus ex multus clarissimus rerum scriptoribus...* Augsburg, 1520.[9] Cosmography.

1525p;1525w: Paolo Giovio (1483–1552; Italian humanist, cleric), *Pauli Iovii Novocomensis libellus de legatione Basilij magni principis Moscoviae ad Clementem VII. Pontificem Max. in qua situs Regionis antiquis incognitus, Religio gentis, mores et causae legionis fidelissime referuntur.* Rome, 1525.[10] State-description.

(Columbus, Ohio: Slavica, 1995).

[5] Original: "Viaggio in Persia," in *Barbaro i Kontarini o Rossii. K istorii italo-russkikh sviazei v XV v.*, ed. and trans. Elena Ch. Skrzhinskaia (Leningrad: Nauka, 1971), 188–210. Translation: "Puteshestvie v Persiiu" in *Barbaro i Kontarini o Rossii,* 210–35; *Travels to Tana and Persia by Josef Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini* (New York: Franklin, 1964?), 108–173. On the lower Dnieper, see *Travels*, 111ff.

[6] Original: "Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis Asiatica," in *Traktat o dvukh Sarmatiiakh*, ed. and trans. Sergei A. Anninskii (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1936), 127–98. Translation: "Traktat o dvukh Sarmatiiakh," in *Traktat*, 45–122. On the lower Dnieper, see "Traktat," 94ff. Miechowita provides a short description of Tatar cossacks near the Don. See "Traktat," 63, 72, and 94.

[7] *Chronica Polonorum* (Cracow: Krajowa Agencja Wydawn., 1986). On the lower Dnieper, see the third book of the second section, entitled "De Sigismundi regis temporibus."

[8] On the lower Dnieper, see *Wandalia*, bk. 1, chap. 2.

[9] I was unable to obtain the original and instead have relied on an English translation: *The Manners, Lawes, and Customes of All Nations*, trans. Edward Aston (London, 1611). On the lower Dnieper, see 215ff.

[10] Original: "Pauli Jovii Novocomensis . . .," in *Biblioteka inostrannykh pisatelei o Rossii* (St. Petersburg, 1836), folio 4, 57–78. Translation: "Kniga o posol'stve, otpravlennom Vasiliem Ioannovichom k Pape Klimentu VII," in *Biblioteka inostrannykh pisatelei,* folio 4, 11–55. On the

1526p;1526w: Johann Fabri (1478–1541; German cleric), *Ad Serenissimum principem Ferdinandum Archiducem Austriae, Moscovitarum iuxa mare glaciale religio, a D. Iaonne Fabri aedita.* Basel, 1526.[11] State-description.

1530p;1529w: Willibald Pirckheimer (1470–1530; German scholar), *Germania ex variis scriptoribus perbrevis explicatio.* Nuremberg, 1530.[12] Cosmography.

1530p;1530w: Sebastian Franck (1499–1542/43; German mystic, cosmographer), *Weltbuch: spiegel und bildnisz des gantzen erdbodens von Sebastiano Franco Wordensi in vier Bücher, nemlich in Asiam, Aphricam, Europam und Americam gestelt und abteilt.* Tübingen, 1530.[13] Cosmography.

1532–1555p: Johannus Hutichius [Johann Huttich], ed. (1480–1544; German publisher?), *Orbis novus regionum et insularum veterubus incognitarum una cum tabula cosmographica et aliquot aliis consimilis argumenti libellis.* Basil, 1532.[14] Compendium.

1543p: Antonio Manucci, ed. (Italian publisher?), *Viaggi fatti da Venetia, alla Tana, in Persia, in India et in Constantinopoli.* Venice, 1543.[15] Compendium.

1543p;1488–1489w: Josaphat Barbaro (d. 1494; Venetian diplomat and merchant), "Viaggio alla Tana." In *Viaggi fatti da Venetia ...*, compiled by Antonio Manucci. Venice, 1543.[16] Compendium. Sichyns'kyi.

1543p;1524w: Albertus Campensé [Albertus Pighius] (c. 1490–1542; German, Papal official), *Lettera d'Alberto Campense che scrivo al beatissimo Padre Clemente VII intorno alle cose di Moscovia e dello stato de Moscoviti e con quanda facilita si redurrebero all ubedienza della Santa*

lower Dnieper, see "Kniga," 29–30 and 35.

[11] Original: "Moscovitarum Religio," in *Historiae Ruthenicae scriptores exteri saeculi XVI*, ed. Wojciech Starczewski, 2 vols. in 1 (Berlin and St. Petersburg, 1841–1842), vol. 1, fol. 3, 1–13. Translation: "Donesenie d. Ioanna Fabri ego vysochestvu Ferdinandu ...," *Otechestvennye zapiski* 25 (1826): 285–327 and ibid., 27 (1826): 47–67. On the lower Dnieper, see "Donesenie," 293.

[12] Original: *Opera politica, historica, philologica et epistolica* (Frankfurt, 1610; reprint, New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1969). On the lower Dnieper, see "Germania," 105–106.

[13] On the lower Dnieper, see *Weltbuch*, xxxff. and lviiff.

[14] On the lower Dnieper, see *Orbis novis*, sections from Miechowita and Giovio.

[15] On the lower Dnieper, see *Viaggi fatti*, sections from Barbaro and Contarini.

[16] Original: "Viaggio in Tana," in *Barbaro i Kontarini o Rossii*, 113–36. Translation: "Puteshestvie v Tanu," in *Barbaro i Kontarini o Rossii*, 136–85; *Travels to Tana*, 1–103. On the lower Dnieper, see "*Puteshestvie*," 117.

Chiesa Romana. Venice, 1543.[17] State-description. Sichyns'kyi and Boriak.

1544p;1544w: Sabastian Münster (1488–1552; German geographer), *Cosmographia. Beschreibung aller Lender durch Sebastianum Munsterum in welcher begriffen Aller völker Herrrschafften, Stetten, und namhafftiger flecken herkommen.* Basel, 1544.[18] Cosmography.

1549p;1517–1549w: Sigismund von Herberstein (1486–1566; German, imperial diplomat), *Rerum moscoviticarum commentarii ...* Vienna, 1549.[19] State-description. *Sbornik*, Sichyns'kyi, and Boriak.

1554p;1553w: Clement Adams (1519–1587; English author) and Richard Chancellor (d. 1556; English diplomat), "The newe Navigation and discoverie of the kingdome of Muscovia."[20] State-description.

1555p: Marcin Kromer (1512–1589; Polish bishop, historian), *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum libri XXX.* Basel, 1555.[21] Narrative.

1555p: Richard Eden, ed. (1521–1576; English translator), *The decades of the newe worlde or west India.* London, 1555.[22] Compendium.

1570p: Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598; Flemish geographer), *Theatrum orbis terrarum.* Amsterdam, 1570.[23] Cosmography.

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[17] Original: "Lettera d'Alberto Campense...," in *Biblioteka inostrannykh pisatelei,* fol. 3, 57–82. Translation: "Pis'mo Al'berta Kampenze...," in *Biblioteka inostrannykh pisatelei,* folio 3, 9–55. On the lower Dnieper, see "Pis'mo," 27.

[18] Original: *Cosmographei*, ed. Ruthardt Oehme (Basel, 1550; reprint Amsterdam: Theatrum orbis terrarum, 1968). On the lower Dnieper, see *Cosmographei*, mviff.

[19] Original Latin: *Rerum Moscoviticarum commentarii* (Basil, 1571; facs. reprint Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1964). Herberstein's 1557 German translation: *Moscovia der Hauptstadt...*, ed. Freidemann Berger (Weimar, 1975). Translation: *Notes upon Russia...*, 2 vols., trans. Richard H. Major (reprint New York: Franklin, 1963?). On the lower Dnieper, see *Notes*, 63 and 83.

[20] The original was published in Latin in 1554, but does not survive. It was later published in translation by Hakluyt: "The newe Navigation and discoverie of the kingdome of Muscovia," in *The Principall navigations, voiages and discoveries of the English nation...* (London, 1589; facs. reprint Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1965), 280–311. On the lower Dnieper, see "The newe Navigation...," 285ff.

[21] Translation: *Kronika polska,* 2 vols. (Sanok, 1857). On the lower Dnieper, see *De origine*, 909.

[22] Original: *The decades of the newe worlde...*, in *The First Three English Books on America*, ed. Edward Arber (Birmingham, 1885; reprint New York: Kraus Reprint, 1971). On the lower Dnieper, see *The decades*, sections from Münster, Herberstein, Giovio, Jenkinson, and Fabri.

[23] Original: *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, intro. Raleigh A. Skelton (Amsterdam, 1570; facs. reprint Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1964). On the lower Dnieper, see *Theatrum*, 94 v.ff.

1573p: Blaise de Vigenère (1523–1596; French translator), *La description du Royaume de Pologne*. Paris, 1573.[24] State-description. Sichyns'kyi.

1574p: Giovanni Battista Ramusio, ed. (1485–1557; Italian publisher), *Raccolto delle navigationi et viaggi.* Venice, 1550 (vol. 1), 1556 (vol. 3), 1559 (vol. 2; sec. ed. 1574).[25] Compendium.

1575p: André Thevet (1502–1592; French cosmographer), *Cosmographie universelle*. Paris, 1575.[26] Cosmography.

1577p: Marcin Kromer (1512–1589; Polish bishop, historian), *Polonia sive de situ, populis, moribus, magistratibus et Republica regni Polonici libri duo*. Cologne, 1577.[27] State-description.

1578p;1560w: Alexander Guagnini, ed. (1538?–1614; Italian mercenary in Polish service), *Sarmatiae Europeae descriptio...* Cracow, 1578.[28] Cosmography. *Sbornik* and Boriak.

1582p: Johann Pistorius, ed. (1546–1608; Polish theologian), *Polonicae historiae corpus...* Basel, 1582.[29] Compendium.

1584p: Bartosz Paprocki (1543–1614; Polish historian), *Herby Rycerstwa Polskiego*. Cracow, 1584.[30] State-description. Sichyns'kyi.

1584p: Alexander Guagnini, ed. (1538?–1614; Italian mercenary in Polish service), *Rerum Polonicarum Tomi tres*. Frankfurt, 1584.[31] Compendium.

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[24] On the lower Dnieper, see *La description*, 71ff.

[25] *Navigazioni e viaggi* (Torino: G. Einaudi, 1978–), vol. 3: 697–913. This is the second edition of the second volume (1574). It contains a complete Italian translation of Herberstein, in addition to Barbaro, Contarini, Campensé, Guagnini, Giovio, and Miechowita. See Walter Leitsch, *Berichte über den Moskauer Staat in italienischer Sprache aus dem 16. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Bohlau, 1993). This translation was printed again in the 1606 edition of the second volume; it is reproduced in Leitsch, *Berichte*.

[26] Original: *Cosmographie Muscovite par André Thevet*, ed. Augustin Galitzin (Paris, 1858). On the lower Dnieper, see *Cosmographie*, 35–36 and 67ff.

[27] Translation: *Polska, czyli o położeniu...*, ed. Roman Marchwiński (Olsztyn: Pojezierze, 1977). On the lower Dnieper, see *Polonia*, 15, 26, and 30.

[28] Original: "Omnium regionum Moschoviae descriptio," in *Historiae Ruthenicae scriptores*, vol. 1, fol. 7, 3–48. On the lower Dnieper, see "Aleksandr Gvan'ini," in *Sbornik materialov*, 12–13.

[29] On the lower Dnieper, see *Corpus*, section from Miechowita, Guagnini, Cromer, Herberstein among others.

[30] Original: *Herby rycerstva polskiego* (Cracow, 1858). On the lower Dnieper, see *Herby*, 153ff.

[31] On the lower Dnieper, see *Rerum*, 365.

1585p: Stanisław Sarnicki (ca. 1530–1594; Polish courtier), *Descriptio veteris et novae Poloniae...* Cracow, 1585.[32] State-description. *Sbornik* and Boriak.

1585p;1585w: Laurentius Müller (fl. 1580; Livonian statesman), *Polnischen / Liffländischen / Moschowiterischen / Schwedischen und anderen Historien.* Frankfurt am Main, 1585.[33] Narrative. Sichyns'kyi.

1586p: David Chytreaus (1530–1600; Livonian historian), *Vandaliae & Saxoniae Alberti Cranzii continuatio Ab anno Christi 1500... cum Preafatione Davidis Chytraei & indice.* Wittenberg, 1586.[34] Cosmography.

1586p;1586w: Antonio Possevino (1533/1534–1611; Papal diplomat), *Moscovia, s. de rebus Moscviticis et acta in conuentu legatorum regis Poloniae et Magni Ducis Moscouiae anno 1581* Vilna, 1586.[35] State-description. Boriak.

1589p: Richard Hakluyt, ed. (1552–1616; English publicist), *The Principall navigations, voiages and discoveries of the English nation...* London, 1589.[36] Compendium. Sichyns'kyi.

1591p: Giovanni Botero (1544–1617; Italian cosmographer), *Relationi Universali.* Rome, 1591.[37] Cosmography.

1591p;1589w: Giles Fletcher (1546–1611; English diplomat), *Of the Russe Commonwealth.* London, 1591.[38] State-description. Sichyns'kyi.

1595p: Gerhard Mercator (1512–1594; German geographer), *Atlas, sive cosmographicae meditationis de fabrica mundi.* Duisburg, 1595.[39] State-description.

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[32] On the lower Dnieper, see *Descriptio*, passim.

[33] On the lower Dnieper, see *Polnischen*, 77.

[34] On the lower Dnieper, see *Vandaliae*, 3ff. and 24ff.

[35] Original: "De Moscovia...," in *Historiae Ruthenicae scriptores*, vol. 2: fol. 19, 273–365. Translation: *The Moscovia of Antonio Possevino, SJ.*, trans. Hugh Graham (Pittsburgh: University Center for International Studies, University of Pittsburg, 1977). On the lower Dnieper, see *The Moscovia*, 38.

[36] *The Principall navigations.* On the lower Dnieper, see *The Principall navigations*, sections including Turberville, Jenkinson, Horsey, and Adams/Chancellor.

[37] The original was unavailable. I used a contemporary translation: *The Travellers breviat, or an historicall description of the most famous kingdoms* (London, 1601; facs. reprint, Amsterdam: Theatrum orbis terrarum, 1969), 77ff.

[38] Original: "Of the Russe Commonwealth," in *The English Works of Giles Fletcher, the Elder*, ed. Lloyd E. Berry (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), 135–308. On the lower Dnieper, see "Of the Russe Commonwealth," 173, 177, 235, and 255.

[39] Original: *Atlas, sive cosmographicae meditationis de fabrica mundi...* (Duisburg, 1595; facs. reprint Brussels: Cultures et civilisation, 1963). On the lower Dnieper, see *Atlas*,

1595p;1579w: Marcin Broniowski [Martin Broniovius] (fl. 1595–1624; Polish diplomat), *Martini Broniovii de Biezdzfedea, bis in Tartariam nomine Stephani primi Poloniae regis legati, Tartariae descriptio. Cum Tabula geographica.* Cologne, 1595.[40] State-description.

1597p;1574w: Joachim Bielski (1540–1599; Polish historian) and Marcin Bielski (1495–1575; Polish historian), "O Kazakach" in *Kronika polska Marcina Bielskiego.* Cracow, 1597.[41] State-description.

1600p: Anon., ed. (German?), *Rerum Moscoviticarum auctores varii: unum in corpus nunc primum congesti. Quibus et gentis Historia continetur. Et regionum accurata descriptio.* Frankfurt, 1600.[42] Compendium.

A total of thirty-eight printed accounts are listed here, twenty-two of which were not catalogued by *Sbornik*, Sichyns'kyi, or Boriak. The list is not complete: one item cited by Sichyns'kyi has been omitted because it was not available at the time of writing,[43] and four other printed items that likely contain information about the lower Dnieper were similarly omitted due to unavailability.[44] Furthermore, though many sixteenth-century accounts were investigated that contained no relevant information, surely some works which relate significant material were missed. Later research will certainly reveal new accounts to add to the list. Let us now turn to the content of the printed accounts and to the emergence of the Dnieper cossacks within them.

commentaries on map 25ff.

[40] On the lower Dnieper, see *Martini Broniovii*, 2ff.

[41] Original: *Kronika polska...*, ed. Kazimierz J. Turowski (Sanok, 1856). Translation: "Concerning the Cossacks," in *Habsburgs and Zaporozhian Cossacks: The Diary of Erich Lassota von Stablau, 1594*, ed. Lubomyr R. Wynar and trans. Orest Subtelny (Littleton, Colorado: Ukrainian Academic Press, 1975), 112–14. On the lower Dnieper, see "Concerning the Cossacks," passim.

[42] On the lower Dnieper, see *Rerum Moscoviticarum*, sections from Herberstein, Giovio, Fabri, Adams/Chancellor, and Miechowita.

[43] Henry Austel (English traveler), *The Voyage of Master Henry Austel by Venice and Thence to Ragusa over Land, to Constantinople: and from thence by Moldavia, Polonia, Silezia and Germanie to Hamburg* (London?, 1586).

[44] Micheal Neander (1525–1595; German scholar), *Orbis Terrae partium succincta expilicatio...* (Leipzig, 1586); Heinrich Rätel (ca. 1590–1603; German theologian), *Newe Zeitung oder kurtzer Discurs, von den jetzigen Zustand in der gantzen Welt, und was endtlich darauff erfolgen werde* (Görlitz, 1591); Adam Henricpetri (1543–1586; German historian, publisher), *General-Historiaen. Der aller namhafftigsten unnd fürnemhsten Geschichten, Thaten und Handlungen...* (Basel, 1593); Johann Rauw (d. 1600; German theologian), *Cosmographia, das ist: Eine schöne, richtige und volkomliche beschreibung dess göttlichen geschopffs, himmels und erden...* (Frankfurt, 1597).

THE APPEARANCE OF THE DNIEPER COSSACKS IN PRINTED STATE-DESCRIPTION

An analysis of the content of the thirty-eight printed accounts mentioning the lower Dnieper and its inhabitants clearly reflects both the rise of Zaporozhian cossacks and the growth of Western awareness of them over the course of the sixteenth century. Table 1 opposite indicates characteristics of printed descriptions of the lower Dnieper. The characteristics are as follows:

R = Mentions "Rus'ians" and/or "Rus'"
D = Mentions the lower Dnieper/Borysthenes
T = Mentions Rus'ian towns including or below Cherkasy
M = Mentions independent Rus'ian military forces below Cherkasy
Ch = Mentions "Cherkassians"
Co = Mentions Dnieper "Cossacks"

In addition, the table provides information about the generic type and titular subject. For example, "[SD; Musc.]" indicates that a work is a state description chiefly about Muscovy. In the case of cosmographies, the subject of the sub-section in which passages about the lower Dnieper appear have been listed, so that "[cosm; Russia]" indicates a mention of the lower Dnieper occurring in a section concerning "Russia." Finally, the table provides a rough approximation of the number of sixteenth-century printings (including the first) and the languages in which they appeared.

Table 1: The Content of Printed Descriptions of the Lower Dnieper to 1600

Accounts	R.	D.	T.	M.	Ch.	Co.	16th-c. Printings
1487p; 1474–87w: Contarini [SD; Tana]	x	x	x				9It.
1517p;1517w: Miechowita [Cosm; Russ.]	x	x					11Lat.; 3Ger.; 6It.; 1Dut.
1518p: Miechowita [Narr; Pol.]	x	x					3Lat.
1519p: Krantz [Cosm; Russ?]	x	x					3Lat.
1520p; 1520w: Boemus [Cosm; Russ.]	x	x					4Lat.; 10Fr.; 10It.; 1Sp.; 2Eng.; 1Ger.
1525p;1525w: Giovio [SD; Musc.]	x	x					10Lat.; 4It.; 3Ger.; 2Eng.
1526p; 1526w: Fabri [SD; Musc.]	x	x					3Lat.
1530p; 1529w: Pirckheimer [Cosm; Russ.]	x	x					2Lat.
1530p;1530w: Franck [Cosm; Russ.]	x	x					3Ger.; 4Dut.
1532–55p: Hutichius [Comp; New World]	x	x					1Lat.; 2Ger.
1543p: Manucci [Comp; Tana]	x	x	x				2It.
1543p; 1524w: Campensé [SD; Musc.]	x	x					6It.
1543p;1488–89w: Barbaro [SD; Tana]	x	x					7It.
1544p;1544w: Münster [Cosm; Russ.]	x	x					5Lat.; 21Ger (–1628); 6Fr.; 3 It.; 1Cz.
1549p;1517–49w: Herberstein [SD; Musc.]	x	x	x	x	x		8Lat.; 7Ger.; 5It.; 1Pol.; 2Eng.
1554p; 1553w: Chancellor [SD; Musc.]	x	x					3Eng.
1555p: Eden [Comp; New World]	x	x					2Eng.
1555p: Kromer [Narr.; Pol.]	x	x					4Lat.; 1Ger.
1570p: Ortelius [Cosm; Russ.]	x	x	x				16Lat.; 2Ger.; 3Fr.; 1Sp.; 1Dut.
1573p: Vigenère [SD; Pol.]	x	x	x				1Fr.
1574p: Ramusio [Comp; New World]	x	x	x	x	x		4It.
1575p: Thevet [Cosm; Lith.]	x	x	x	x	x		1Fr.
1577p: Kromer [SD; Pol.]	x	x	x	x			5Lat.
1578p;1560w: Guagnini [Cosm; Lith.]	x	x	x	x	x		4Lat.; 1It.; 1Ger.
1582p: Pistorius [Comp; Pol.]	x	x	x	x		x	1Lat.
1584p: Guagnini [Narr.; Pol.]	x	x	x	x		x	1Lat.
1584p: Paprocki [SD; Pol.]	x	x	x	x		x	1Lat.
1585p: Sarnicki [SD; Lith.]	x	x	x	x		x	2Lat.
1586p: Chytreaus [Cosm.; Russ.]	x	x	x		x		2Lat.
1585p: Müller [Narr.; Pol.]	x	x	x	x	x		2Ger.
1586p;1586w: Possevino [SD; Musc.]	x	x	x	x		x	4Lat.;2It.
1589p: Hakluyt [Comp; New World]	x	x	x	x	x	x	2Eng.
1591p: Botero [Cosm; Pol.]	x	x	x	x		x	27It.; 3Ger.; 1Lat.
1591p;1589w: Fletcher [SD; Musc.]	x	x	x	x	x		1Eng.
1595p: Mercator [Cosm; Russ.]	x	x	x				1Lat.
1595p; 1579w: Broniowski [SD; Tatar.]	x	x	x	x		x	2Lat.
1597p; 1574w: Bielski [SD; Pol.]	x	x	x	x		x	1Lat.
1600p: *Rerum* [Comp; Musc.]	x	x	x	x		x	1Lat.

Total = 38

The most obvious conclusion to be drawn from this table is that beginning in the last quarter of the century, reference to the cossacks became a regular part of new printed accounts of the lower Dnieper. This corresponds neatly with what we know from other sources about the rise of the Zaporozhian Sich and its entry into eastern European politics, for it was only in the last decades of the century that the cossacks became a powerful force demanding the attention of the Ottomans, the Commonwealth, Muscovy, and the Papacy, as this brief chronology indicates.

Table 2: The Entry of the Zaporozhian Cossacks into European Diplomacy

Date	Event
1527:	Polish attempt registration (unsuccessful)
1541:	Polish attempt registration (unsuccessful)
1552–58:	Sich at Mala Khortytsia
1564–93:	Sich at Tomkivka
1569:	Polish movement into the steppe after Lublin, 1569
1572:	Polish attempt registration
1578:	Polish attempt registration
1583:	Zaporozhian cossacks submit a project to the Vatican for anti-Turkish action
1591:	First anti-Polish rebellion by the registered cossacks
1593:	Vatican sends envoy to the Zaporozhian cossacks
1593:	Sich at Bazavluk
1594:	Cossack alliance with the Habsburgs and Vatican against the Turks
1595:	Second anti-Polish rebellion by the registered cossacks (with the Zaporozhian Sich)

We can divide the emergence of the Dnieper cossacks in Western print into three stages. In the first stage, from 1487 to 1549, knowledge of the lower Dnieper was largely dependent on classical geography. Authors offer no details about the region beyond the fact that the Borysthenes runs through it and Rus'ians or Roxolanians inhabit it. It is interesting to note that Miechowita, a Pole undoubtedly well acquainted with the Dnieper bands, fails to mention cossacks. The reasons are political as well as conceptual: he perhaps refuses to acknowledge them as anything other than Rus'ians subject to Lithuania, and he may be unable to understand them as anything else. In the second stage, from the publication of Herberstein's account of Muscovy in 1549 to the 1570s, information is added to descriptions of the Dnieper about Cherkasy and towns below it, and the presence of Rus'ian cavalry on the steppe. Herberstein's account of the Dnieper cossacks was probably written in 1518,

after his return from the first of two embassies to Muscovy. How was he able to describe what Miechowita could not? The answer may have to do with the fact that he was an outsider: his perception was fettered neither by a commitment to Lithuania nor by the idea of a unitary Rus' nationality. He saw things along the Dnieper from the Muscovite perspective, not the Polish. The proof of this is that he uses the Muscovite term for the Dnieper cossacks—*cherkassy*. In the final stage in the emergence of the Zaporozhian cossacks in Western print, from the 1570s to the end of the century (i.e., the decades in which the cossacks became an active force in eastern European international politics), we note the appearance of cossack military forces per se in the writings of foreigners. State-descriptions, narratives, and cosmographies alike describe the cossacks as independent warriors living along the lower Dnieper.

Having said this, we should not imagine that Western knowledge of the cossacks was widespread, for Table 1 demonstrates only that more exact descriptions of the lower Dnieper were available in the last decades of the sixteenth century. A closer look at the data shows that information about the cossacks, though becoming more exact and more accessible, was quite limited throughout the century and even in its last quarter. The number of works containing descriptions of the lower Dnieper (if not explicit mentions of "cossacks") increases over the century.

Table 3: New Printed Works Containing Descriptions of the Lower Dnieper to 1600

Period	Number of Works
To 1525	6
1526–1550	9
1551–1575	7
1576–1600	16

If we turn to reprints of texts containing Dnieper accounts (see "Sixteenth-Century Printings" in Table 1 above), this impression is further supported. Herberstein, who offers an excellent description of the lower Dnieper, was continually reprinted throughout the century, spreading news of the cossacks far and wide. However, if one compares the actual number of Dnieper accounts to the universe of printed texts that might have legitimately included information about the Dnieper—any description of Poland-Lithuania, Muscovy, or Tataria—then it becomes clear that the region was only on the distant margins of Western consciousness. Table 4 offers a comparison of the

number of lower Dnieper accounts with the number of printed accounts of Muscovy.[45]

Table 4: Printed Texts Including Information about Muscovy vs. the Lower Dnieper to 1600

Type	Muscovy	Dnieper
State Description:	18	15
Cosmography:	27	12
Narrative:	130	4
Compendia:	11	7
Totals:	186	38

It should be stressed that these figures are only approximate: both totals will expand as new texts are discovered and investigated. Yet even granting this, it seems clear that the Western press paid relatively little attention to the lower Dnieper.

Moreover, though descriptions of the Dnieper's inhabitants became more sophisticated as the century passed, they remained quite indistinct throughout it. This is indicated by the fact that all descriptions of the cossacks, even most detailed, appear *en passant.* In the sixteenth century there were no discrete descriptive monographs concerning the lower Dnieper cossacks; no cosmography devoted a separate chapter to them; no narratives were dedicated solely to their activities. They are described *only* in works and sections of works devoted to other subjects, as we see in Table 5.

Table 5: The Titular Subject of Printed Items including Descriptions of the Lower Dnieper to 1600

Titular Subject	Printing Dates (Total)
Tana:	1487, 1543, 1543 (3)
Russia:	1517, 1519, 1520, 1530, 1530, 1544, 1570, 1586, 1595 (9)
Muscovy:	1525, 1526, 1543, 1549, 1554, 1586, 1591, 1600 (8)
Discoveries:	1532–55, 1550–59, 1555 (3)
Poland:	1518, 1555, 1573, 1577, 1582, 1584, 1584, 1585, 1591, 1597 (10)
Lithuania:	1575, 1578, 1585, 1589 (4)
Tataria:	1595 (1)

[45] The figures on printed Moscovitica are drawn from Poe, *Foreign Descriptions of Muscovy*.

Most writers over the entire period recognized that the lower Dnieper was located in the southern part of "Russia," and that this part of "Russia" was under the administrative control of Poland and/or Lithuania. Only toward the end of the century do we find any hint that the cossacks were an independent territorial power, and, as such, deserved separate treatment in state-descriptive writing. The best, and exceptional, example is Marcin Bielski, who as early as 1574 broke his narrative of Polish affairs to offer readers a state-descriptive subsection entitled "Concerning the Cossacks." Bielski's attention to and knowledge of the cossacks can perhaps be explained by the fact that he was the nephew of a cossack elder. No other sixteenth-century author to my knowledge devoted a distinct printed passage with appropriate header to the cossack bands on the lower Dnieper.

Finally, detailed knowledge of the lower Dnieper and cossacks was largely confined to eastern and central Europe. Authors of printed accounts of the Dnieper were usually German or Polish for obvious reasons. Italians associated with the Persian trade or the Papal campaign against the Turks also commented on the Dnieper with some frequency. English and French authors begin to describe the lower Dnieper only in the later part of the century, and their offerings are altogether meager. Table 6 breaks down the printed Dnieper accounts by the nationality of their authors.

Table 6: The Nationality of Authors of Printed Accounts of the Lower Dnieper to 1600

Nationality	Printing Dates (Total)
Italian:	1487, 1525, 1543, 1543, 1550, 1586, 1591 (7)
Polish:	1517, 1518, 1555, 1577, 1578, 1582, 1584, 1584, 1585, 1595, 1597 (11)
German:	1519, 1520, 1526, 1530, 1530, 1532, 1543, 1544, 1549, 1570, 1585, 1586, 1595, 1600 (14)
English:	1554, 1555, 1589, 1591 (4)
French:	1573, 1575 (2)

If we analyze the place of publication of first editions, we see a similar, if a bit more dispersed, pattern: the vast majority of lower Dnieper accounts were printed in central and eastern Europe. Table 7 demonstrates this:

Table 7: Place of Publication of First Editions of Printed Accounts of the Lower Dnieper to 1600

Place	Printing Dates (Total)
Venice:	1487, 1543, 1543, 1543, 1550 (5)
Cracow:	1517, 1518, 1578, 1584, 1585, 1597 (6)
Cologne:	1519, 1577, 1595 (3)
Augsburg:	1520 (1)
Rome:	1525, 1591 (2)
Basel:	1526, 1532, 1544, 1544, 1582 (5)
Nuremberg:	1530 (1)
Tübingen:	1530 (1)
London:	1554, 1555, 1589, 1591 (4)
Vienna:	1549 (1)
Amsterdam:	1570 (1)
Paris:	1573, 1575 (2)
Frankfurt:	1584, 1585, 1600 (3)
Wittenberg:	1586 (1)
Vilnius:	1586 (1)
Duisburg:	1595 (1)

CONCLUSION

Though it is clear from the writings of foreigners such as Herberstein that cossack bands were active in the lower Dnieper region in the first half of the sixteenth century, their existence remained unknown to all but the best-informed eastern European statesmen until the last quarter of the century. Even the likes of Sebastian Münster, whose massive cosmography of 1544 described the whole of the known world, and who had read Miechowita, was able to ignore completely the cossacks in his description of the lower Dnieper.[46] As the cossacks grew in power, they drew the attention of the great states involved in steppe affairs. This in turn raised the profile of the cossacks in Western printed state-description, and beginning in the 1570s we begin to see the cossacks mentioned with increasing frequency in foreign descriptions of the lower Dnieper. However, even near the end of the century the place of the cossacks among the peoples of the steppe was not universally acknowledged or accepted. François Belleforest's much expanded French edition of Münster (*La cosmographie universelle de nations du monde...* [Paris, 1575]) does not mention the Dnieper cossacks. Similarly, an expanded *Cosmographei* printed in Basel in 1598 contains no reference to the cossacks. Many other examples

[46] He cites Miechowita. See Münster, *Cosmographei*, mxxxiii–iv.

of neglect could be cited. It seems that knowledge of the Dnieper cossacks became truly widespread only after the Muscovite wars of the early seventeenth century. The cossacks played a major part in these conflicts, and this fact was well transmitted through European print. For example, Jacques Margeret's *Estat de l'Empire de Russie et Grand Duché de Muscovie* (Paris, 1607) contains a wealth of information about the Dnieper cossacks.[47] Further investigation of foreign accounts of the Dnieper between 1600 and the publication of Beauplan's influential description of Ukraine in 1651 would likely show that descriptions of the cossacks became standard in Western state-descriptive writing precisely in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, but this is obviously a subject for later research.[48]

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[47] *The Russian Empire and the Grand Duchy of Muscovy*, trans. and ed. Chester S. L. Dunning (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1983), 19, 47, 49, and 71.

[48] The first edition is *Description des contrées du royaume de Pologne...* (Rouen, 1651). A much expanded and more widely printed second edition is *Description d' Ukranie, qui sont plusieurs Provinces du Royaume de Pologne* (Rouen, 1660). The best modern edition is *A Description of Ukraine*, trans. and ed. Andrew B. Pernal and Dennis F. Essar (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).

"The Blessed Sil'vestr" and the Politics of Invention in Muscovy, 1545–1700

CAROLYN JOHNSTON POUNCY

> At that time [1553], in the Annunciation Church, the one in front of the tsar's palace, served a certain priest named Sil'vestr, a Novgorodian by birth. This priest Sil'vestr was in great favor with the tsar and gave him counsel, both spiritual and political. He was all-powerful: everyone listened to him; no one ridiculed him or opposed him in anything because he enjoyed the tsar's favor. He gave orders to the metropolitan, the bishops, the archimandrites, the hegumens, the monks, the priests, the boyars, the state secretaries, the chancery personnel, the military governors, the "boyars' sons," and all the people. To put it simply, he governed everything in both the ecclesiastical and the royal realms.
>
> —Interpolation in *Tsarstvennaia kniga*

This interpolation to *Tsarstvennaia kniga*, one of the official chronicles of the Muscovite court, is the earliest statement of what A. N. Grobovsky dubbed "the myth" of the priest Sil'vestr, supposedly Ivan IV the Terrible's confessor during the "good years" before that irascible monarch (1533–1584) divided his country and instituted the reign of terror he called the *oprichnina*.[1] Often encountered in popular historical writing, this interpretation has also influenced scholars studying Ivan the Terrible's reign.[2] Other historians have

[1] A. N. Grobovsky, *Ivan Groznyi i Sil'vestr (Istoriia odnogo mifa)*, trans. into Russian by Izrail' and Irina Rabinovich (London: Multilingual Printing Services, 1987). A typical popularization, in which the story is treated as evidence, is Henri Troyat, *Ivan the Terrible*, trans. Joan Pinckham (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1984), 41–42. It is also, however, found in textbooks [see, for example, Janet Martin's otherwise excellent and much-needed synthesis, *Medieval Russia, 980–1584* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 342], and even in academic monographs on Russian medieval history, such as R. G. Skrynnikov, *Ivan the Terrible*, ed. and trans. Hugh Graham (Gulf Breeze, FL: Academic International Press, 1981), 40–41; Skrynnikov notes that the source is unreliable yet nonetheless treats the story as fact.

[2] Grobovsky's *Ivan Groznyi* is essentially a full review and criticism of the Sil'vestr myth, and readers interested in all the historiographical ins and outs are referred to this work, and also to his *The "Chosen Council" of Ivan IV: A Reinterpretation* (New York: Theo

been more skeptical.[3] But while both the acceptance and the rejection of the Sil'vestr myth address important issues such as the distribution of power in Ivan the Terrible's court and the composition of the unquestionably reform-minded government of the 1550s, both also focus almost exclusively on Sil'vestr's relationship, or lack thereof, with Ivan the Terrible. Even Grobovsky says explicitly that he is not interested in Sil'vestr as an individual, but only in the development of the Sil'vestr myth.[4] Because of this, although he notes that certain sources are tendentious and unreliable, he does not ask which ones may be considered relatively trustworthy, nor does he examine the tale they tell.

But in fact, Sil'vestr is a most interesting character in and of himself, as well as a representative of a group—the elite Muscovite clergy—about whom little information is available. Precisely because of the legend that has surrounded him, numerous scraps of data about him have been mined from the archives; we even have some indications as to what he thought about various issues of the day. If such information exists about other clerics, it remains buried in unstudied sources, awaiting a researcher inspired to hunt for it. Furthermore, Sil'vestr fathered a son, Anfim, who became a high-level bureaucrat in Ivan the Terrible's administration, first in the Royal Treasury, then in the Foreign Office; Anfim also participated in international commerce, as Sil'vestr too seems to have done. In their search for the all-powerful

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Gaus's Sons, 1969), which performs a similar survey of the historiography on the "Chosen Council" that Sil'vestr allegedly led. Some highlights of the developing story include N. M. Karamzin, *Istoriia gosudarstva rossiiskogo*, 8 (St. Petersburg, 1817), 76—the first flowering, as it were, of the myth; D. P. Golokhvastov and archimandrite Leonid, "Blagoveshchenskii ierei Sil'vestr i ego pisaniia," *Chteniia v Imperatorskom Obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh* [*Chteniia OIDR*], 1874 (1): 1–110—the first detailed examination of Sil'vestr and his work (in which, however, the authors treat any source that can possibly be linked to Sil'vestr as grist for their biographical mill); and A. A. Zimin's chapter on Sil'vestr in *I. S. Peresvetov i ego sovremenniki* (Moscow, 1957), 41–70, which incorporates much new archival information but relies excessively on chains of association for its arguments.

[3] The skeptical view, first expressed by Soviet scholar I. I. Smirnov [*Ocherki politicheskoi istorii russkogo gosudarstva 30–50kh godov XVI v.* (Moscow, 1958)], has been gaining support in the last thirty years. S. B. Veselovskii, in his *Issledovaniia po istorii oprichniny* (Moscow, 1963), questions traditional views of Sil'vestr's participation in government; Grobovsky, as mentioned above, also doubts Sil'vestr's involvement. Other examples may be found in Nancy Shields Kollmann, *Kinship and Politics: The Making of the Muscovite Political System, 1345–1547* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), 179–80; Jack E. Kollmann, "The Moscow *Stoglav* ('Hundred Chapters') Church Council of 1551," 2 vols. (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1978); Daniel Rowland, "Did Muscovite Literary Ideology Place Limits on the Power of the Tsar (1540s–1660s)?" *Russian Review* 49 (1990): 125–55 (discussion of Sil'vestr on pp. 147–49); and the works of Edward L. Keenan.

[4] *Ivan Groznyi*, vi.

Sil'vestr, researchers have gathered data about Anfim as well, thus permitting us a glimpse of two other little-known groups: Muscovite government servitors and elite merchants in the middle of the sixteenth century.

In undertaking this task I will not say much about how Muscovite politics functioned,[5] because Muscovite politics turns out to be largely irrelevant to Sil'vestr's life—although the continuing presence of the view that Sil'vestr singlehandedly created a reformist climate during the 1550s, so that his ouster from power in 1560 set the stage for the ensuing terror, suggests that the more skeptical interpretation has yet to take hold. I will suggest one possible path by which the Sil'vestr myth developed, one that differs from Grobovsky's because I evaluate the source base somewhat differently. But this is, first and foremost, a source study: an attempt to reconstruct the biographies of two people whose true value as representatives of the social groups to which they belonged has for too long been obscured.

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Because I argue that the traditional view of Sil'vestr as all-powerful depends largely on tendentious sources, I will begin by distinguishing among documents of different types. (Except for icons and murals the painting of which he supervised, pictures designed and approved by Metropolitan Makarii of Moscow [1542–1563] and therefore not truly evidence of Sil'vestr's own views on art, all information about Sil'vestr is in documents.) To avoid adopting others' preconceptions during my reexamination of Sil'vestr's life, I privilege those sources that the novelist Josephine Tey called "account books"—that is, information recorded more or less at the same time as the events it describes and not intended to influence future perception of those

[5] General studies of Muscovite politics in action include Edward L. Keenan, "Muscovite Political Folkways," *Russian Review* 45 (1986): 115–81; and Donald Ostrowski, "The Mongol Origins of Muscovite Political Institutions," *Slavic Review* 49 (1990): 525–42. Kollmann, *Kinship and Politics*, looks at the Muscovite political system as it developed from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. On the sixteenth century in particular, see the works of Ann M. Kleimola, such as "Patterns of Duma Recruitment," in *Essays in Honor of A. A. Zimin* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1985); and for a review of the reforms of the 1550s that does not involve Sil'vestr, see Robert O. Crummey, "Reform under Ivan IV: Gradualism and Terror," in his edited volume *Reform in Russia and the U.S.S.R.: Past and Prospects* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 12–27. Crummey also discusses the political situation in the seventeenth century in his *Aristocrats and Servitors: The Boyar Elite of Russia, 1613–1689* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983); Gustave Alef, *Rulers and Nobles in Fifteenth-Century Muscovy* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1983) explores various issues affecting the fifteenth-century nobility. As Kollmann notes (pp. 5–6), politics in Muscovy concerned only the royal dynasty and the nobility, with the bureaucracy serving as their executive arm.

events, such as notations in account books and gifts registers, inscriptions in books, accounts of legal proceedings, tax rolls, and the like.[6] Such sources, provided they are genuine, also tend to be authentic and reliable; usually the compilers have little to gain from deliberately falsifying information, although they may make mistakes. The kind of falsification that does occur, moreover, is usually predictable; for example, people may understate their incomes to reduce their taxes.

Another level of reliability occurs in letters, memoirs, petitions, and chronicle accounts contemporary with the events being studied. Here events are typically presented in ways designed to serve a purpose; that is, a selection and interpretation process is part of the act of writing. Information that the historian might consider important may be deliberately or unconsciously excluded in order to serve the writer's aims; these aims, however, do reveal the views of people who lived at the time when the events occurred; they form part of the social background, as it were. For that reason, I treat contemporary chronicle accounts and Sil'vestr's letters and petitions as important and generally accurate sources on his life, with the caveat that some of the information may be slanted toward one or another political, ideological, or purely personal viewpoint. Where information in contemporary accounts conflicts with that given in later accounts of the same type, I favor the former over the latter. (For example, a 1550s chronicle is presumed to be more accurate, or at least more typical of the climate of the times, than a 1640s entry that contradicts it.)

A third group of sources on Sil'vestr, although it includes most of the best-known works—the interpolations to *Tsarstvennaia kniga*, particularly but not only the one quoted in the epigraph; the "Correspondence" attributed to Prince A. M. Kurbskii and Tsar Ivan IV; the *History of the Grand Prince of Moscow [Ivan IV]* [Istoriia o velikom kniaze Moskovskom], also attributed to Prince A. M. Kurbskii; and several chronicle accounts set down anywhere from sixty-five to one hundred years after Sil'vestr's retirement from Moscow—presents significant problems. Other historians have shown that each of these sources, taken individually, has either dubious antecedents, a demonstrably tendentious purpose, or no claim to be eyewitness testimony because of the long delay between the events and the time of their recording.[7] They will not

[6] *The Daughter of Time* (New York: Macmillan, 1951), 88.

[7] For examples, see notes 73, 82, and 85. S. B. Veselovskii, in particular *Issledovaniia po istorii oprichniny*, 288–91, argues that the interpolations are fictional, and therefore cannot be used as evidence of events surrounding Ivan's illness in March 1553. On the history of various chronicle manuscripts from the Muscovite period, see A. A. Zimin, *Russkie letopisi i khronografy kontsa XV–XVI vv.* (Moscow, 1960; repr. The Hague: Mouton, 1969); David B. Miller, "Official History in the Reign of Ivan Groznyi and Its Seventeenth-

be used in this biography of Sil'vestr except in the final brief overview of the growth and development of the Sil'vestr myth during the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries.

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Biographical information on Sil'vestr appears most often in inscriptions in books he donated to churches and monasteries. These inscriptions chart the course of Sil'vestr's career and to some extent reveal his interests. In the year 7054 (1545/1546), for example, when Sil'vestr gave a service book (*Oktoikh*) to "the Aleksandrov hermitage" and asked the monks to pray for him, his son Anfim, and their relatives, he already lived in Moscow, where he served as one of many priests in the Annunciation Cathedral next to the royal palace in the Kremlin.[8]

As the tsar's private chapel, the Annunciation Cathedral had much to offer an ambitious cleric: the archpriest of the cathedral (which Sil'vestr never was) served as the tsar's personal confessor; even a secondary figure like Sil'vestr could expect to make valuable connections and to be recognized, at least, by the sovereign and his family. In the mid-sixteenth century, the metropolitan and the most influential boyars still lived in the Kremlin; like the tsar and his family, many of these powerful figures attended the Annunciation Cathedral. Sil'vestr, however, had either limited ambition or indifferent success: to the end of his career, he remained an ordinary priest, albeit one in an extraordinarily privileged post.[9]

Because of his station in life, Sil'vestr's name rarely found its way into chronicles or other official sources. He did participate peripherally in the 1551 Church Council known as the *Stoglav*: former Metropolitan Ioasaf, hegumen of the Trinity-St. Sergius Monastery, asked Sil'vestr and a monk named Gerasim Lenkov to relay the monks' comments to Moscow. On that basis

Century Imitators," *Russian History* 14 (1987): 333–60; and B. M. Kloss, *Nikonovskii svod i russkie letopisi XVI–XVII vekov* (Moscow, 1980).

[8] Russian State (formerly Lenin) Library [RGB], Tikhonr., no. 629, l. 2 ob. "Leta 7054 dal v dom sviatei zhivonachal'nei troitsi vo Aleksandrovu pustyniu sviatuiu siu knigu blagoveshchenskoi pop Selivestr i syn ego Anfim v vechnoi pominok po sebe i po svoikh roditelekh." Description taken from Zimin, *Peresvetov*, 59.

[9] As an Orthodox priest, Sil'vestr was married, which limited his advancement. (All Orthodox hierarchs are drawn from the celibate clergy.) He could, however, have been appointed archpriest, either of the Annunciation or another cathedral in Moscow. He was not. Thus an important part of the Sil'vestr legend, that he served as the tsar's confessor (a position traditionally held by the archpriest of the Annunciation Cathedral), has no basis in fact [noted by, among others, J. L. I. Fennell, ed., in *Prince A. M. Kurbsky's History of Ivan IV* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 133].

alone, Sil'vestr has received credit for authorship of the entire *Stoglav* code, but the code itself describes him solely as a messenger.[10]

In 1551/1552 Sil'vestr and Anfim gave several books to the Solovetskii Monastery on the White Sea.[11] These standard religious works reveal little about Sil'vestr beyond the general orthodoxy of his tastes. The gift may also indicate that he felt a special connection to the Solovetskii Monastery—or it may not, as he gave books to various monasteries at different times.

In the spring of 1553,[12] Sil'vestr wrote a letter to Prince Aleksandr Borisovich Gorbatyi-Shuiskii [or Suzdal'skii], one of the generals who masterminded the 1552 conquest of Kazan'.[13] In 1553 Gorbatyi's success during the Kazan' campaign had won him the job of pacifying the surrounding countryside while setting up the royal administration in the newly conquered territory. Seeking help with this difficult task, Prince Aleksandr Borisovich wrote to Sil'vestr, his father-confessor in Moscow.

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[10] *Stoglav*, ed. D. E. Kozhanchikov (St. Petersburg, 1863), repr. with an introduction by W. F. Ryan (Letchworth, Herts.: Bradda Books, 1971), 277. On the *Stoglav*, see Jack Edward Kollmann, "Moscow *Stoglav*," and idem, "The *Stoglav* Council and Parish Priests," *Russian History* 7 (1980): 65–91. Kollmann argues that Sil'vestr's role in creating the *Stoglav* code was minimal.

[11] Sil'vestr is sometimes thought to have given six books to the monastery at this time, but only four of his donations actually contain the date 7060 (1551/1552): a *Gospel* [Evangelie] (Russian National [formerly Saltykov-Shchedrin] Library [RNB], Solov. 48/130); Theophilactus the Bulgarian's *Commentary on the Gospels of Matthew and Mark* [Tolkovanie na evangelii Matveia i Marka] (RNB, Solov. 139/159); a *Zlatostrui* (RNB, Solov. 182/259; a collection of sermons by or attributed to St. John Chrysostom); and a *Commentary on the Psalter* [Tolkovanie na psaltyr'] (RNB, Solov. 133/1039). All, with their inscriptions, are listed in *Opisanie rukopisei Solovetskogo monastyria, nakhodiashchikhsia v biblioteke Kazanskoi dukhovnoi akademii* (Kazan, 1881), 63, 165, 267, and 146–52, respectively; in each case the inscription is on the inside front cover or the first folio page.

[12] Several details in the letter allow it to be dated with precision. Sil'vestr mentions the baptisms of Tsars [that is, Khans] Aleksandr (8 January 1553) and Simeon Kasaevich (26 February 1553), so he wrote no earlier than March 1553. In April 1553, according to the military service registers, Ivan IV sent a new detachment of boyars to Kazan (*Razriadnaia kniga, 1475–1598*, ed. V. I. Buganov [Moscow, 1966; henceforth *RK*], 144), so the letter probably dates from March 1553. He cannot, however, have written later than June 1553, because he also refers to "Tsar and Grand Prince Ivan Vasil'evich... and... his tsaritsa, Grand Princess Anastasiia, and... their God-given child"; Prince Dmitrii, Ivan's only living child at that time, died in June 1553.

[13] Gorbatyi-Shuiskii remained an important military and political figure until his execution in February 1565. In part because his execution followed so quickly on the institution of the *oprichnina* (January 1565), R. G. Skrynnikov has argued that Gorbatyi and other Suzdal' princes were Ivan's original targets. For a summary of Skrynnikov's views, see "An Overview of the Reign of Ivan IV: What Was the *Oprichnina*?" *Soviet Studies in History* 24 (1985): 62–82. For the original research, see *Nachalo oprichniny* (Leningrad, 1966) and *Oprichnyi terror* (Leningrad, 1969).

Gorbatyi-Shuiskii's letter has not survived. A copy of Sil′vestr's answer, signed but not dated, exists in a sixteenth-century collection that also includes several instructional letters from Metropolitans Fotii (1408–1431) and Daniil (1521–1539), an unsigned letter to Tsar Ivan Vasil′evich, and another unsigned letter to an unnamed unfortunate who has been exiled "to distant lands" and whose property has been confiscated.[14] The collection—written in a single hand, a beautiful sixteenth-century semi-uncial—is still bound in its original wood and leather cover.

In the letter, Sil′vestr shows that he hears what goes on at court. He has seen "from faraway" Gorbatyi's communiqués to the tsar (received 25 December 1552 and 10 March 1553 according to the Nikon chronicle).[15] He knows, too, how the political actors feel about events in Kazan′:

> When from far away I saw and sometimes heard of your intelligent and wise letter to the tsar and to those close to him [or, perhaps, to you] I was warmed by this and rejoiced, and was amazed in every way by your many labors and great feats, as you organized and strengthened [our hold on] the city.... In regard to this, the sovereign and all those close to him [or, you] are thankful for your wisdom in this matter.[16]

Sil′vestr has quite specific concerns. He urges Gorbatyi to push forward the Christianization of Kazan′ by whatever means necessary, including forced baptism, and backs it up with a prolonged lecture on "blessed Emperor Constantine," who gave his conquered subjects a choice between the cross and the sword. He makes the contemporary analogy for Constantine explicit: "For now he who loves Christ, he who holds the position of our sovereign, the independent ruler of all Rus′, Tsar and Grand Prince Ivan Vasil′evich, by the Grace of God, has come to resemble Emperor Constantine."[17] Sil′vestr intimates, therefore, that as the tsar's representative Gorbatyi-Shuiskii should do this work for him.

At the same time, the letter contrasts the tsar's behavior with Gorbatyi's own:

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[14] RNB, Sof. 1281. Watermark: Briquet no. 12817 (1545), confirmed by visual identification, ll. 358 ob.–409. For a description of this manuscript, called the "Sbornik Seliverstovskii [Sil′vestr's collection]," see Zimin, *Peresvetov*, 50–54. Golokhvastov and Leonid, "Blagoveshchenskii ierei," 67–107, attributed all three to Sil′vestr. I chose not to examine the two unsigned ones because, while Sil′vestr plausibly could have written them, not enough is yet known about them to draw that conclusion.

[15] Golokhvastov and Leonid, "Blagoveshchenskii ierei," 88; *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* (St. Petersburg/Leningrad–Moscow, 1841–present; henceforth *PSRL)*, 13, pt. 1, pp. 229–30.

[16] Golokhvastov and Leonid, "Blagoveshchenskii ierei," 88–89.

[17] Ibid., 90.

> He [Ivan IV] destroyed the city of Kazan' by his own noble birth and your bravery.... But although he himself fought zealously, he became embittered [because] ... your feats had more courage than he could summon. Both of you did well in completing your deeds of war, [but] one showed himself fearful of the foe, while the other most cheerfully and with all wisdom courageously commanded his army.[18]

Again, however, Sil'vestr advocates a nonpolitical solution to the tsar's resultant hostility: imitate David, he says, and act lovingly toward those who persecute you.[19] Like a good father-confessor, Sil'vestr focuses on moral advice: maintain chastity, treat inferiors kindly, fight bravely, and the like. Despite his powerful connections, he concentrates on religious issues, not politics.

Nevertheless, six months later Sil'vestr found himself embroiled in religious controversy. A collection of documents describing an event usually known as the "Viskovatyi affair"—that is, the 1553 heresy trial of Matvei Bashkin and its aftermath—includes a petition (actually *zhalovanie*, a complaint or counterclaim) from Sil'vestr to Metropolitan Makarii and the "holy council."[20] Sil'vestr became involved in this trial in two ways. First, another Annunciation Cathedral priest named Simeon, who served as Bashkin's confessor, came to Sil'vestr for advice, because Bashkin had begun asking questions that he, Simeon, could not answer. Second, I. M. Viskovatyi, the head of the Foreign Office and one of Ivan's most trusted counselors during the 1550s and 1560s, expressed doubts about icons painted in the Annunciation Cathedral, according to the documents under Sil'vestr's direction, after the great Moscow fire of 1547.

The actual documents that compose the "Viskovatyi affair" have not been analyzed since their original publication in 1836. A mid-sixteenth-century copy of the Nikon chronicle, however, confirms that the investigation did take place,[21] and an inventory of the royal archive made during the 1570s verifies

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[18] Ibid., 90. In fact, the generals launched the attack without Ivan after waiting several hours for the tsar to finish his prayers; Ivan arrived only in time to lead the final assault. (*PSRL* 29:106–107.)

[19] Golokhvastov and Leonid, "Blagoveshchenskii ierei," 90. Sil'vestr again explicitly turns the comparison back to Ivan by introducing his treatment of the Mongol tsareviches and comparing that to David's treatment of his enemies.

[20] The entire set of documents was published in *Akty Arkheograficheskoi ekspeditsii* 1 (St. Petersburg, 1836), no. 238; as "Moskovskie sobory na eretikov," *Chteniia OIDR*, 1847, no. 3; and Sil'vestr's portion in Golokhvastov and Leonid, "Blagoveshchenskii ierei," 25–30.

[21] *PSRL* 13, pt. 1, pp. 232–33.

that detailed descriptions of the proceedings, in the metropolitan's own hand, once existed.[22]

Briefly, the sequence of events went as follows.[23] In June 1553 Annunciation Cathedral priest Simeon came to his colleague Sil'vestr to express concern about the anti-Trinitarian doctrines espoused by Matvei Bashkin, a "boyar's son." "What kind of [spiritual] son do you have there?" said Sil'vestr, "He will bring ignominy on himself." So Sil'vestr and Simeon reported Bashkin's views to the tsar, who ordered a church council to investigate. The investigation implicated, beside Bashkin and two of his friends, Artemii, the former hegumen of the Trinity-St. Sergius Monastery, and Artemii's student Porfirii. Then, on 25 October 1553, Viskovatyi wrote a complaint to the council about the restored icons in the Annunciation Cathedral, the subjects of which seemed unorthodox to him. By a tortured chain of associations, he also claimed that Sil'vestr shared Bashkin's and Artemii's heretical views.[24] The council then requested that Sil'vestr and Simeon explain their actions vis-à-vis Bashkin; they also asked Sil'vestr to account for a conversation he had reportedly had with Artemii. Sil'vestr's counterclaim against Viskovatyi thus addressed three topics: his knowledge of Bashkin, his conversations with Artemii and Porfirii,[25] and his supervision of the renovations to the Annunciation Cathedral and the Golden Chamber in the tsar's palace.

Despite the accusations, Sil'vestr survived unscathed. Even Viskovatyi endured a three-year penance merely for asking the wrong questions, so Sil'vestr's acquittal sent a strong message that indeed the Church hierarchy

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[22] S. O. Shmidt, *Opisi Tsarskogo arkhiva XVI veka i Arkhiv Posol'skogo Prikaza 1614 goda* (Moscow, 1960), 37, drawers 189–90; 42, drawer 222 (the latter collected from Viskovatyi himself, according to the clerk's notation). Without in-depth study of the documents, it is conjecture that the sources described in the archive are those published in 1836. Neither notations nor chronicle accounts mention Sil'vestr by name.

[23] Compiled from *PSRL* 13, pt. 1, pp. 232–33; and Golokhvastov and Leonid, "Blagoveshchenskii ierei," 25–30.

[24] "Ivan Viskovatyi wrote to you, sovereign [that is, Metropolitan Makarii, the head of the Russian Church], that 'Bashkin is in consulation [*soveten*] with Artemii and Simeon, and I Sil'vestr am also in consultation with Artemii and Simeon, and Simeon is Bashkin's confessor and praises their deeds.' " Golokhvastov and Leonid, "Blagoveshchenskii ierei," 25.

[25] Sil'vestr defended himself in the matter of Artemii by stating that he had only followed the tsar's order to evaluate Artemii's fitness (on moral and religious grounds) to assume the abbacy of the Trinity–St. Sergius Monastery and had not otherwise engaged in conversation with him. As for Porfirii, Sil'vestr claimed that, again, Simeon's report of his own conversations with Porfirii had aroused Sil'vestr's suspicions; he had then accompanied Simeon when the latter went to talk to Porfirii, so as to confirm or allay these suspicions. Simeon and Porfirii both supported Sil'vestr's account. Golokhvastov and Leonid, "Blagoveshchenskii ierei," 26–27.

found his views acceptable. Although some historians have argued that Sil'vestr, although guilty, wielded too much power at that time for Viskovatyi's attack to succeed, it is more likely that not he but Metropolitan Makarii was the real target of the accusations, and that the council, in acquitting Sil'vestr and punishing Viskovatyi, was protecting its own interests.[26]

The "Viskovatyi affair" documents contain useful biographical information. Sil'vestr describes his meeting with Tsar Ivan, which occurred in the presence of Aleksei Adashev, the tsar's favorite during the 1550s. This source thus provides the only contemporary or near-contemporary evidence that Sil'vestr ever spoke to either the tsar or Adashev.[27] Even so, it does not state that Sil'vestr routinely engaged in such meetings or played any role in policy formation.

On the contrary, these documents reveal what Sil'vestr did during the years between 1547 and 1553. For the renovation of the Kremlin cathedrals and palace following the great fire of 1547, Metropolitan Makarii, formerly archbishop of Novgorod, commissioned many icons from Pskovian and Novgorodian artists. This northwestern influence, in fact, caused Viskovatyi's doubts; styles long accepted in the relatively westernized North still seemed strange to those accustomed to the more conservative Muscovite iconographic forms.[28] Although the tsar and the metropolitan chose the icons to use as models and approved the renovations, Sil'vestr supervised the actual work. In the process, as he later wrote to his son Anfim, he "muddled along" with "icon painters, book copyists, silversmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, stone

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[26] The idea that Sil'vestr may have been a stand-in for Makarii is also suggested by the treatment other defendants received. Artemii, for example, did not escape punishment even though his views were apparently orthodox enough that he later became an important spokesman for his religion in Poland-Lithuania. Grobovsky agrees that the Viskovatyi affair materials show Sil'vestr as a relatively powerless person acting on behalf of the tsar and the metropolitan (*Ivan Groznyi i Sil'vestr*, 23–43), but not that Makarii was the real subject of the attack. For a different view on the Viskovatyi affair altogether, one that portrays Sil'vestr as a "heretic," see David B. Miller, "The Viskovatyi Affair of 1553–1554: Official Art, the Emergence of Autocracy, and the Disintegration of Medieval Russian Culture," *Russian History* 8 (1981): 293–332.

[27] The connection between Sil'vestr and Adashev derives primarily from the third group of sources, discussed below.

[28] As has often been noted, Viskovatyi was correct to question the new icons, which included, among other features, a depiction of God the Father, traditionally forbidden in Eastern Orthodoxy. (For more thorough examinations of the icons and murals, see Miller, "Viskovatyi Affair," and O. I. Podobedova, *Moskovskaia shkola zhivopisi pri Ivane IV* [Moscow, 1972].) Since Viskovatyi's doubts implicated the tsar and the metropolitan who had approved the new styles, however, he had to do penance for his observations.

masons, bricklayers, and builders of walls."[29] Sil'vestr himself trained many of these artisans; he and his wife regularly bought people out of slavery, educated them, and arranged marriages for them. In this one area, incidentally, Sil'vestr did agree with Bashkin: both opposed slavery. Whether one inspired the other, however, we can only guess.

The "Viskovatyi affair" documents confirm the general impression that Sil'vestr had, for his time, a good education. When Simeon could not answer Bashkin's questions, Bashkin reportedly said, "Go ask Sil'vestr, then, and he will tell you."[30] The letters to Prince A. B. Gorbatyi and to Anfim likewise manifest a thorough knowledge of religious literature and a strong grasp of not only Russian plain style but also the relatively complex Muscovite Slavonic.[31]

Except for the letters and the "Viskovatyi affair" material, the 1550s provide little information about Sil'vestr, although sources relating to the career of his son Anfim offer some details. In 1554, for example, Anfim, in conjunction with Khoziain Tiutin, the state treasurer, petitioned for the repayment of loans made to Livonian merchants four to five years earlier.[32] From this document we can deduce several points about Anfim, and by extension Sil'vestr. First, if Anfim had reached full adulthood by 1549, he was born in the 1520s or earlier, and his father during the last quarter of the fifteenth century. Second, Anfim and Tiutin had sufficient wealth to loan out

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[29] Muddled along: *dal bog razlezenosia* (literally, "God permitted events to fall out [in such a way that]"). This statement is from Sil'vestr's famous Epistle to his son Anfim. The letter includes other biographical information, including that Sil'vestr previously lived in Novgorod and that he himself engaged in commercial transactions, but much of it seems very idealized, so that its value as a source of Sil'vestr's actual behavior (rather than the way he wished to be) is limited. It does, however, offer testimony to Sil'vestr's practicality in work and trading relationships while simultaneously underlining the orthodoxy of most of his other opinions on religion and family life. For the original text of the Epistle, see A. S. Orlov, *Domostroi po Konshinskomu spisku i podobnym* (Moscow, 1908), bk. 1, pp. 61–70; this particular quotation is from p. 68. For an English translation, see my *The Domostroi: Rules for Russian Households in the Time of Ivan the Terrible* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), 176–90; this reference is on p. 187.

[30] Golokhvastov and Leonid, "Blagoveshchenskii ierei," 26.

[31] It is for this reason I argue against Sil'vestr's authorship of *Domostroi*, despite accepting that he wrote the Epistle. Both in the Epistle and in his counterclaim against Viskovatyi Sil'vestr used plain style, slightly archaic (Slavonic-influenced) in grammar but clear and consistent, without any of the Muscovite dialectical features or chancery language that distinguishes *Domostroi*. For the letter to Gorbatyi he chose Slavonic, but since writing in Slavonic, a literary language, is always deliberate, the same author could credibly have written this and the other two works. One person would not normally, however, use two different types of "colloquial" written speech.

[32] *Sbornik Imperatorskogo Russkogo Istoricheskogo Obshchestva* (henceforth *SIRIO*), 59, p. 439.

1205 rubles, an enormous sum for the sixteenth century.[33] Third, Anfim, too, had important ties with government servitors (the source does not state whether he already worked with Tiutin in the Royal Treasury).[34] Fourth, Anfim traded with Livonia, giving him an experience in dealing with foreigners denied most Muscovites. Whether Anfim's wealth came from his father, and whether Anfim's connections benefited Sil'vestr or vice versa, this document does not say.

A will, written by Prince Iu. A. Obolenskii, the majordomo [*dvoretskii*] to the tsar's ill-fated cousin Prince Vladimir Andreevich Staritskii, casts additional light on Anfim's trading practices. In the will, written in the 1550s, Prince Obolenskii included Anfim among a group of merchants to whom he owed money. Anfim supplied the prince with precious fabrics, in this case crimson velvet trimmed with silk. The prince trusted him, for he wrote, "Anfim himself knows the price; my bailiffs should pay him whatever he asks."[35] The will also, however, affirms Anfim's independence: it distinguishes him from merchants in the service of either Obolenskii or his royal master.

On 15 April 1556 Tsar Ivan IV (that is, one of the chanceries acting in the tsar's name) informed the Trinity-St. Sergius Monastery that the tsar had confiscated one of their Moscow properties and assigned it to Anfim.[36] This estate (*dvor*) covered one Moscow city block, near Nikol'skaia Street in what is now known as the Kitaigorod. In compensation the monastery received an equivalent property on the other side of the street. The government usually

[33] Tiutin was, in fact, known to have been very wealthy. Heinrich von Staden, the German opportunist and *oprichnik*, wrote of him: "They [Tiutin, Funikov, and a clerk named Lokurov] extracted the third penny from the common folk in every way, and filled their own pockets well. Yet they brought the accounts to the Grand Prince in good order." (*The Land and Government of Muscovy: A Sixteenth-Century Account*, trans. Thomas Esper [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967], 9.) As for Sil'vestr, at some time during the 1550s he gave the Kirillov Monastery a collection of luxury goods, including pepper, incense, paper, copper, a bell, and a glass casket, along with thirteen rubles; at about the same time he donated candles, a copper candelabrum, and 219 rubles to the Solovetskii Monastery (the inscription also lists sixty-six books, which would be a huge number, but it may be an error). "Vkladnaia i kormovaia kniga Kirillova monastyria 1580 g.," RNB, Kir.-Bel. 95/1332, l. 76; "Vkladnaia kniga Solovetskogo monastyria XVI–XVIII vv.," published by M. V. Kukushkina in *Russkie biblioteki i chastnye knizhnye sobraniia XVI–XIX vv.* (Leningrad, 1979), 79–105, 87. Both donations indicate a person with considerable means.

[34] As stated in Sil'vestr's letter to him, "You serve in the Royal Treasury, in the Customs Office." Pouncy, *Domostroi*, 189.

[35] Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts [RGADA], Iosifo-Volok. 456. Published in *Akty feodal'nogo zemlevladeniia i khoziaistva XIV–XVIII vv.* (Moscow, 1956), 2, no. 207.

[36] *Akty istoricheskie* (Moscow, 1836), 1, no. 164.

awarded such estates to its servitors, but the source itself does not explain the gift.[37]

At around the same time, 1555/1556, Sil'vestr, still serving in the Annunciation Cathedral, gave the Chudov Monastery in the Moscow Kremlin a book containing Maksim Grek's discourses on the Gospel of John.[38] Maksim (born Michael Trivolis) was a controversial figure, a Greek student of Savonarola's who had come to Muscovy by invitation to work on a translation project only to find himself incarcerated in monasteries for the rest of his life. Because Sil'vestr's owning a book written by Maksim is unusual, some scholars have argued that the gift attests both to a friendship between the two men and to "nonpossessor" sympathies on Sil'vestr's part.[39]

Other evidence challenges these conclusions. On the question of friendship, Maksim died that year, 1556, in the Trinity–St. Sergius Monastery; among his works was found an undated letter to Sil'vestr, requesting the latter's intercession on behalf of the widow and daughters of a disgraced royal servitor named Nikita Borisovich. The letter, however, indicates that Maksim knew Sil'vestr only by hearsay: "I seek your wisdom which is so well informed and with mercy bows to those who need help, *as I have heard from everyone*" [my emphasis].[40] No other documented contact between Sil'vestr and Maksim Grek has survived; while this letter may have initiated a friendship between them, the records prove only that Maksim believed that Sil'vestr would fulfill, to the best of his ability, the traditional political role of the Orthodox cleric—intercession on behalf of the victims of royal anger [*opala*; disgrace], and that he had a reputation for tenderheartedness. This accords with his charitable

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[37] The document does not focus on Anfim, but on the monastery, which it frees from tax obligations on the new property.

[38] State Historical Museum [GIM], Chudov. no. 13/188.

[39] On Sil'vestr as a friend of Maksim Grek's, see Golokhvastov and Leonid, "Blagoveshchenskii ierei," 30–32; Zimin, *Peresvetov*, 46; and Troyat, *Ivan*, 83. On Sil'vestr as a "nonpossessor," see Skrynnikov, *Ivan the Terrible*, 40; Zimin, *Peresvetov*, 46–48, repeatedly discusses "Sil'vestr and his nonpossessor circle," although ten pages later he notes that Sil'vestr apparently owned a copy of Joseph of Volokolamsk's *Enlightener* [Prosvetitel'] (*Peresvetov*, 58), which could just as easily be used to categorize him as a Josephite. Grobovsky also believes Sil'vestr's "nonpossessor" leanings have been exaggerated (see, for example, *Ivan Groznyi i Sil'vestr*, 21). For a reexamination of the entire possessor/nonpossessor controversy, see Donald Ostrowski, "Church Polemics and Land Acquisition in Sixteenth-Century Muscovy," *Slavonic and East European Review* 64 (1986): 355–79.

[40] Golokhvastov and Leonid, "Blagoveshchenskii ierei," 31–32. The military service registers mention several servitors named Nikita Borisov or Borisovich; Maksim did not specify which one he had in mind. On Maksim's works, see Hugh Olmsted, "The Early Manuscript Tradition of Maksim Grek," 2 vols. (Ph. D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1977). On Maksim himself, see Jack V. Haney, *From Italy to Muscovy: The Life and Works of Maxim the Greek* (Munich, 1973).

activities on behalf of former slaves and his injunctions, both to Gorbatyi and to Anfim, to show kindness to inferiors.[41] The letter does imply that Sil'vestr had some influence at court, since otherwise his intercession would presumably have had no effect, but unfortunately the nature, the source, and the extent of this influence are not defined.

On the issue of Sil'vestr's intellectual interests, one may note that he owned several books in Greek, at least one of which Maksim had allegedly copied.[42] Owning books in Greek certainly sets Sil'vestr apart from most sixteenth-century Russian priests, the majority of whom could barely read and write Russian. But there was nothing suspicious about the books themselves. Only Sil'vestr's love of learning, if that is what this indicates, separates him from his contemporaries.

In the late 1550s, government records begin to chart Anfim's career within the chancery system. The Court Register [*Dvorovaia tetrad'*] lists Anfim Seliverstov as an important state secretary [*bol'shoi d'iak*].[43] The military service records include him among those state secretaries assigned to govern Moscow while the tsar went on campaign, in 1557 and again in 1559.[44] On both occasions, Khoziain Tiutin served as treasurer. Sil'vestr's "spiritual son" Prince A. B. Gorbatyi-Shuiskii and his relative Prince Ivan Mikhailovich Shuiskii had charge of the government, although the tsar's brother, Prince Iurii Vasil'evich, was its nominal head.

Although not listed in the military service record, Anfim stayed in Moscow throughout 1558. In that year a Rugodiv (Narva) merchant named Joachim Krumhausen (in Russian sources, Iakov Kromysh) came to Moscow for peace talks with the tsar, arriving on 1 May 1558.[45] Not long afterward, Krumhausen wrote to his friend, the merchant Hans Bernds, in Reval (Tallinn), that he had heard "from Olphime [Anfim]" that the truce between

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[41] "Blagoveshchenskii ierei," 96–99; Pouncy, *Domostroi*, 179–81, 184, 190.

[42] A *Gospel* (RNB, Kir.-Bel., II otd. 36/41), an *Apostol* [Acts and Epistles of the Apostles] (RNB, Kir.-Bel., II otd. 120/125), and a Psalter (RNB, Sof. 78, copied by Maksim in 1545). It is generally assumed that Maksim gave the psalter to Sil'vestr, but that need not be true: Sil'vestr could have bought it. The attributions to Sil'vestr and to Maksim come from inscriptions added after their deaths; for a description, see Zimin, *Peresvetov*, 59.

[43] *Tysiachnaia kniga 1550g. i Dvorovaia tetrad' 50-kh godov XVI v.*, ed. A. A. Zimin (Moscow, 1950), 116. Although Zimin assigns the register to the 1550s, information in it was added and annotated at various times between 1537 and 1577. It is not always clear from the register, therefore, in which years a particular person occupied a specific position. On the register and its peculiarities, see S. B. Veselovskii, *Issledovaniia po istorii oprichniny*, 83–91.

[44] *RK*, 164, 182.

[45] *PSRL*, 13, pt. 1, pp. 292–93.

Russia and Livonia would soon collapse, as indeed it did.[46] Krumhausen entered Muscovite service after the people of Narva repudiated the agreement he had signed,[47] but he continued to communicate with the Hanse factories in Reval and Antwerp,[48] while his friend Hans Bernds worked with Lübeck, Denmark, and Sweden.[49] More information about Sil'vestr and Anfim may yet be uncovered in Scandinavian and Hanseatic archives.

While Anfim dealt with government matters, Sil'vestr remained in the Annunciation Cathedral. One of his donations from this period ended up in the Hilandar Monastery library in Greece. No one knows exactly how this gift, a commentary on the psalter bearing watermarks from the 1550s and an inscription naming "Annunciation Cathedral priest Sil'vestr and his son," reached Mount Athos, although a party of monks "from the Holy Mountain" did visit Moscow from 1554 to 1557, looking for alms and protection from their Turkish overlords.[50]

Sil'vestr stayed in Moscow until 1558: Krumhausen described him, too, as a source of "true information" about the Livonian War.[51] Not long afterward, he moved to the Kirillov Monastery in Beloozero. The traditional interpretation of Ivan the Terrible's reign states that Sil'vestr voluntarily retired to Kirillov after he fell from favor in 1560, but no contemporary source

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[46] Published in *Quellen zur Geschichte des Untergangs livländischer Selbstandigkeit. Aus dem schwedischen Reichsarchive zu Stockholm*, ed. Carl Schirren (Reval: Franz Kluge, 1861), 1, p. 140. This document also mentions Sil'vestr [Sulvest]. Johannes Renner, in his *Livländische Historien, 1556–1561* (ed. Peter Karstedt [Lübeck: M. Schmidt-Romhild, 1953], 52–53), quotes at length from this letter; Renner wrote in 1562.

[47] *PSRL*, 13, pt. 1, p. 294. He still lived in Moscow in June 1566, when the Livonian Hinrich Krumhausen petitioned the Hanse to ransom his father, "imprisoned ... by the Grand Prince of Moscow" (*Inventare Hansischer Archive des Sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 1: *Köln, 1531–1571* [Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1896], 571). On 12 July 1567 a letter from Lübeck reported that "the Muscovites" had said that the Krumhausens and Hans Bernds would sail soon [*Akty i pis'ma k istorii Baltiiskogo voprosa v XVI i XVII stoletiiakh*, comp. G. V. Forsten (St. Petersburg, 1889), 102–103]; according to a second letter, they reached Lübeck by 30 July (ibid., 112).

[48] Many of the Hanse documents were published at the turn of the century. On the Krumhausen family and Joachim Krumhausen's correspondence with Antwerp, see *Inventare Hansischer Archive* 1:116, 261, 571; ibid. 3: *Danzig*, item 10330 (August 1591); and H. Hansen, *Erganzende Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Stadt Narva vom Jahre 1558* (Narva, 1864), 11, 37–56.

[49] Hans Bernds later visited Moscow as an envoy for Sweden, which controlled Reval. By then both Anfim and Sil'vestr had died. Shmidt, *Opisi*, 81 (1586) and, perhaps, 90 (1601–1602).

[50] *PSRL*, 13, pt. 1, p. 253. I. V. Kurukin describes the book ("Novye dannye o knigakh biblioteki nastavnika Ivana Groznogo i avtora 'Domostroia' Sil'vestra," *Pamiatniki kul'tury. Novye otkrytiia: Pis'mennost', Iskusstvo, Arkheologiia* [1981], 28–29).

[51] See note 46.

identifies either the timing of Sil'vestr's departure from Moscow or the reasons for it.

Probably he left Moscow before 1561, since Sil'vestr's famous letter to his son, which forms chapter 64 of some copies of the sixteenth-century domestic handbook *Domostroi*, indicates that he wrote the letter upon his departure from Moscow and that at the time Anfim still lived in Moscow and served in the Treasury (in 1561 Anfim moved to Smolensk; see below). But while the letter to Anfim suggests that the traditional view may be reasonably accurate as to the timing of Sil'vestr's departure, it also undercuts the traditional explanation for that departure: Sil'vestr repeatedly notes how he avoided conflict throughout his life, and how he was "revered by all and loved by all."[52] No authentic sixteenth-century source, therefore, confirms the existence of the church council that supposedly met to condemn Sil'vestr and Adashev for their alleged role in the death of Tsaritsa Anastasiia,[53] although several sources attest to his presence in Kirillov, including the monastery gifts register and a copy of John Climacus's *Ladder of Divine Ascent*, which "Anfim sent from Moscow to his father Sil'vestr in the Kirillov Monastery."[54]

From 1561 to 1566 Anfim served as state secretary to the military governors [*voevody*] of Smolensk, an important border town through which most Western, and even Turkish, envoys traveled on their way to Moscow. During the early 1560s, with the Livonian War in full swing, Smolensk hosted a constant stream of ambassadors from Livonia and Poland-Lithuania; Anfim's name appears frequently in the correspondence notifying the tsar of diplomatic arrivals and departures.[55] Here his experience trading in Livonia could be put to good use.

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[52] Pouncy, *Domostroi*, 182. Some of the statements in Sil'vestr's letter to Anfim made me wonder whether he might have had a very simple reason: the death of his wife, which according to Orthodox custom required him to enter a monastery if he wished to continue serving as priest. For example, in the letter Sil'vestr (1) indicates he plans to leave Moscow immediately (he commends his son to Christ's care); (2) always refers to his wife in the past tense; (3) worries whether he will be able to maintain his chastity; and (4) shows no indication that he is aware of being in political trouble or disfavor, in fact emphasizes how well he always got along with everyone (ibid., 177, 184–85, 185–86, 187–88). On Anfim's service in the Treasury, see ibid., 189–90.

[53] Fennell, *Kurbsky's History*, pp. 153–59; the council is mentioned on p. 157.

[54] RNB, Kir.-Bel. 35/160 (inscription on l. 2); and RNB, Kir.-Bel. 95/1332, published in Golokhvastov and Leonid, "Blagoveshchenskii ierei," 48–49.

[55] *SIRIO* 71:23, 47–48, 132, 150–51, 163, 173–75, 183, 189, 301–302, 338. In 1563–1564 Anfim gave a book to the Svenskii Monastery in Briansk, not far from Smolensk and the site of one of the great commercial fairs of the sixteenth century, particularly important in the fur and textile trades [described in I. E. Evseev, *Opisanie rukopisei, khraniashchikhsia v Orlovskikh drevnekhranilishchakh*, no. 2 (Orel, 1906), 138, and in Zimin, *Peresvetov*, 50].

Information on Sil'vestr's life during this period is, in contrast, particularly scarce. The sources do not even say where he took monastic vows. One notation, in a late sixteenth-century gifts register from the Solovetskii Monastery, describes him as "the elder [*starets*, a position of spiritual authority which usually included teaching younger monks] from the Kirillov Beloozerskii Monastery Spiridon, who used to be Sil'vestr, priest of the Annunciation Cathedral."[56] From this, one might deduce that Sil'vestr had already adopted the name Spiridon before leaving Kirillov. But two earlier inscriptions from the Solovetskii Monastery library suggest otherwise: one refers to him as "the elder Sil'vestr";[57] the other, as "that same priest Sil'vestr of Solovki."[58] In later years, the monastery expense accounts and chronicles always list him as "the elder Spiridon, former Annunciation Cathedral priest Sil'vestr," or simply "the elder Spiridon."[59]

A gifts register from the Kirillov Monastery records a mixture of possessions left to the monastery at his death, including several books "given by the sovereign" and a worn fur coat.[60] It does not say, however, why Sil'vestr transferred from Kirillov to the Solovki islands. Did he, as the traditional interpretation has it, leave hurriedly or under duress? He was, after all, more than sixty years old, and the Solovetskii Monastery stands amid one of the world's least hospitable climates. But one can only speculate: maybe he just found the style of Solovetskii hegumen (later Metropolitan) Filipp more to his taste.

In any event, he had definitely both moved and taken monastic vows by 1566. In the sixteenth-century version of the Solovetskii chronicle, the author notes that he traveled to Moscow in 1566 "with the elder Spiridon."[61] They went to attend the investiture of their former hegumen, Filipp, as metropolitan on 25 July 1566. A month earlier, the tsar had summoned

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[56] M. V. Kukushkina, "Vkladnaia kniga Solovetskogo monastyria," 87.

[57] RNB, Sol. 144/160. Described in *Opisanie rukopisei Solovetskogo monastyria*, 167.

[58] RNB, Sol. 8/738. Described in *Opisanie rukopisei Solovetskogo monastyria*, 9.

[59] See, for example, RGADA, f. 1201/1, no. 207, "Raskhodnye knigi Solovetskogo monastyria, 1570–1575," ll. 170 ob. (1570–1571) and 157 ob. (1574–1575), and the chronicle account cited below (note 61).

[60] RNB, Kir.-Bel. 95/1332. Books given by the sovereign and signed by Sil'vestr: RNB, Kir.-Bel., Nos. 4/9 and 35/160. See also RNB, Kir.-Bel., no. 518/775, which has a notation, "Ivan Mikhailovich [Viskovatyi] says this service book belongs to the Annunciation [Cathedral] [Ivan skazal Mikhailovich, chto tot potrebnik blagoveshchenskoi]." For a list of these and other books linked to Sil'vestr, see Zimin, *Peresvetov*, 58–59. Reference to Viskovatyi is ibid., 50.

[61] V. I. Koretskii, "Solovetskii letopisets kontsa XVI v.," *Letopisi i khroniki* (1980): 223–43, here p. 236. In the seventeenth-century version of the chronicle, published by M. N. Tikhomirov [*Russkoe letopisanie* (Moscow, 1979), 199–206], this and other author's notes have been deleted.

Anfim to Moscow to take part in the Assembly of the Land [*zemskii sobor*] that he convened to decide whether to accept Poland-Lithuania's offer of terms to conclude the Livonian War.[62] Anfim, one of forty-three chancery personnel appointed to the assembly, thus definitely belonged to the *zemshchina*, and not to Ivan IV's *oprichnina*.[63]

After the various "estates" signed the protocols of the *sobor* on 2 July, Anfim disappears from the records. By 1580, when the Kirillov Monastery recorded Sil'vestr's and Anfim's legacy from "the bailiffs," both had died, but how, and when, and under what circumstances remains unknown.[64] Since the years that followed 1566 marked the height of Ivan IV's terror, Anfim may have fallen victim to Ivan's executioners; however, while the synodicon of the tsar's victims mentions several of his associates, it does not include Anfim himself.[65] Or he may have joined his father in the Solovetskii Monastery: one land deed from November 1566 mentions property sold "to Anfim"; three more from 1568–1569 mention an "elder Anfim," but none positively identifies this Anfim as Sil'vestr's son.[66]

Sil'vestr himself, meanwhile, definitely remained on Solovki. The 1570 monastery library catalogue lists six books that he copied during his time there.[67] In 1570/1571 (at the age of seventy or thereabouts) he journeyed with other elders to Vologda, where the monastery maintained a house.[68] In 1574/1575 he gave ten rubles to the monastery. This, the final entry on Sil'vestr, contains an error that would later prove significant: the scribe who

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[62] *Sobranie gosudarstvennykh gramot i dogovorov, khraniashchikhsia v gosudarstvennoi kollegii inostrannykh del,* 5 vols. (Moscow, 1813–1894), 1:545–56.

[63] Ivan called the assembly precisely to secure the support of the *zemshchina*, so that he could then force them to pay for the war's continuation. While Anfim's exclusion from the *oprichnina* may say something about his character, it also made him more vulnerable to execution, exile, and property loss.

[64] RNB, Kir.-Bel. no. 95/1332, published in Golokhvastov and Leonid, "Blagoveshchenskii ierei," 48–49.

[65] Khoziain Tiutin and Istoma Kuz'min (the latter served with Anfim in Smolensk for several years), for example, were both executed, the former in connection with the so-called "Fedorov business" of 1568 [Skrynnikov, *Oprichnyi terror*, 268 (Tiutin); 267, 279 (Kuz'min, listed twice)]. Skrynnikov considers the synodicon, compiled at Ivan's orders toward the end of his life, quite complete for the years 1567–1570, less so for the purges of 1574–1575 and later, but in this very confusing period one cannot say conclusively that Anfim died naturally simply because his name does not appear in the lists.

[66] *Akty Solovetskogo monastyria, 1479–1571 gg.*, comp. I. Z. Liberzon (Leningrad, 1988), 196, 207–8, 210. Normally Anfim would change his name if he took monastic vows; the timing (November 1566 and later), however, is almost perfect.

[67] M. V. Kukushkina, "Biblioteka Solovetskogo monastyria v XVI v.," pt. 2, *Arkheograficheskii ezhegodnik* (1970), 349, 351, 353.

[68] RGADA, f. 1201/1, no. 207, l. 170 ob. Unfortunately the account books for the 1560s are not extant.

made the entry mistakenly wrote *byvshii protopop selivestr* [the former archpriest Sil'vestr] instead of *byvshii pop selivestr* [the former priest Sil'vestr].[69] In the same year, 1574/1575, one "Klimentei anfimov *syn*," a Novgorodian, gave a gold cross to the monastery in memory of his parents.[70] If this Klimentei was indeed Sil'vestr's grandson, the inscription would indicate that both Anfim and his wife were dead by 1574/1575, and also that his family had prolonged ties with both Novgorod and the Solovetskii Monastery, but again, the document does not positively identify Klimentei's father as the Anfim under investigation here.

All in all, these sources do not depict the kind of person who, in the words of the Piskarev chronicle, "ruled the Russian land."[71] Although Sil'vestr and Anfim were not merely ordinary people, for the ordinary person in sixteenth-century Muscovy lived as a peasant at a subsistence level and never made any mark in the records, it does not follow that Sil'vestr initiated every major political and cultural advance of the 1550s. The mid-sixteenth-century chronicles and archives mention such royal favorites as Aleksei Adashev and Ivan Viskovatyi, clerics like Metropolitan Makarii and Annunciation Cathedral Archpriest Andrei, but not Sil'vestr. The sources depict Sil'vestr as an important person, well connected and well educated for his time, with a successful career and a competent, prosperous son, but not by any means the near-ruler often described by historians.

At the same time, the sources on Sil'vestr and Anfim indicate that our view of the middle tiers of Muscovite society requires some adjustment. The textbook portrayal of Muscovy as a stagnant, provincial society with low levels of literacy, little social mobility, no developed commercial sector, and little tolerance for foreigners[72] does not allow for the presence of people like Sil'vestr and his family. It is true that Muscovy had no formal educational system and that Sil'vestr's views were often conservative and most of his concerns religious, as one would expect of a cleric in his position. (Anfim's views, of course, are not known.) But it is equally true that both Sil'vestr and Anfim could read and write, had prolonged contact with foreigners, and were involved in trade; that they played still-undetermined roles in institutions associated with the central government (Anfim) and the court (Sil'vestr), even though they had apparently moved to Moscow from defeated but not

[69] Ibid., l. 157 ob. During the 1550s the archpriest of the Annunciation Cathedral was Andrei, who later took monastic vows under the name Afanasii; he succeeded Makarii as metropolitan in 1563 and resigned in 1566, possibly in protest over the *oprichnina*.

[70] Ibid., l. 141 ob.

[71] *PSRL* 34:181.

[72] Expressed, for example, in Alexander Gerschenkron, *Continuity in History and Other Essays* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1968), 416.

completely subdued Novgorod; that Anfim apparently lived in considerable luxury, although born the son of a priest; and that Sil'vestr entertained the innovative idea of freeing his slaves, however traditional his views on religious, political, and family obligations may have been. All these features suggest that sixteenth-century Muscovite society was more complex than has been believed.

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Let us now turn to the third group of sources, in which one can see the gradual evolution of Sil'vestr as a legendary figure, an evolution that occurred in several stages. In this section I present a speculative reconstruction of the process that created the "blessed Sil'vestr" of my article's title. It is intended as a supplement—a prequel, if you will—to Grobovsky's account of the legend as it developed later in the historical literature. Although readers may dispute the chronology of this particular version of the Sil'vestr myth's development (I accept Edward Keenan's view that the "Correspondence" and *History of the Grand Prince of Moscow* attributed to Prince A. M. Kurbskii belong neither to Kurbskii and the tsar nor to the sixteenth century, whereas many scholars do not), what follows is intended to provoke both greater study of these sources and, perhaps, greater appreciation among scholars of literary creation as found in historical source material.

The first stage of the legend that Sil'vestr not only had connections to power, but also personally wielded power, is exemplified in the interpolation to *Tsarstvennaia kniga* quoted at the beginning of this article. Historians have long recognized that this story was inserted after the fact to serve a political purpose, although they have advanced various arguments as to who inserted it and when, and therefore whose purpose it served.[73] The most extensive archival examination and the most convincing argument belongs to B. M.

[73] N. Andreyev proposed that Viskovatyi wrote the interpolations and edited the codex (N. Andreyev, "Interpolation in the Sixteenth-Century Muscovite Chronicles," *Slavonic and East European Review* 35, 84 [1956]: 95–115). While Viskovatyi certainly had reason to bear a grudge against Sil'vestr and even to consider him someone with undue influence over the tsar and the metropolitan, he could not actually have added these notations to the manuscripts, as he was executed five to six years before the editorial changes were made. D. N. Al'shits ("Ivan Groznyi i pripiski k litsevym svodom ego vremeni," *Istoricheskie zapiski* 23 [1947]: 251–89) attributed them to Tsar Ivan himself, but Andreyev (ibid., 98–106) and Kloss (*Nikonovskii svod*, 253–57) offer convincing evidence against Al'shits's view. The role of Metropolitan Afanasii in the production of *Tsarstvennaia kniga* needs further study; Kloss notes his (probable) involvement (*Nikonovskii svod*, 261–63) but does not recognize his previous connection to Sil'vestr. For a picture of one of the manuscript pages with its annotations, see A. A. Zimin, *Oprichnina Ivana Groznogo* (Moscow, 1964), opposite p. 270.

Kloss, who has traced the paper used in *Tsarstvennaia kniga* and its sister manuscript, the Synodal copy, which together compose the final volume of the great chronicle compilation known as *Litsevoi svod*, to a particular scriptorium in Aleksandrovskaia sloboda, the erstwhile capital of the *oprichnina*, where the two manuscripts were copied around 1575–1576.[74] Although the *oprichnina* had been abolished by 1575–1576, the location of the scriptorium in Aleksandrovskaia sloboda links the *Tsarstvennaia kniga* interpolations to Ivan the Terrible himself and suggests that the story served a purpose, still unknown, of the tsar's, presumably one relating to the political situation at the time it was written. Most obviously, it discredits his relatives in the Staritskii family, whom he had had killed five years previously, and may have been directed at his own son and heir (personified in the story as Vladimir Staritskii), of whose intentions Ivan IV was then suspicious. Either possibility calls the account's objectivity into question, and indeed the story contains many contradictions.[75]

In this initial incarnation, the legend presents Sil'vestr as a "bad counselor," a royal favorite who no longer expresses loyalty to the man who raised him out of nothing.[76] He has become, in effect, the tsar. He opposes the boyars directly, speaking out in favor of Prince Vladimir Andreevich and urging that the prince be allowed to see the deathly ill tsar, because "his cousin [Vladimir] is better disposed toward him [the tsar] than you boyars are," although according to the story Prince Vladimir had been buying boyar support to put himself on the throne.[77] Sil'vestr is, in short, a thoroughly suspicious character, a classic *parvenu*.

Nonetheless, his meteoric rise to power and the extraordinary role he played seem to have escaped everyone else's attention for a surprisingly long time. The story does not surface again until after the election of Michael Romanov in 1613. Tales from the Time of Troubles (1598–1613), whether native or foreign, do not mention the all-powerful priest Sil'vestr in their accounts of Ivan's government.[78] Ivan Timofeev's *Vremennik* talks about an

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[74] Kloss, *Nikonovskii svod,* 206–65, especially 252–65. Kloss does not, to my mind, prove that the interpolations and the recopying could have not been completed later than 1575–1576, but his analysis does indicate that they could not have been made earlier.

[75] Examples of these can be found in Veselovskii, *Issledovaniia po istorii oprichniny*, 288–91.

[76] *PSRL*, 13, pt. 2, p. 524.

[77] Ibid., 523–24.

[78] In fact, if accounts from the Time of Troubles give any indication, the oral tradition surrounding Ivan the Terrible's reign, even twenty years after his death, was scanty indeed. In these stories, the siege of Kazan exemplifies the early years of Ivan's rule, while the *oprichnina*, the sack of Novgorod, and the death of Ivan Ivanovich characterize the onset and progression of crisis. For foreigners' accounts, see Jacques Margeret, *The Russian Empire*

early period in Ivan IV's reign when he took advice from a *sinklit* [council], but the context identifies the council as the Boyar Duma.[79] Otherwise, he and other writers of the period blamed the terror on the tsar's fury, sometimes explained away as a natural response to the people's sins.[80]

In the late 1620s and 1630s, when for the first time in its history the Muscovite Church, particularly in the person of Patriarch Filaret, actually exercised secular power,[81] the story of Sil'vestr the all-powerful priest reemerged. It then developed roughly as follows. (Stage 1 is the *Tsarstvennaia kniga* story.)

Stage 2: late 1620s and early 1630s. Prince Semen Ivanovich Shakhovskoi (or someone else) wrote the first letter of the Kurbskii/Groznyi correspondence (K1) and attributed it to his ancestor Prince A. M. Kurbskii; this letter did not mention Sil'vestr.[82] Not long afterward, Shakhovskoi (or someone else) wrote a reply to K1 in the name of Tsar Ivan IV the Terrible (G1); this second letter included a diatribe against Sil'vestr and Adashev. The writer of G1 probably used *Tsarstvennaia kniga* as one of his sources—hence he had access to official government documents. He changed the focus of the

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and Grand Duchy of Muscovy: A Seventeenth-Century French Account, ed. and trans. Chester S. L. Dunning (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1983), 15–16; and Isaac Massa, *A Short History of the Muscovite Wars*, trans. G. Edward Orchard (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 6–21. For Russian accounts, see *Pamiatniki drevnei russkoi pis'mennosti otnosiashchiesia k Smutnomu vremeni*, 3d ed. (Leningrad, 1925). On the latter, see also Rowland, "Did Muscovite Literary Ideology," and idem, "The Problem of Advice in Muscovite Tales about the Time of Troubles," *Russian History* 6 (1979): 259–83.

79 *Pamiatniki*, especially p. 279, "having chosen a daughter from a clan in the council [*ot sinklitska roda*]," that is, Anastasiia Romanovna Iur'eva.

80 Timofeev, in particular, refers to Ivan as "the raging tsar." See, for example, *Pamiatniki*, 275.

81 Patriarch Filaret had been the boyar Fedor Nikitich Romanov before Boris Godunov forced him to accept monastic vows; his strong will and extensive political experience gave him great influence in his son Michael's government between his release from Polish captivity in 1618 and his death in 1633.

82 Edward L. Keenan, *The Kurbskii-Groznyi Apocrypha* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971). Keenan's hypothesis explains the otherwise incomprehensible gaps in "Kurbskii's" knowledge of the court he had left (confusing Sil'vestr's title and telling a demonstrably untrue story of his arrival in Moscow, for example). Important, if unacknowledged, support for Keenan's view comes from Inge Auerbach, who has proved that Kurbsky never learned to write the Cyrillic alphabet and was barely literate even in Latin letters [*Andrej Michajlovic Kurbskij: Leben in Osteuropäischen Adelsgesellschaften des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Otto Sagner, 1985)]. But even the strongest supporter of the authenticity of *History* and *Correspondence* must admit that "Kurbskii" and "Ivan" wrote more to attack one another than to present a factual view of political relationships within the Muscovite court. (For one scholar's exposition of how this last affects our perceptions of Sil'vestr, see Grobovsky, *"Chosen Council"*, 95–144, and idem, *Ivan Groznyi i Sil'vestr*, 111–96.)

story slightly, however: Sil'vestr, although still a "bad counselor," acquires his power more through usurpation than by royal favor.[83] (This accusation, in particular, fits Patriarch Filaret better than Sil'vestr.)

Stage 3: late 1630s and early 1640s. Someone else, probably a chancery official, wrote a second letter in Ivan IV's name (G2), also including two blanket assertions concerning the power of Sil'vestr and Adashev.[84] At around the same time, another writer created the Piskarev chronicle, which also presents a (very) abbreviated version of the *Tsarstvennaia kniga* story. In the Piskarev chronicle, however, the story has already begun to shift, so that the years under the (supposed) government of Adashev and Sil'vestr have taken on a golden hue in contrast to the ensuing years of terror.[85]

Stage 4: late 1640s and 1650s. A government scriptorium began copying the two volumes of *Litsevoi svod* known as the Synodal manuscript and *Tsarstvennaia kniga.* The work begun in 1575–1576 finally appeared as the Lebedevskaia and Aleksandro-Nevskaia chronicles, "fixing" the story into the annalistic tradition. At this time, too, the loose sheets that made up the original two volumes were finally bound. Throughout this period, the story in *Tsarstvennaia kniga* was available for study.

Stage 5: 1670s and 1680s. In the last quarter of the seventeenth century, someone, again probably in government circles, wrote the later letters attributed to Kurbskii as well as *The History of the Grand Prince of Moscow*, which borrowed liberally from other works, particularly Andrei Lyzlov's *Scythian History* [Skifskaia istoriia]. This person used, one may speculate, the

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[83] *The Correspondence between Prince A. M. Kurbsky and Tsar Ivan IV of Russia, 1564–1579*, ed. and trans. J. L. I. Fennell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), 87–89, for example: "And so the priest Sylvester joined Aleksey [Adashev] too in friendship and they began to hold counsel in secret and without our knowledge... taking the splendour of our power from us."

[84] *Correspondence*, 189, 195. This quotation uses almost exactly the same phrase as the Piskarev chronicle, describing Adashev and Sil'vestr as "having the whole Russian land under their feet." (Piskarev chronicle, "He [Sil'vestr] ruled as one with Aleksei Adashev, and they had the whole Russian land under their feet." *PSRL* 34:181–82.)

[85] *PSRL* 34:181–82. The Piskarev chronicle was written no earlier than 1625, and perhaps as late as the 1640s. (On the dating, see M. N. Tikhomirov, "Piskarevskii letopisets kak istoricheskii istochnik o sobytiiakh XVI–nachala XVII v.," in his *Russkoe letopisanie*: 232–47, here p. 232.) This author is often described as an eyewitness, but even if he wrote in his seventies, he would still have been a child when Sil'vestr left the court. His evidence, therefore, is based on hearsay, and incomplete as well. Despite his declaration that Sil'vestr ruled the land, for example, the chronicler offers no evidence that this actually happened: he never mentions Sil'vestr's name again.

Aleksandro-Nevskaia chronicle or its original, *Tsarstvennaia kniga*, and perhaps the Solovetskii Monastery records, as the misidentification of Sil'vestr as archpriest and, consequently, Ivan IV's confessor entered the historiographical tradition here. This author seems also to have relied heavily on the powers of invention.

At this point, and not earlier, the original story of Sil'vestr the bad, ungrateful counselor, the thief of power, lost out completely to "the blessed Sil'vestr," the wise elder who restrained Ivan's youthful excesses and unreasonable fury, only to be rewarded for his loyalty by banishment to the White Sea. The mystic seer who arrived in the wake of the great conflagration that devoured the Kremlin and, wagging his finger in the tsar's face, confronted him with the results of his evil ways existed only in the mind of this anonymous late seventeenth-century author. Yet it is a compelling tale. Translated into Karamzin's elegant prose,[86] it easily overwhelmed the Sil'vestr of the "account books." That Sil'vestr—the book copyist and icon painter, even the manumitter of slaves—could not possibly compete with Sil'vestr the political actor, father-confessor to the Terrible Tsar, author of Church and civil codes, architect of military and governmental reform, spokesman for the "boyar party," head of the "Chosen Council," and so on.

If these later documents say little of value about Sil'vestr, they nonetheless indicate important shifts in Russian culture. In the late 1620s and early 1630s, after Patriarch Filaret had victimized Prince Semen Shakhovskoi and his family, the legend of Sil'vestr the bad counselor provided an aesopian way to comment on a situation that represented not only a painful personal reality but a genuine departure from the role traditionally played by the heads of the Russian Orthodox Church. In the 1670s and 1680s, in contrast, the Church was rapidly losing influence as a cultural force. The patriarchate fell vacant in 1700 and the Church came completely under secular control in 1721, but even before that, ongoing westernization had caused the hearts of conservative Muscovites to tremble. The image of a priest who offered moral guidance and fulfilled the ancient clerical duties of intercession no doubt appeared much more appealing in 1680 than it had in 1630 (or even 1575): Sil'vestr the good counselor emerged to reflect that reality.

This portrayal also served political purposes, advocating a return to conservative values in a state undergoing rapid change, and, probably, met an important psychological goal by explaining in traditional Muscovite terms the contradiction within the tsar who reformed the government in the 1550s only

[86] Karamzin, *Istoriia* 8:98–103.

to destroy it in the 1560s. But whatever its advantages for seventeenth-century Muscovites, it has distorted our picture not only of Sil'vestr but of the society in which he lived, and it is time we abandoned it. There are other stories worth telling.

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The System of Government under Volodimer the Great and His Foreign Policy

OMELJAN PRITSAK

1. INTRODUCTION

Nothing certain is known about the system of government in the ninth-century Kaganate of Rus′. Ibn Fadlan's data from AD 922, although based on second-hand information, demonstrate the influence of the Khazar system of government on the Rus′ state. The Rus′ kagan—Ibn Fadlan calls him in Arabic *malik ar-Rūs*, "the king of the Rus′"—like the Khazar kagan has "a deputy (Arab. *xalīfa*) who commands the army, fights against enemies and represents him [the kagan] before his subjects."[1] The *PVL* applies to this deputy the corresponding Slavic term, воевода, "military commander." An examination of relations between the *vojevoda* Svěneld (Sveinaldr) and his prince, Igor′,[2] shows that in Rus′, as in the Khazar state, conflicts between the kagan and the *vojevoda* were possible and did arise. From the tract of ca. 907 (the so-called Treaty of 907) it appears that in the Polock principality ruled by Oleg (Helgi) there were three main seats. These were: Polock, Rostov, and Ljubeč.[3] From the number of Oleg's envoys mentioned as having participated in the treaty with Byzantium in 911, however, it follows that besides "Oleg, the great Rus′ian prince" there were at least fourteen "serene and great princes" and "great *boyars*" who were "under his hand" (иче суть под рукою его, свѣтлих и великих князь, и его великих бояръ).[4]

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1 ولهخليفه يسوس الجيوشو يو [اقعالاعلا اً و يخلفه] فيرعيته
Meshed MS, 212b, lines 14–15 in Andrij Kovalivskyj [Kovalevskij], *Kniga Axmeda Ibn-Fadlana o ego putešestvii na Volgu v 921–922 gg.* (Xarkiv, 1956), p. 313. Cf. Zeki Velidi Togan, *Ibn Fadlan's Reisebericht* (Leipzig, 1931), Arabic text p. 43, §93 and comments: Exk. §93a, pp. 253–256.

2 On Svěneld, see A. Poppe, "Sweneld," *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich: encyklopedyczny zarys kultury słowian od czasów najdawniejszych*, 8 vols., ed. Władysław Kowalenko (Wrocław, 1961–1991), vol. 5, 1973, pp. 498–499.

3 In my *The Origin of Rus′* (Cambridge, MA, 1981), vol. 1, pp. 142–148, I have shown the artificial character of the text of the so-called Rus′-Byzantine treaty of 907. It was made from a selection of texts of the two real treaties, that of 911 (912) and 944 (945). The enumeration of the cities: "первое отъ города Киева, и пакы ис Чернигова и ис Переаславля" in the text of 907 was taken from the treaty of 944. But the names "на Полотьскъ и на Ростовъ и на Любьчь" are taken from a third source.

4 In the *PVL*, ed. D. S. Lixačev (Moscow-Leningrad, 1950), vol. 1, p. 13, there are traces of the former glory of Polock: "а другое [княженье] на Полотѣ, иже полочане. От нихъ же кривичи, иже сѣдять верхъ Волги, и на верхъ Двины и на верхъ Днѣпра, их же градъ

Somewhat more material for a study of the problem is provided by kagan Igor′'s Treaty of 944 (945). This treaty with Byzantium was negotiated by twenty-five envoys representing as many Rus′ian princes, all mentioned by name.[5] The hierarchical ranking of the first four members of the dynasty as given here is interesting:

1) Kagan Igor′ (*Ingvarr*)—the head of the dynasty. We know that he captured Kiev and transferred his residence there. Under his direct rule was "all the Rus′ian land" with its three commercial and political centers—Kiev, Černigov, and Perejaslav.[6]

2) Svjatoslav—Igor′'s son. According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Svjatoslav ruled during his father's lifetime in Novgorod.[7]

3) Olga (*Helga*)—Igor′'s wife. The chronicles state that her residence was in Vyšgorod.[8]

4) Igor′—kagan Igor′'s nephew. The sources do not mention his residence, but it was probably Rostov, the old capital of the kaganate.

These names are followed in the list by: 5) Volodislav, 6) Predslava, and 7) Sfanъdr, the wife (or, probably, widow—since her husband is not included in the list) of Ulěb (*Óleifr*). It is quite possible that Sfanъdr was the

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есть Смоленскъ; тудѣ бо сидять кривичи. Таже сѣверъ от нихъ." About Ljubeč, see also A. N. Nasonov, *Russkaja zemlja* (Moscow, 1951), pp. 59–60, and M. N. Tixomirov, *Drevnerusskie goroda* (Moscow, 1956), p. 345.

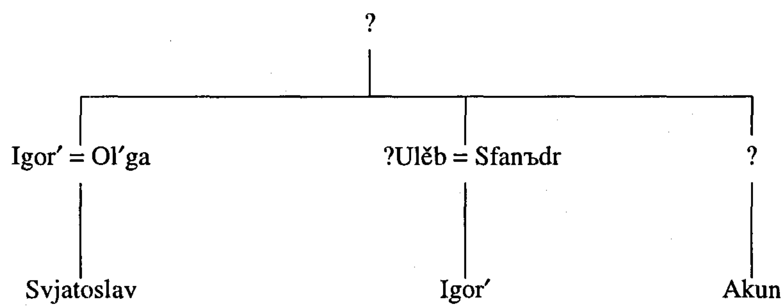
[5] In the existing copies of the text the name of the twenty-second prince is omitted, but his envoy's name has been preserved. Aside from these envoys thirty merchants participated in the mission: *Letopis′ po ipatskomu spisku* (St. Petersburg, 1871), p. 29. In the text of the Laurentian chronicle the names of four merchants were dropped by the copyists. Cf. *Lavrent′evskaja letopis′*, 3rd ed. (Leningrad, 1926), pt. 1, pp. 46–47. I am calling Igor′ *kagan* on the following grounds. The highest imperial title in the Eurasian steppe was *qaγan* (*kagan*). Its bearers were limited to few charismatic clans. One could become a kagan only if his father was a kagan (like later in Kievan Rus′: only the sons of a Kievan ruler could rule there). One example from the steppe: Tamerlane did conquer a great part of Asia, but he never attempted to adopt the title *kagan*, since his clan (Barlas) had no imperial charisma. Instead he adopted the title *gürgen* ("son-in-law") since he (as later his successor) was married to a Činggisid princess, a daughter of a qaγan, even if without a power, but with the clan's charisma. Jaroslav appears in Ilarion's *Slovo* as a *kagan*, as also his father Volodimer. Since Volodimer was a *kagan*, his father Svjatoslav must have been a *kagan*, as well as the known founder of the dynasty—Igor′. I may add that the *Annales Bertiniani*, where *s.a.* 839 for the first time the name *Rus′* appears, already calls the Rus′ ruler *chacanus*. In his letter to the Byzantine Emperor Basil (871), the Frankish king Lewis II states that three people have the right to use the title *kagan*, namely, the Avar, the Khazars, and the Norsemen (meaning Rus′), see Vilhelm Thomsen, *Samlede Afhandlinger*, 4 vols. (Copenhagen, 1919–1931), vol. 1, p. 261. On the title "Rus′ kagan" in the Islamic sources (first attested ca. 710 in the work of Ibn Rusta) see, e.g., V. Minorsky, trans., *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (London, 1937), pp. 159, 433, 436, 438. I cannot follow the views of P. B. Golden in "The Question of the Rus′ Qağanate," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 2 (1982): 77–97.

[6] See Nasonov, *Russkaja zemlja*, 28–50 (map between pages 32–33).

[7] *De administrado imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik (Budapest, 1949), 56, lines 4–5 (§9).

[8] See *Letopis′ po ipatskomu spisku*, ed. 1871, p. 38.

mother of Igor′, Igor′'s nephew. If so, then Ulěb must have been the brother of kagan Igor′. The next four princes were probably also connected with the dynasty, since the last of them is likewise called Igor′'s nephew: 8) Turъduv, 9) Fast (*Fastr*), 10) Sfirъko, 11) Akun (Hákon), "Igor′'s nephew" (нети Игоревъ). When Ol′ga, who—as Igor′'s successor—now resided in Kiev, traveled to Constantinople in 957 she was accompanied by her "nephew" (probably Igor′, the nephew of Kagan Igor′ as mentioned in the Treaty of 944) and twenty envoys representing Rus′ian princes (probably also the same number). In one of the last places in the list Constantine Porphyrogenitus names the envoys of Svjatoslav, Ol′ga's son.[9] This must signify that the heir to the throne, because he was a minor, held the last place in the dynastic order of precedence. On the basis of the above we can construct the following genealogy for the early "Rjurikids":



Before his second campaign against Danubian Bulgaria (ca. 969) Svjatoslav entrusted the reins of power in Rus′ to his three sons. The eldest, Jaropolk, received Kiev and the Poljanian land. Oleg, the second son, received the eastern part of the Derevljanian land with his seat at Ovruč, but was killed by Jaropolk soon after their father's death. It is of interest that neither of Svjatoslav's older (and legitimate) sons wanted to go to Novgorod, which (probably together with the Rostov land) passed to Volodimer, the son of Svjatoslav's concubine, Maluša. We know that Svjatoslav had a co-regent (and former *vojevoda*), Svěneld, who ruled over the western part of the Derevljanian land and over the Uličian (Tiverčian) land. Svěneld had two sons, Ljut (*Liótr*) and Mstiša. The sources also mention Svjatoslav's military commanders. In the account of the Bulgarian campaign Svjatoslav is immediately followed in the military hierarchy by Ἴκμορ (*Hinckmar*), and

[9] *De ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae*, J. J. Reiske, vol. 2 (Bonn, 1830), §15.

then by Σφέγκελος. Both were slain in the war with Byzantium in 971.[10] During these campaigns Svjatoslav left Pretič, that is, the son of Prět (Fretr)[11] as his chief *vojevoda* in Rus′. Pretič proved himself a worthy antagonist of the Pečeneg prince (mentioned ca. 968). The only brother of Volodimer Svjatoslavič to survive the events of 972–979 was Σφέγγος (Sveinki)[12] who, however, is not mentioned in the *PVL*. He probably did not hold any administrative position. In 1016 he is mentioned as a military commander together with the condottiere Χρυσόχειρ, a kinsman of Volodimer (the degree of kinship is unknown).[13] Volodimer entrusted the administration of his state exclusively to his sons.

2. WIVES AND SONS OF VOLODIMER THE GREAT

Historians of Volodimer's reign have generally ignored an important body of facts that provide a key to the better understanding not only of his system of government but of his foreign policy as well. The data in question consist of three lists. One is a list of Volodimer's wives and their sons (here referred to as List № 1) and two lists of his sons (List № 2, List № 3). With but minor exceptions, the chronicle traditions are based on the same sources, so the variants of these lists are relatively few in number. A list of Volodimer's wives and their sons (List № 1) is given in chronicle entries for 980.[14]

[1] у быша ему водимыя Рогънѣдь юже посади на Лыбеди идеже ныне стоить сельце Предславино От неяже роды 4 сыны: Изеслава Мьстыслава, Ярослава, Всеволода, а 2 тчери;	[1] His lawful wife was Rogъnĕd′ whom he settled on the Lybed′ where now the village of Predslavino stands.[15] By her he had four sons: Izjaslav, Mstislav, Jaroslav, Vsevolod, and two daughters;
[2] от Грекинѣ Святополка;	[2] by the Greek woman (he had) Svjatopolk;
[3] от Чехинѣ Вышеслава;	[3] by the Czech woman (he had) Vyšeslav;

10 Leon Diaconus, *Historiae*, ed. C. B. Hase (Bonn, 1828), p. 149 (Ἴκμορ), pp. 135 and 144 (Σφέγκελος/Σφάγελος). Cf. Ernst Kunik, *Die Berufung der schwedischen Rodsend* (St. Petersburg, 1845), vol. 2, pp. 186–187.

11 *PVL*, ed. D. S. Lixačev, vol. 1, pp. 47–48. Cf. Kunik, *Die Berufung*, vol. 2, p. 185.

12 Georgios Kedrenos, *Synopsis*, ed. I. Bekker, vol. 2 (Bonn 1839), p. 464. Cf. Kunik, *Die Berufung*, vol. 2, pp. 169–170.

13 Georgios Kedrenos, *Synopsis*, vol. 2, p. 478. Cf. Kunik, *Die Berufung*, vol. 2, pp. 170–171.

14 *Lavrent′evskaja letopis′*, 3rd ed., 79–80; *Letopis′ po ipatskomu spisku*, ed. 1871, p. 53. Cf. *Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis′* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1950), p. 128; *Moskovskij letopisnyj svod konca XV veka* (*PSRL*, vol. 25, Moscow-Leningrad, 1949), p. 358; *Patriaršaja ili Nikonovskaja letopis′* (*PSRL*, vol. 9, St. Petersburg, 1862), 41; V. N. Tatiščev, *Istorija Rossijskaja*, vol. 4 (Moscow-Leningrad, 1964), p. 132. Joannis Dlugosii [Długosz], *Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Polonia*, ed. Jan Dąbrowski, vol. 1–2 (Warsaw, 1964), pp. 192–193 = Polish translation, *Jana Długosza Roczniki czyli kroniki sławnego królewstwa polskiego*, bks. 1–2 (Warsaw, 1961), p. 261.

15 Rogъnĕd′'s Slavic name was Predslava.

[4] а от другоѣ Святослава и Мьстыслава;	[4] and by the other (Czech woman) (he had) Svjatoslav and Mstislav;[16]
[5] а от Болгарыни Бориса и Глѣба.	[5] and by the Bulgarian woman (he had) Boris and Glěb.[17]

Because this list does not include Volodimer's "youngest sons," Stanislav, Pozvizd, and Sudislav, it may be assumed that Volodimer married the mother of Boris and Glěb *before* 980.

To the names given in List № 1, one group of chronicles that is associated with the *Polychron of 1418* (to use A. Šaxmatov's terminology)[18] has added the names of Volodimer's two "youngest sons" (without giving the names of their mothers) from List № 2: Sudislav and Pozvizd.[19] The two lists of Volodimer's sons are both given under the year 6496/988. The first of these (List № 2) is simply an enumeration of their names:

Бѣ бо у него сыновъ 12	He has twelve sons:
Вышеславъ, Изяславъ, Ярославъ,	Vyšeslav, Izjaslav, Jaroslav,
Святополкъ, Всеволодъ, Святославъ,	Svjatopolk, Vsevolod, Svjatoslav,
Мьстиславъ, Борисъ, Глѣбъ,	Mstislav, Boris, Glěb,
Станиславъ, Позвиздъ, Судиславъ.	Stanislav, Pozvizd, Sudislav.[20]

[16] The Tverskij sbronik/Tver′ Collection (*PSRL*, vol. 15, St. Petersburg, 1863, col. 73) has here: а отъ другія Чехини Святослава и Станислава, "and by the other Czech woman [he had] Svjatoslav and Stanislav." Tatiščev (*Istorija*, vol. 4, p. 132) even provides her name: и от другия, Малфриди, Святослава и Мстислава, "and from the other [Czech woman], Malfrida, [he had] Svjatoslav and Mstislav." Cf. the Hustynian Chronicle, (*PSRL*, vol. 2, 1st ed., St. Petersburg, 1845, p. 250): "Четверта Чехиня, отъ юя же роды Святослава и Мстыслава, "The fourth was a Czech woman by whom he had Svjatoslav and Mstislav." The source of the *Polychron of 1418* had "Stanislav" in place of "Mstislav": а от другия Святослава и Станислава, "and by the second [Czech woman he had] Svjatoslav and Stanislav." This text is found in the following group of chronicles: *Sofijskaja Pervaja letopis′* (*PSRL*, vol. 5^2:1, Leningrad, 1925), p. 46; *Vologodsko-Permskaja letopis′* (*PSRL*, vol. 26, Moscow-Leningrad, 1959), p. 20; *Mosk. let. svod* (*PSRL*, vol. 25), p. 58; *Novgorodskaja Četvertaja letopis′* (*PSRL*, vol. 4^2:1:1, Petrograd, 1915), p. 56. It is interesting to note that while Maciej Stryjkowski (Kronika polska etc., vol. 1, Warszawa, 1846, p. 126) has "Stanisłav," Długosz (*Annales*, Books 1–2) has "Mstislav." The Tver′ Collection (*PSRL*, vol. 15, 1863, col. 113) also mentions: Станислава, Святославля брата въ Смоленскѣ, "Stanislav, the brother of Svjatoslav in Smolensk." Nevertheless it is probable that Stanislav was the younger brother of Svjatoslav and Mstislav by the "other" Czech woman.

[17] The source of the Pskov chronicles added a third son by the Bulgarian: а от Болгариня 10. Борис, 11. Глѣбъ, 12. Позвиздъ, "and by the Bulgarian woman he had 10. Boris, 11. Glěb, 12. Pozvizd." See *Pskovskie letopisi*, ed. A. N. Nasonov, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1955), p. 10).

[18] See, e.g., M. D. Priselkov, *Istorija russkogo letopisanija XI–XV vv.* (Leningrad, 1940), pp. 142–145.

[19] *Sofijskaja I let.* (*PSRL*, vol. 5:1, p. 46); *Vologod.-Perm. let.* (*PSRL*, vol. 26, p. 20); *Mosk. let. svod* (*PSRL*, vol. 25, p. 358). The Hustynian Chronicle continues the narration (on the basis of both annalistic and non-annalistic sources): Шестая Грекиня, ея же ради и крестися, отъ нея роди дщерь Марию, "by the sixth, a Greek woman, for whose sake he was baptized, he had a daughter, Maria..." etc. (*PSRL*, vol. 2, 1st ed., p. 250).

The original compiler of this list was probably partial to the sons of Rogъnědʹ. Thus, Jaroslav (a son of Rogъnědʹ) is listed before Svjatopolk although the latter, according to List № 3, was older. Similarly, Vsevolod (another son of Rogъnědʹ) is listed before Svjatoslav, although List № 3 again indicates that Svjatoslav was the elder of the two. In one large group of chronicles, whose source again was the *Polychron of 1418*, this bias was partly corrected by having Svjatopolk precede Jaroslav.[21] Długosz did the same (ca. 992). List № 3 follows in the *PVL* immediately after List № 2. It enumerates the appanages that Volodimer granted his sons:[22]

[1] И посади Вышеслава в Новѣгородѣ,	[1] and he placed Vyšeslav in Novgorod,
[2] а Изяслава Полотьскѣ,	[2] Izjaslav in Polock,
[3] а Святополка Туровѣ,	[3] Svjatopolk in Turov,
[4] а Ярослава Ростовѣ.	[4] Jaroslav in Rostov.
[1a] Умершю же старѣйшему Вышеславу Новѣгородѣ,	[1a] And when the oldest, Vyšeslav, died in Novgorod,
[4a] посадиша Ярослава Новѣгородѣ,	[4a] he placed Jaroslav in Novgorod,
[5] А Бориса Ростовѣ,	[5] Boris in Rostov,
[6] а Глѣба Муромѣ.	[6] and Glěb in Murom.
[7] Свьятослава Деревѣхъ,	[7] Svjatoslav in Dereva,
[8] Всеволода Володимери,	[8] Vsevolod in Volodimer,
[9] Мстислава Тмуторокани.	[9] Mstislav in Tmutorokanʹ.

A comparison of List № 3 with List № 2 shows that the former does not mention Mstislav (the elder), son of Rogъnědʹ. Possibly he was no longer alive in 988.[23]

3. THE SONS OF VOLODIMER THE GREAT

The original text of the entry under the year 988 could not have contained information about Vyšeslav's death since he was still alive in that year (according to the *PVL* he died in 1010). Thus, the original text for 988 could not have given information about changes in appanage resulting from the vacancy in Novgorod that was brought about by the death of Vyšeslav. Consequently, the sentence:

Умершю же старѣйшему Вышеславу Новѣгородѣ,	And when the eldest Vyšeslav died in Novgorod,

20 See *PVL*, ed. D. S. Lixačev, vol. 1, p. 83.

21 *Nov. IV let.* (*PSRL*, vol. 4:1:1, p. 89); *Sof. I let.* (*PSRL*, vol. 5:1, p. 71); *Nov. I let.* (*PSRL*, vol. 26, p. 30); *Mosk. let. svod* (*PSRL*, vol. 25, p. 365); *Rogož. let.* (*PSRL*, vol. 15:1, col. 16); *Nikon. let.* (*PSRL*, vol. 9, p. 57); *Nov. V let.* (*PSRL*, vol. 4:2:1, Petrograd, 1917, p. 88). Cf. J. Długosz, *Annales*, Books 1–2, pp. 190–251, and Stryjkowski, *Kronika*, vol. 1, p. 132.

22 *PVL*, ed. D. S. Lixačev, vol. 1, p. 83.

23 The presence of two Mstislavs in the list led the compilers to conclude that it must be a mistake. For this reason even modern scholars (e.g., D. S. Lixačev, *PVL*, vol. 2, p. 325) identified the elder Mstislav with Stanislav. However, Stanislav was one of Volodimer's youngest sons, while the elder Mstislav was the older brother of Jaroslav. In Tatiščev's source (*Istorija Rossijskaja*, vol. 4, 1964, 132) this Mstislav was identified with Vyšeslav.

посадиша Ярослава Новѣгородѣ,	he [Volodimer] placed Jaroslav in Novgorod,
а Бориса Ростовѣ,	Boris in Rostov,
а Глѣба Муромѣ...	and Glěb in Murom...

must be considered a later interpretation dating from approximately 1010.

Thus, the initial version of the text dealing with Volodimer's distribution of appanages among his sons must have appeared as follows:

[1] И посади Вышеслава Новѣгородѣ,	[1] And he placed Vyšeslav in Novgorod,
[2] а Изяслава Полотьскѣ,	[2] Izjaslav in Polock,
[3] а Святополка Туровѣ,	[3] Svjatopolk in Turov,
[4] а Ярослава Ростовѣ,	[4] Jaroslav in Rostov,
[5] Святослава Деревѣхъ,	[5] Svjatoslav in Dereva,
[6] Всеволода Володимери,	[6] Vsevolod in Volodimer,
[7] Мстислава Тмуторокани,	[7] Mstislav in Tmutorokan',
[8] [а Бориса Муромѣ].	[8] [and Boris in Murom].[24]

This would indicate that in 988 Volodimer established *eight* appanages, each with its seat in an important commercial center or in the capital of a former state since absorbed into the "Rjurikid" empire (about this see below). In 1010 Jaroslav left Rostov for Novgorod. His successor in Rostov was Boris, whose seat in Murom passed to his young brother, Glěb. The Scandinavian sagas tell the story of the proud, beautiful, and rich Swedish queen, Sigríðr Stórráða, who was wooed unsuccessfully by many princes. Among the unfortunate suitors, who paid with their lives for the temerity of courting the haughty beauty, we find the name of Vissavaldr (Vsevolod) of Garðaríki (Rus'). Vsevolod incurred Sigríðr's wrath because he was only an appanaged prince, and she had him burned alive. This Rus'ian prince has been correctly identified as Vsevolod Volodimerovič, prince of Volodimer-in-Volhynia.[25] Since the most important dates in Sigríðr's life are known, they can help establish the approximate date of Vsevolod's death.

Sigríðr was probably the daughter of Mieszko I of Poland (962–992).[26] She was born before 966, and thus was over ten years Vsevolod's senior. Sigríðr was first married in 985 to Eiríkr sigrsæli (the Victorious), King of Sweden (ca. 964–995). After Eiríkr's death (995) she married her second husband, the King of Denmark, Sveinn I tjuguskegg (the Fork-Beard), b. 964/5, d. February 13, 1014; king from 986. The marriage took place in 998. She died in 1014. It is evident, then, that Vsevolod could not have courted Sigríðr earlier than 995 (the year of Eiríkr's death) or later than 998 (when she remarried). Thus, his death must have occurred between 995 and

24 For the argumentation supporting this addition see below.

25 See Friedrich Braun, "Das historische Russland im nordischen Schriftum des X–XIV Jahrhunderts," *Festschrift Eugen Mogk* (Halle an der Saale, 1924), pp. 160–161 and N. N. Il'in, *Letopisnaja stat'ja 6523 goda i ee istočniki* (Moscow, 1957), p. 105.

26 See O. Pritsak, "On the Chronology of Óláfr Tryggvason and Volodimer the Great: The Saga's Relative Chronology as a Historical Source," *HUS* 16, no. 1–2 (1992): 29–30, n. 80. See also W. Dworzaczek, *Genealogia* (Warszawa, 1959), pl. 35, 36.

998. Vsevolod's successor in Volodimer was Boris, as Nestor's *Čtenie* ("Reading") on the lives of Boris and Glěb indicates.[27] Subsequently, according to the *Hustynian Chronicle* and Stryjkowski, Boris was followed in Volodimer by his young brother, Pozvizd.[28]

On the basis of the foregoing data it is possible to establish a list of eight appanages and their occupants in the years 988, ca. 995–988, and 1010.

Appanage	988	ca. 995–998	1010
1. Novgorod	Vyšeslav	Vyšeslav	Jaroslav
2. Polock	Izjaslav	Izjaslav	Izjaslav
3. Turov	Svjatopolk	Svjatopolk	Svjatopolk
4. Rostov	Jaroslav	Jaroslav	Boris
5. Derevljanian land	Svjatoslav	Svjatoslav	Svjatoslav
6. Volodimer	Vsevolod	Boris	Pozvizd
7. Tmutorokan′	Mstislav	Mstislav	Mstislav
8. Murom	Boris	Pozvizd (?)[29]	Glěb

An examination of these lists shows that the appanages may be divided into two types, one represented by the appanages of Izjaslav and Svjatopolk, and the other by those of Jaroslav and Boris. Both Jaroslav and Boris participated in a system of succession that may be compared to the later "ascent by scales." Izjaslav and Svjatopolk, on the other hand, did not take part in this system and continued to hold their original seats. In fact, Izjaslav and his dynasty remained in Polock permanently. We must conclude, therefore, that Volodimer divided his state into two types of sub-units. The first type consisted of appanages, the second of vassal provinces. The appanages comprised primarily territories which were connected with Volodimer's dynasty. These included Rostov and Murom (the kaganate of Rus′), as well as Novgorod. For these appanages Volodimer intended the succession to be based on principles of seniority and "ascent by scales." The intended vassal provinces embraced those lands which had formerly been independent. We know from the *PVL* that until the reign of Volodimer both Polock and Turov had their own dynasties (the dynasties of the "Varangians" Rogvolod (Rǫgnvaldr) and Tur, respectively). A similar situation existed in the Derevljanian land, where the dynasty of Mal/Niskina ruled until its subjugation by Igor′ and Ol′ga. Another example was Khazarian Tmutorokan′, the

[27] "Čtenie o žitii i o pogublenii i o čjudesěx svjatuju i blaženuju strastoterpcju Borisa i Glěba. Spisanie Nestora," ed. I. I. Sreznevskij, *Čtenija* (Moscow, 1859), text p. 9.

[28] If Pozvizd received Volodimer-in-Volhynia, a seat higher in rank than Murom, it would appear that at the time of his promotion he was prince at Murom. Thus, he was Boris's successor both in Murom, and later in Volodimer. This means that in ca. 988 Glěb was still with his father. He entered the system of "ascent by scales" only after the death of Vsevolod (between 995 and 998) when he received Murom, the lowest-ranking seat.

[29] See note 28.

former Empire of the Bosporus, which was conquered by Svjatoslav. The dual organization of Volodimer's state may be represented in the following manner:

Appanages (in the system of ascent by scales)	Vassal provinces (with their own dynasties)
1) Novgorod	1) Polock
2) Rostov	2) Turov
3) Murom	3) Derevljanian land
4) Volodimer (Volhynia)[30]	4) Tmutorokan′

The version of the 1010 list that was incorporated into *PVL* was incomplete as were, in consequence, those chronicles dependent on it. Długosz's Rus′ian source continued the text further:[31]

Caeteris vero filiis tribus natu minoribus, videlicet	For the remaining younger sons
[10] Stanislao,	[10] Stanislav,
[11] Poszwyd,	[11] Pozvizd,
[12] et Sudislao	[12] and Sudislav
[Wlodimirus Dux] Kyoviensem et Berestow Principatus non nisi morte sua in eos devolvendos reservat.	[Volodimer] kept the principalities of Kiev and Berestovo, which they were to receive only after his death.

Stryjkowski's Rus′ian source provides these same data but with some additional information that is not found in Długosz:[32]

...Włodzimirz...dał...	...Volodimer...gave to
[10] Stanisławowi, Smoleńsko;	[10] Stanislav—Smolensk,
[11] Sudzisławowi, Plesków;	[11] Sudislav—Pleskov (Pskov),
[12] a Pozwizydowi Wołyń;	[12] Pozvizd—Volhynia;
tymże też, jako młodszym, po śmierci swojej Kijów i Berestów księstwa, naznaczył.	also to them, as his younger sons, designated after his death the principalities of Kiev and Berestovo.

The fact that Stanislav received Smolensk, and Sudislav Pskov, is also confirmed by the source of the *Polychron of 1418*.[33] The *Hustynian Chronicle* (*PSRL*, vol. 2, 1st ed., 1843, p. 259) does not mention the principalities of

30 Reasons for this inclusion are given below.

31 J. Długosz, *Annales*, vol. 1–2, pp. 250–251. See the new Polish translation based on the autograph: *Jana Długosza Roczniki czyli kroniki sławnego królewstwa polskiego*, bks. 1–2, pp. 324–325.

32 Stryjkowski, *Kronika*, vol. 1, 152.

33 Nov. IV let. (*PSRL*, vol. 4^2:1:1, 90); Sof. I let. (*PSRL*, vol.5^2:1, 71); Volog.-Perm. let. (*PSRL*, vol. 26, 30); Mosk. let. svod (*PSRL*, vol. 25, 365); Nikon. let. (*PSRL*, vol. 9, 57); Tatiščev, *Istorija Rossijskaja*, vol. 4, 1964, 138.

Kiev and Berestovo in the corresponding passage, but it names Volhynia as Pozvizd's appanage:

Володимер посады	Volodimer placed
[10] Станислава въ Смоленску	[10] Stanislav in Smolensk,
[11] Судислава в Плесковѣ,	[11] Sudislav in Pleskov,
сы есть въ Псковѣ,	that is, in Pskov,
[12] Позвизда въ Волыню.	[12] Pozvizd in Volhynia.

The term "Volhynia" is undoubtedly identical here with the appanage of Volodimer (in-Volhynia). It evidently became the seat of Pozvizd[34] after the death of Vsevolod, which was related above. This is clearly an indication that Volodimer, a recently established city in a newly conquered territory of great importance for the trade routes to the West, was incorporated into the system of appanages. The above passage also provides evidence about the close and direct links of Smolensk and Pskov to Kiev/Berestovo. This, again, was due to the great commercial importance of these two cities. Smolensk was located near the famous Okovskij forest in which the Dnieper, the Dvina, and the Volga, the most important arteries of trade at the time, all had their sources. This fact was known to the author of the *PVL*.[35] Pskov was also strategically situated for control of the Gulf of Finland, this gateway to Scandinavia and the Baltic.[36] The sources provide very scanty information about Berestovo. From the *PVL* we know that it was Volodimer's favorite residence, where he maintained one of his three harems,[37] and that it was there that he died.[38] Jaroslav was also fond of Berestovo. His friend, the future Metropolitan of Kiev, Ilarion, had his monastic cell there, which later became the nucleus of the Kievan Monastery of the Caves.[39] The only political act connected with Berestovo was the investiture, attested in the *PVL*, of Svjatoslav and Vsevolod (Jaroslaviči) in Jaroslav's palace on March 22, 1075, after the expulsion of Izjaslav.[40] The two usurpers undoubtedly chose Berestovo for the ceremony in order to lend it greater legitimacy. In 1096 Svjatopolk Izjaslavič had his foe and father-in-law, the Polovcian prince

34 The name Pozvizd is attested in Slavic mythology as the name of the wind god. In the Rogožskii Chronicle (*PSRL*, vol. 15²:1, Petrograd, 1922, col. 16) Pozvizd is called Vasilko. It is possible that, like his father, he bore the Christian name Vasilij. The Tver' Collection instead of Pozvizd's name has the name of Boleslav; the compiler, however, confuses this "son of Volodimer" with the Polish prince Boleslaw I: Болеслава въ Лясѣхъ Великыхъ, "[Volodimer had a son] Boleslav, in the land of the Great Ljaxi" (*PSRL*, vol. 15²:1, col. 113).

35 *Letopis' po ipatskomu spisku*, 1871, p. 4: изъ Воковьского лѣса.

36 Cf. Nasonov, *Russkaja zemlja*, pp. 70–76, 80–83.

37 *Letopis' po ipatskomu spisku*, 1871, p. 53.

38 *Letopis' po ipatskomu spisku*, p. 90.

39 *Letopis' po ipatskomu spisku*, p. 109.

40 *Letopis' po ipatskomu spisku*, p. 128.

Tugor-ta[r]kan, buried near Berestovo, possibly for dynastic reasons.[41] Finally, Berestovo is mentioned as the victim of attacks by its nomad neighbors. In 1096 Bonjak the Polovcian burned the princely court in Berestovo.[42] And in 1151 the town was stormed by the Koui, Torks, and Pečenegs.[43] This is the last reference to Berestovo that we possess. Unfortunately, the chronicles provide us with no details on the principality of Berestovo.

The fact that Kiev/Berestovo was to remain in the possession of his young sons is clear evidence that Volodimer considered this appanage to be a "patrimony" in the Turco-Mongolian sense of the "home-hearth" which passed to *od-tigin*, the youngest member of the family ("hearth prince").[44] The Saxon chronicler, Thietmar (b. 976, d. 1018; from 1009 Bishop of Magdeburg), was very well informed about Rus′ian affairs after the death of Volodimer. His informants were the Saxon participants in the expedition by King Boleslaw I of Poland to aid Svjatopolk (1017–1018). Thietmar writes:[45]

Rex ille [Volodimer]	This king [Volodimer] died from
plenus dierum obiit	the burden of days,
integritatem hereditatis suae	leaving his inheritance in its
duobus relinquiens filiis.	entirety to two sons;
tercio [Svjatopolk] adhuc	a third [Svjatopolk] was
in carcere posito	at that time in prison
qui postea elapsus	from which he later escaped,
conjuge ibidem relicto	leaving his wife there and
ad socerum [Boleslaw I] fugit.	fleeing to his father-in-law [Boleslaw].

Although, in general, scholars have a high regard for Thietmar as a historical source, in this instance it is usual to believe him mistaken. Thus, in view of later developments after the battle of Listven (1024), N. Il′in believes that the two sons referred to by Thietmar were actually Jaroslav and Mstislav (the younger).[46] This is hardly acceptable. As we have already seen, Volodimer had divided the state among his sons long before his death, retaining only Kiev/Berestovo (together with Smolensk and Pskov) as his own domain. After Volodimer's death this, according to the sources used by

41 *Letopis′ po ipatskomu spisku*, p. 162. Cf. *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, line 63 in Roman Jakobson, *Selected Writings*, vol. 4 (The Hague-Paris, 1966), p. 172.

42 *Letopis′ po ipatskomu spisku*, p. 161.

43 *Letopis′ po ipatskomu spisku*, p. 296.

44 Boris Ja. Vladimircov, *Obščestvennyj stroj mongolov. Mongol′skij kočevoj feodalism* (Leningrad, 1934), pp. 54–55, 98, 111. See also N. N. Poppe, "Perezitki kul′ta ognja v mongol′skom jazyke," *Doklady Akademii nauk SSSR—B* (Leningrad, 1925), p. 14, and "Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen," *Asia Major*, 2 (1925): 130–145.

45 *Chronicon*, ed. R. Holtzmann and Werner Trillmich (Berlin, 1958), p. 434.

46 *Letopisnaja stat′ja 6523 goda*, p. 104–105; cf. also M. Hruševs′kyj, *Vyjimky z žerel do istoryji Ukrajiny-Rusy*, L′viv, 1895, 96, n. 1.

Długosz and Stryjkowski, was to pass to his youngest sons as their inheritance. As we have seen, Volodimer had three "youngest sons" (that is, those born after 980): Stanislav, Pozvizd and Sudislav. Pozvizd, the son of the Bulgarian woman and brother of Boris and Glěb, received Volhynia after Volodimer's death, leaving only Stanislav (the brother of Mstislav the younger) and Sudislav with the status of "youngest sons." It is thus reasonable to maintain that they became Volodimer's successors in Kiev/Berestovo. They reigned jointly under the protection of Mstislav (the younger) of Tmutorokan′ until 1036, when both Mstislav and Stanislav died. We owe this important information to a Byzantine historian of the eleventh century, Joannes Skylitzes. In his chronicle (which is taken to AD 1057) he writes (ca. 6544/1036) as follows:[47]

> ἐτελεύτησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν 'Ρὼς ἄρχοντες, ΝοσισθλάβοςκαὶΖινισθλάβος καὶ ἄρχειν προεκρίθη τῶν 'Ρώς συγγενὴς τῶν τελευτησάντων *'Ιεροσθλάβος.
>
> The archonts of Rhōs, Nosisthlabos [Mstislav], and Zinisthlabos [Stanislav] passed away and the brother of the deceased Jerosthlabos [Jaroslav] began to rule over the Rhōs.

This explains why, even after his treaty that followed the battle of Listven, Jaroslav still did not dare move to Kiev and remained in Novgorod. References to these events were evidently eliminated from the earlier redaction of the *PVL* by chroniclers loyal to Jaroslav's dynasty. Only a brief note has been preserved stating that immediately upon his return to Kiev after Mstislav's death in 1036, Jaroslav imprisoned his younger brother, Sudislav[48] (Stanislav was probably no longer alive), who spent 23 years in prison, until his nephews released him in 1059. In the light of the above, this brief mention assumes major significance.

A summation of the analysis detailed above provides us with a clear picture of the system of government during Volodimer's reign. Under Volodimer the state was divided into *three* "spheres." The first was Volodimer's own domain which consisted of:

1) the capital domain of Kiev/Berestovo, and
2) domains under the direct control of Kiev/Berestovo:
    a) Smolensk, and
    b) Pskov.

The order of succession envisaged for Kiev was regulated by the Altaic (Turco-Mongolian) system of the "home-hearth." This domain was the

[47] *Georgius Cedrenus Joannis Scylitzae ope ab J. Bekkero suppletus et emendatus* II (Bonn, 1839), p. 515.

[48] В се же лѣто всады Ярославъ Судислава в порубъ, брата своего, Плесковѣ, оклеветанъ к нему, "in the same year, Jaroslav imprisoned Sudislav, his brother, in Pskov, because he had been slanderiously accused." *PVL*, ed. D. S. Lixačev, vol. 1, p. 102.

inheritance reserved for Volodimer's youngest sons, with the stipulation that if one of them died or otherwise left the system, his rights automatically devolved on the remaining son or sons. The two younger sons of the Bulgarian woman, Glěb and Pozvizd, were the first to be recognized as Volodimer's "youngest sons" for patrimonial purposes. For reasons still unclear, the younger Pozvizd left this system first when, following Vsevolod's death (ca. 995–998), he succeeded Boris to the seat of Murom. In 1010 Pozvizd was followed in Murom by his older brother, Glěb, after his own promotion to Volodimer in Volhynia. By this time the position of "youngest sons" had probably gone to Stanislav and Sudislav. These two became Volodimer's successors in Kiev/Berestovo after his death. But even before this they ruled in their father's name in Smolensk (Stanislav) and Pskov (Sudislav), probably as his lieutenants. The second "sphere" embraced four seats-appanages distributed among Volodimer's older sons. The seat lowest in rank was Murom, followed in ascending order by Volodimer-in-Volhynia, Rostov, and Novgorod, which as the highest-ranking seat, was reserved for the oldest son. In this "sphere" the order of succession was regulated by a system that a later source calls лествичное восхождение ("ascent by scales"). As already observed, in the original distribution of appanages among Volodimer's sons, the system of "ascent by scales" culminated with Vyšeslav. His death triggered a chain reaction of changes in occupancy of the seats. Jaroslav left Rostov for Novgorod and was followed in Rostov by Boris, whose seat in Volodimer now passed to Pozvizd. The third "sphere" included provinces which formerly had been independent states. These now became vassal provinces with Volodimer's sons forming their new dynasties. These states, four in number, were:

1) Polock,
2) Turov,
3) the Derevljanian land,
4) and Tmutorokan′.

Of these only the Polock dynasty of Izjaslav Volodimerovič survived through the entire pre-Mongolian period in the history of Rus′.

4. THE WIVES AND SONS OF VOLODIMER SVJATOSLAVIČ

The next problem is to establish the birth dates of Volodimer's sons, and the dates of Volodimer's marriages with his chief wives up to 980. These wives were: Rogъněd′ (Ragnheiðr), the Greek woman, the Bulgarian woman, and the two Czech women. The name of the second of Volodimer's Czech wives is known; it was Malъfrěd′ (Málfríðr). To simplify the task, a table is presented below coordinating available chronicle information. This table shows, first of all, that Volodimer fathered thirteen, not twelve, sons. One of

Volodimer's Sons in Order of Their Birth

ORDER OF BIRTH	SOURCE: List № 1 (980) WIFE: Rogъnĕd'	Greek Woman	Czech Woman I	Czech Woman II	Bulgarian Woman	List № 2 (988) Not Given	List № 3 (988) Not Given
1			Vyšeslav			Vyšeslav	Vyšeslav seat: Novgorod
2	Izjaslav					Izjaslav	Izjaslav seat: Polock
3	Mstislav (the elder)					–	–
4		Svjatopolk				Svjatopolk	Svjatopolk seat: Turov
5	Jaroslav					Jaroslav	Jaroslav seat: 1. Rostov 2. Novgorod
6				Svjatoslav		Svjatoslav	Svjatoslav seat: Derevljanian land
7	Vsevolod					Vsevolod	Vsevolod seat: Volodimer
8				Mstislav (the younger)		Mstislav	Mstislav seat: Tmutorokan'
9					Boris	Boris	Boris seat: Rostov
10					Glĕb	Glĕb	Glĕb seat: Murom
11				Stanislav		Stanislav	
12					Pozvizd	Pozvizd	
13						Sudislav*	

*Sudislav's mother has not yet been identified.

them, Mstislav (the elder) died while still a child.[49] Their order of birth is given here:[50]

1) Vyšeslav
2) Izjaslav
3) Mstislav (the elder)
4) Svjatopolk
5) Jaroslav
6) Svjatoslav
7) Vsevolod
8) Mstislav (the younger)
9) Boris
10) Glěb
11) Stanislav[51]
12) Pozvizd[52]
13) Sudislav

Jaroslav Volodimerovič was born in 978 (at the time of his death in 1054 he was seventy-six years old). Svjatopolk must have been born in the same year as Jaroslav, but a few months or weeks earlier than Jaroslav, the son of Rogъněd'. We know this because it was not possible for Volodimer to have taken the "Greek woman" from Jaropolk (who had received her from his father after the campaign of 971) before 977. Because Svjatoslav, the son of the second Czech woman, was immediately younger than Jaroslav, he must have been born a few months or weeks after the latter, probably still in 978. Boris was born in 979, and some ten to twelve months after (at any rate not later than 980, since the sources already mention him in that year) was born his brother, Glěb. Because Vsevolod (Rogъněd''s son) and Mstislav the younger (the son of the second Czech woman) were older than Boris (b. 979) and younger than Svjatoslav (b. 978), they must have been born in 979. Thus, Vsevolod, Mstislav the younger, and Boris were all born in the same year a few weeks or months from each other. From the foregoing it follows that of Volodimer's thirteen sons, seven (from Svjatopolk to Glěb) were born within a space of four years, between 977 and 980. They were born of four different mothers. Volodimer went to Novgorod in 967, so he could not

49 Mstislav (the elder), Rogъněd''s second son, is not mentioned in lists № 2 and № 3. This means that he must have died before 988, probably before the birth of Mstislav (the younger). Compare the analogous situation in the late twelfth century with the two Mstislavs Davidovici of Smolensk (*Letopis' po ipatskomu spisku*, 1871, ca. 1187, pp. 440–441), and ca. 1193 (p. 456).

50 This list gives priority to the sons of Rogъněd', that is, it lists Jaroslav before Svjatopolk, and Vsevolod before Svjatoslav. However, the sequence in List № 3 shows that Svjatopolk was older than Jaroslav, and Svjatoslav older than Vsevolod.

51 Starting with the Hypatian Chronicle, various redactions of the chronicles connect Stanislav with the second Czech woman.

52 For the argumentation that Pozvizd was born of the same mother as Boris and Glěb, see p. 12.

have courted Rogъněd′ before then. We do not now exactly when he raped Rogъněd′ before her parents' eyes, but this must have happened between 970 and 977, most probably in 975 (when Volodimer was about twenty years old).[53] Since Rogъněd′'s third son, Jaroslav, was born in 978, her older sons could not have been born later than 976 (Izjaslav) or 977 (Mstislav the elder). If Izjaslav was born in 976, then Volodimer's oldest son, Vyšeslav, must have been born before 976. The rape of Rogъněd′ could not have taken place earlier than 975. From this analysis it may be concluded that Volodimer married his first wives, the first Czech woman and Rogъněd′, in 975. Volodimer's youngest sons—Stanislav, Pozvizd, and Sudislav—were born between 981 (not earlier, since they are not mentioned in the 980 list) and 989 (not later than one year after Volodimer's baptism in 988). We can now summarize our conclusions about Volodimer's marriages with his five chief wives before his baptism. Volodimer took his first two wives (Czech woman I and Rogъněd′) in 975. He married the Greek woman ca. 977. Because the oldest son of the second Czech woman (whose name was probably Malъfrěd′) was born in 978, we can conclude that Volodimer married her in 977. Similarly we can say that he married the Bulgarian woman ca. 978, since the birth of Boris can be dated ca. 979.

5. THE FOREIGN POLICY OF VOLODIMER THE GREAT

In the Middle Ages, as in modern times for that matter, marriages of rulers were dictated by political considerations. So it was in Volodimer's case. Polock was an important center of Baltic trade situated close to the Lithuanian frontier. For Novgorod it was imperative to have control over Polock. This was the reason why Novgorod's policy-maker, Dobrynja, engineered the campaign that culminated in the destruction of Rogvolod's entire dynasty, whose sole survivor, Rogъněd′, became Volodimer's wife.[54] A striking feature of Volodimer's matrimonial situation is the fact that he married two Czech wives. They were probably members of the Premyslid dynasty. This would indicate that in the earliest stage of his political career Volodimer found an alliance with Bohemia of prime importance. Why? An attempt will be made to answer this question. Economic factors undoubtedly played a role. Prague was a very notable center of medieval trade. From the third quarter of the ninth century the important Kiev-Regensburg trade route passed through the Bohemian capital.[55] For Novgorod, which was linked

[53] At Volodimer's birth (ca. 955) his father, Svjatoslav, was probably not older than twenty-three. By Igor′'s death (944) he had still not reached his maturity (13 years). Volodimer was Svjatoslav's son third known to us.

[54] On Volodimer's activity in the Varangian lands see Pritsak, "On the Chronology," pp. 28–32.

[55] See Fritz Rörig, *Die europische Stadt und die Kultur des Bürgertums im Mittelalter* (Göttingen, 1964), p. 17.

with Kiev by the Dnieper river, participation in Central European trade was very important. This was probably the reason why Volodimer gave Novgorod to his half-Czech son, Vyšeslav.

There was, however, another reason for Volodimer's desire for friendly relations with Bohemia, particularly at the time when he was preparing to seize the Kievan seat. In 955 the might of the Magyars was finally broken in the battle on the Lech River near Augsburg. This event, which put an end to the devastating Magyar attacks, was of great, even crucial, significance for Europe and Rus'. From this Magyar defeat there emerged two victors. The first was Otto of Saxony, whose prestige as conqueror of the Magyars enabled him to accomplish the "renovatio Imperii Romani" in 961. The second was Otto's vassal and ally, Boleslav I of Bohemia (929–967). Boleslav took advantage of the vacuum which resulted from the Magyar defeat and, evidently with the consent of his protector, occupied a large part of the territory of the former Moravian Realm. Thus, after 955 the Czech Premyšlid state replaced the Magyars on the south-western frontier of Rus'. From 965 this Czech state became allied with Mieszko I of Poland who married Dubravka, the daughter of Boleslav I, and was baptized in the following year (966). After Dubravka's death (977), however, relations between her brother, Boleslav II (967–999), and Mieszko I became strained, evidently because Mieszko I laid claim to a part of the territory of the former Moravian Realm. In this situation Volodimer's first political-military action as prince of Kiev was the famous campaign against the Ljaxs (Poles) and the occupation of Peremyšl (which evidently had been founded by the Premyšlids) and the so-called Červen towns (981).

In this undertaking Volodimer must have acted in agreement with Boleslav II of Bohemia, whose daughter it was that he probably married. We have already seen that Volodimer took his second Czech wife (Malъfrěd') in 977. This could not have been a fortuitous choice, but the result of a Czech-Rus'ian alliance directed against the aggressive Mieszko. There is also reason to believe that Volodimer was an active participant in internal Czech affairs. The *PVL* states laconically that in 992: "Иде Володимеръ на Хорваты,"[56] "Volodimer marched against the Croats." Speculations about the exact identity of these Croats has created a voluminous literature. Yet none of the solutions proposed thus far is very convincing, particularly the hypothesis involving the "White Croats" of Galicia of which so many historians have become enamored. The only real (and not ephemeral) Croats in the Eastern Europe of the time were the Slavniki dynasty, rivals of the Premyšlids, who until 995 played an important role in Bohemian politics and ruled over half of the Czech lands. They are the only ones to whom the Rus'ian chronicler could possibly have referred. Indeed, the most important problem of Boleslav II's reign was his struggle with the Slavniki. In 995 he

[56] *PVL*, ed. D. S. Lixačev, vol. 1, p. 84.

finally destroyed all members of this dynasty (except St. Voytech-Adalbert). But the road leading to Boleslav's triumph must have been paved with a number of military undertakings. One of these was Volodimer's campaign against the Croats (the Slavniki) in 992. The second event of international significance at the time was the Byzantine offensive against Bulgaria, which began in the years 967–972. Volodimer's father, Svjatoslav, was actively involved in it and for a brief period even occupied a part of the Bulgarian state. This involvement finally cost Svjatoslav his life. Among Svjatoslav's prisoners captured in 969 was the Bulgarian tsar Boris II (969–973; d. 979), whom Svjatoslav kept in honorable captivity in Preslav. From 972 he was a prisoner of the Byzantines under similar conditions. In 976 the Kometopuli brothers (David, Moses, Aaron, and Samuel) raised the banner of revolt in Bulgaria. Boris II and his brother, Roman, fled from Constantinople in order to join the rebels. As a result of a tragic misunderstanding Boris II was killed shortly after, but Roman, whom the Byzantines had castrated in order to incapacitate him as a possible ruler, remained with the rebels until his death in 997.

M. D. Priselkov has suggested that the choice of names for Volodimer's sons by the Bulgarian woman, Boris/Roman and Glěb/David, was not accidental.[57] The older son (born ca. 979, but in any case before the death of Boris II in this year) received the names of the two Bulgarian tsars who had only recently escaped from Byzantine captivity—Boris (as his princely name) and Roman (as his baptismal name). The princely name of the younger son was Scandinavian—Glěb (Guðleifr), but his baptismal name was David, the name of the oldest of the Kometopuli brothers. The Kievan metropolitan (Ioann I) (ca. 1007–ca. 1020), himself a Bulgarian, composed a service in honor of Saints Boris and Glěb in which he attributed to Boris imperial prerogatives: Цесарьскымь вѣньцемь отъ уносты украшенъ, пребогатыи Романе, власть велия бысть своему отечьству и веси твари ("Adorned from youth with the imperial crown, o rich Roman, may your power be great in your patrimony and over all creatures").[58] This eulogy becomes even more significant if we remember that the Bulgarian rulers Symeon and Peter (the father of Boris II and Peter) had the official title of "emperor" (tsar) that even Byzantium recognized.

From these facts it may be concluded that Volodimer's Bulgarian wife was a member of the Bulgarian ruling dynasty, probably the daughter of Peter I (927–969) and thus the sister of Boris II and Roman. Volodimer's dynastic ties with Bohemia and Bulgaria were immensely significant for the

57 *Ocerki po cerkovno-političeskoj istorii Kievskoj Rusi X–XII vv.* (St. Petersburg, 1913), p. 56.

58 D. Abramovyč (D. I. Abramovič), *Žitija svjatyx mučenikov Borisa i Glěba i sluzby im* (Petrograd, 1916), pp. 136–137. About the Metropolitan Ioann see Teofil Kostruba, "Kyjiv′skyj mytropolyt Ivan (ok. 1007 – ok. 1020)," *Narysy z cerkovnoji istoriji Ukrajiny X–XIII stolittja*, 2nd ed. (Toronto, 1955), pp. 19–26.

cultural history of Eastern Europe. In both countries, particularly in Bulgaria, the great Moravian traditions continued to play their creative role. They particularly found expression in the Slavonic Rite of Saints Cyril and Methodius, who raised the Slavonic tongue to the status of a sacred language. This also served to determine the character of the Christian rite in Rus′ and the culture for which it served as the foundation. The fact could not have escaped Volodimer the statesman that the most powerful rulers of Europe in his time were the two Christian emperors and the head of Christendom, the pope. This influenced the direction of his diplomatic activity, for Volodimer decided to enter into relations with all three. Thus, he took advantage of the difficulties created for Emperor Basil II of Byzantium by the pretender Bardas Phocas to demand the porphyrogenita Anna in marriage. This only act paid Volodimer vast dividends, and not only in his relations with Byzantium. The Western Empire at this time was ruled by Theophano (d. 991), regent for the child-emperor Otto III (983–1002), who was a close relative of Anna. Volodimer's direct relations with the popes, John XV (985–996), Gregory V (996–999), and Sylvester II (999–1003), date from the same period. When Anna died in 1011, Volodimer took a German wife the following year. This was the third daughter of Chuno Welf von Oeningen and the granddaughter of Otto I.[59]

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[59] Cf. Il′in, *Letopisnaja stat′ja 6523 goda*, p. 115.

Appendix I

The Wives and Sons of Volodimer before His Baptism

Rogъnědʹ m. ca. 975 d. 1000	Czech Woman I m. ca. 975 d. ?	Greek Woman m. ca. 977 d. ?	Czech Woman II Malъfrědʹ m. ca. 977 d. 1000	Bulgarian Woman m. ca. 978 d. ?
	1) Vyšeslav b. ca. 976 d. 1010			
2) Izjaslav b. ca. 976 d. 1001				
3) Mstislav (the older) b. ca. 977 d. before 979				
		4) Svjatopolk b. ca. 978 d. 1019		
5) Jaroslav/ Georgij b. 978 d. 1054				
			6) Svjatoslav b. ca. 978 d. 1015	
7) Vsevolod b. ca. 979 d. 995/98				
			8) Mstislav/ Konstantin (the younger) b. 979, d. 1036	
				9) Boris/Roman b. ca. 979 d. 1015
				10) Glěb/David b. ca. 980 d. 1015
			11) Stanislav b. ca. 981/87 d. before 1036	
				12) Pozvizd/ Vasilʹko b. ca. 981/87 d. 1015

*Volodimer had thirteen sons. According to List № 2, the youngest was Sudislav. Neither the identity of Sudislav's mother, however, nor the date of his birth has been established.

APPENDIX II

The System of Government and Chronology of Reigns of Volodimer's Sons

I. *Personal Domain of Volodimer*

Sons "at father's side"	988–995/98	Pozvizd
	986–1010	Glěb
	1010–1015	Stanislav
		Sudislav

A. Capital Domain of Kiev/Berestovo:

1015	Stanislav, Sudislav
1015–1016	Svjatopolk
1016–1017	Boris
1017	Jaroslav
1017–1019	Svjatopolk (second time)
1019–1023	Jaroslav (second time)
1024–1036	Stanislav, Sudislav
1036–1041	Jaroslav (third time)
1041–1044	Brjačeslav Izjaslavič of Polock
1044–1054	Jaroslav (fourth time)

B. Domains under the direct control of Kiev/Berestovo:

Smolensk		Pskov	
ca. 1010–1036	Stanislav	ca. 1010–1036	Sudislav

II. *Four Appanages of Volodimer's Sons*

Novgorod	Rostov	Volodimer	Murom
Vyšeslav 988–1010	Jaroslav 988–1010	Vsevolod 988–995/98	Boris 988–995/98
		Boris 995/98–1010	Pozvizd 995/98–1010
Jaroslav 1010–1036	Boris 1010–1015	Pozvizd 1010–1015(?)	Glěb, Boris 1010–1015

III. *Vassal Provinces with Dynasties of Volodimer's Sons*

Polock	Turov	Derevljanian land	Tmutorokan′
Izjaslav 988–1001	Svjatopolk 988–1019	Svjatoslav 988–1015	Mstislav younger (capital at Černigov) 988–1036
Brjačeslav 1001–1044			
Izjaslavič			

Ivan the Terrible as a Carolingian Renaissance Prince*

DANIEL ROWLAND

The history of comparisons of Russia with Western Europe is a long and somewhat discouraging one. Too often, this sort of exercise has resulted in the conclusion that Russia was inferior to Western Europe because it lacked certain features that European society or culture possessed. Partly for this reason, Edward Keenan wrote in 1974 that "repeated attempts to align Muscovite institutions with those of the West, to bring her developments into 'phase' with Western cultural history, have been at best brilliant and appealing hypotheses and more commonly hindrances to the progress of historical understanding." The title for this essay is a not overly subtle reference to one such attempt, Michael Cherniavsky's imaginative and original but—I think most historians would agree—ultimately unconvincing attempt to align the image of Ivan the Terrible, both in his own alleged "correspondence" with Prince Kurbskii and in other Muscovite sources, with literary ruler images and some actual rulers in contemporary, sixteenth-century Western Europe. I mean this paper as a contribution to the discussion of how to align Muscovy with European history, and I would like to suggest, as Professor Keenan did (though for different reasons), that the most appropriate comparison for the Muscovy of Ivan IV is early medieval, rather than early modern, Western Europe.

I do not believe that there is much to be gained by a detailed discussion of Michael Cherniavsky's essay, but I do think it makes a useful starting point for several reasons. First, I would like to center my discussion on the type of evidence that Professor Cherniavsky used, that is, what are generally called "literary" texts from Ivan's reign and the period immediately following. Second, I would like to raise some of the same questions that Cherniavsky raised, but, obviously, to suggest different answers. In particular, I believe that his assertion that Muscovite political ideas were independent of religion in the way that they were for Machiavelli is erroneous—indeed it contradicts many of Cherniavsky's own conclusions in *Tsar and People*—and that the acceptance of this assertion leads to a very distorted view of early modern Russian political culture.

* The author would like to express his gratitude to Donald Ostrowski for his patient and perceptive comments on several drafts of this article.

I would like to insert at the outset a few cautionary words about the nature of the footnote-less essay on a large subject, a type of academic expression that has become rarer as American specialist knowledge of Russian affairs has grown, but one used most effectively by Professor Keenan. One reason for treading on this dangerous ground is that implicit comparisons with Western Europe are almost impossible to avoid, given the training of most Western historians of Russia and the context of historical debate in America in the late twentieth century. Explicit comparisons between periods and places have the advantage of forcing us to examine our assumptions, but they require us to discuss a number of large historical questions in a short space, and thus lead us to the medium of the essay. Professor Keenan's seminal essay "Russian Political Folkways" shows how effective this format can be in raising broad questions and suggesting challenging answers. The purpose of the exercise is to suggest broad lines of thought rather than to "prove" something, in this case the identity of the periods compared, an obviously impossible task. My goal, therefore, is to make a contribution to the discussion of some general questions; I hope to suggest some useful parallels and contrasts rather than to offer historical proof as usually conceived. I should admit at the start that my knowledge of Carolingian and post-Carolingian Europe is derived mainly from secondary sources. The situation is better for Muscovite texts, but there are obviously many texts that I have not read, including Makarii's Great Menology, for which I rely on David Miller's careful descriptions. Further, comparisons of Carolingian Europe and Muscovy inevitably produce the impression that Muscovy was "backward." Although a major point in what follows will be to stress the differences between political discourse in sixteenth-century Russia and that in sixteenth-century Europe, and thus to challenge Professor Cherniavsky's thesis, I do not mean to imply that Europe was more advanced or better. The interlocking political and cultural systems of Muscovy worked remarkably well for a long period of time.

There are further difficulties if one is arguing, as I am, that the political discourse in a country in Eastern Europe was six or seven hundred years "out of phase" with Western Europe in the sixteenth century and roughly "in phase" by the eighteenth. The pace of change alone makes generalizations dangerous. The astonishing growth of the state apparatus from Ivan's reign through the end of the seventeenth century means that, at least in that field, Moscow was a fast-moving target that recapitulated centuries of European development in a matter of decades. Below, however, I discuss for the most part only a narrow aspect of Muscovite politics and society, that is, political ideas found in chiefly literary and artistic sources—ecclesiastical and publicistic works, histories, wall paintings, and the like. This aspect of

Muscovite development changed slowly in spite of the availability of Western political culture both before and after the reign of Ivan the Terrible. Other types of evidence and other aspects of life pose different problems of alignment: Ivan's relations with his court, the evolution of the Muscovite bureaucracy, or the legal system may suggest other European parallels or none at all. At the end of this essay, I will suggest, following Valerie Kivelson, that at least by the middle of the sevententh century, there was a quite sharp disjuncture between the still medieval personal and moral nature of political discourse and the increasingly impersonal and legal nature of the tsarist administrative apparatus, best symbolized, perhaps, by the Ulozhenie (law code) of 1649.

In spite of these caveats, I still believe that, if one took a hypothetical European from each of the various periods into which historians have traditionally divided European history and set each of them down in mid-sixteenth-century Muscovy, the person from Carolingian Europe would feel most at home. He or she would have been used to living in a sparsely settled countryside, with enormous empty spaces of forest or wasteland. He or she would find a level of agricultural technology approximately that of home. No city in Carolingian Europe could have compared in size to sixteenth-century Moscow, but elsewhere, in the countryside where the vast bulk of the population had to farm and gather in order to support, by a very narrow margin of agriculture above subsistence, the few who did something else, life surely would have seemed similar. Only in Charlemagne's time did Europe have a state that could compare in size with Ivan's Muscovy, and both states therefore had to face similar problems, physical, administrative, and cultural, in administering an enormously large territory. Indeed, both sixteenth-century Muscovy and the Empire of Charlemagne combined great size with relatively weak state apparatuses, and therefore had to rely extensively on cultural constructs to hold their far-flung and diverse populations together.

Chief among these cultural constructs were the complementary images of ruler and people, images that seem to have been remarkably successful in persuading subjects of both of these large empires to obey the state and even to identify with it. In Russia, these ideas were assembled for Ivan—most or all of them were already available in literary sources—into something approaching a systematic whole by a group of ecclesiastical writers under the leadership of Metropolitan Makarii. The work of these writers can be seen as an answer to the question: what ideological clothes should the Emperor and his people wear? As the size and pretensions of the state grew, this question became ever more pressing. An answer similar to or even the same in outline as that elaborated by Makarii and his colleagues may already have been

worked out by the reign of Ivan's father Vasilii III or even earlier. Conveniently for the purposes of this essay, most of the ideas were much older yet. The achievement of the writers of Ivan's time is that, by dint mostly of repetition, they fused these ideas together into what modern historians of political thought would call a universe of discourse: a group of ideas expressed in commonly understood language that enabled people to understand each other when they wrote (and perhaps spoke) about what we would call political affairs. Given the increasing availability, by the late sixteenth century, of Western literature written from a very different point of view, it is a remarkable testimony to the conservatism of Muscovite literary culture that this universe of discourse remained the dominant one for so long— at least up to the middle of the seventeenth century.

Professor Keenan has already pointed out the similarity of Muscovite historical thought to historical thought in the West in the Early Middle Ages (before c. 1100) by concentrating on the restrictions that the very narrow range of available literary genres imposed on that thought. Both cultures were just emerging from a period in which annalistic chronicles and saints' lives had held undisputed sway. It seems to me that the content of that thought, the ideas themselves, are also surprisingly similar—and therefore have telling dissimilarities—to the ideas expressed by Carolingian image-makers, and that the images of the ruler were put together by a similar group of people using similar tools. Let us turn first, then, to the environment in which these ideas were put together, and then attempt a comparison of the ideas themselves.

First, the ideas appropriate for discussions of political affairs in a literary format were established for Charlemagne and his immediate predecessors and successors, as for Ivan and his family through time, by a group of learned clergymen closely connected with the court. (Both courts looked back to a tradition dating to the fourth century of the Church as the chief definer of imperial power in the newly Christianized Roman Empire.) It is not clear in either case if the actual ruler played any important part in this process beyond a vague sponsorship, though scholars are more inclined to assign to Charlemagne personally a greater role than I think is safe to assign to Ivan. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that we find the protection of the Church and its members among the prominent obligations of the monarch in each case. Note the contrast to the lay identities of many of the most important Renaissance writers on political subjects, even profoundly Christian writers like Erasmus and Thomas More, and the secular environments within which they worked. Note also the lack at the courts of Ivan or Charlemagne of any literary genre that would permit the sustained discussion of political ideas or theories. Second, the language in which these ecclesiastical writers

expressed themselves was a literary language quite separate from the ordinary vernacular of the day. This meant that political discussion was carried on in a stylistically rarified atmosphere that insulated it linguistically from day-to-day concerns and everyday problems, and placed a heavy emphasis on theological matters, since most of the other highly valued works in that language dealt with religious questions. To have written about politics in the spoken vernacular as Machiavelli did would have been as radical a departure at Ivan's court as at Charlemagne's. Indeed, in spite of the use of a non-ecclesiastical language for administrative purposes in Muscovy, there was no written vernacular available at either court.

Yet a comparison of Latin and Church Slavonic, and the works available in those languages to writers in the respective courts, at once reveals how much narrower was the range of subjects, styles, and ideas available in Church Slavonic as opposed to Latin, even the comparatively restricted list of texts available to Carolingian scholars. First, Latin was the administrative language of Charlemagne's court and empire, and there were apparently considerable connections between the publicistic works of ecclesiastical writers and the Capitularia, the laws and administrative regulations by means of which the country was actually governed. In Muscovy, such connections are hard to find, in part because the two activities were carried on in different languages, the plain style of the chancellery and the Slavonic of the Church. More important still was the access that Latin gave not only to Christian classical writers such as Augustine and Ambrose but to Roman imperial ideas, and, crucially, to Roman law. Even pagan poets were studied as examples of Latin style, though any sensuality in their poems was discreetly covered with allegorical interpretations. The contrast with the narrow range and small number of works available in Slavonic is clear.

This difference becomes even clearer when we examine one of the most striking similarities of Carolingian and Muscovite political thought—the central importance of the Bible as the primary source of political images and analogies. Carolingian texts, like their Muscovite counterparts, are dense with biblical material, whether as direct references or simply as phrases or even single words that had known biblical overtones. Yet because of the languages involved, the Bible was experienced differently in each place. When the Vulgate Bible, translated by Jerome into a fourth-century Latin saturated with terms drawn from Roman civil law, was read by a medieval jurist or even a well-educated clerical writer, it could yield legal meanings and associations that would not have been apparent to Muscovite readers at all. Thus, whereas in Muscovy the Bible served primarily as a source of political images by analogy, in the West, especially under the gaze of generations of jurists, it

could yield rather precise legal precepts. Here lies one reason why it is precisely the early Middle Ages, when this development had not proceeded very far (though it was certainly well under way), that yields the closest parallels to Muscovite political thinking.

Let us now turn to the ideas themselves that were clustered around the dual images of ruler and people in Muscovy and in Carolingian Europe. In both cultures, the most important of these by far was the idea that all political power came from God. This powerful idea, termed "the descending theme of government" by Professor Walter Ullmann, was articulated in similar ways in both cultures and had somewhat similar results. A careful reading of historical and publicistic texts from both cultures reveals that, if one were to ask (anachronistically) who the sovereign was in the state, the only accurate answer would be God Himself, an answer that would have seemed hopelessly naive to virtually everyone thinking about politics in Renaissance Europe. For Muscovites and Carolingians alike, the state was seen as a means to the end of carrying out God's will, and the ruler received his power because he was perceived as the divinely chosen agent for that purpose. This idea was expressed, apparently by Charlemagne himself, in the formula "King (or Emperor) by the Grace of God," a formula that Professor Ullmann argues perfectly encapsulates Carolingian ideas on rulership and even on society. This theme dominated the coronation ceremonies of the Carolingian period, in which rulership was conceived as a revival of the biblical kingship of David, who was of course chosen by God. The Old Testament theme was carried further: Charlemagne's throne was modelled on Solomon's throne and Aachen was called a New Jerusalem. Christian and imperial themes were added to this revival of the Old Testament kingdom by Pope Adrian I, who called Charlemagne the New Constantine. Within a generation of Charlemagne's death, Hincmar, Archbishop of Reims and a crucial figure in the development of the Carolingian ceremony, introduced the idea of anointing the ruler with the so-called "Clovis oil," allegedly preserved from the baptism of Clovis, whom he referred to as the New Constantine.

The similarity of all of this to Muscovite ideas is striking. Although the Russians used the Dei Gratia formula (*Bozh'eiu milost'iu*), the more common (and more explicit) form was the epithet "chosen by God" (*Bogom izbrannyi*), encountered countless times in Muscovite texts and expanded in the coronation service of Ivan IV to "beloved by God, chosen by God, and honored by God." Before the bestowal of the regalia, Metropolitan Makarii intoned a prayer that explicitly invoked the kingship of David:

> King of Kings and Lord of Lords, who by Samuel the Prophet didst choose thy servant David and anoint him to be King over thy people Israel,... look down from thy sanctuary ... upon thy faithful servant Ivan, whom Thou hast blessed and raised up as Tsar of thy holy people.

References to Saint Vladimir as the New Constantine were commonplaces in Muscovite literary sources, and the fuss over Monomakh's cap parallels the fuss over Clovis's oil. (Note, however, the dynastic connection with Saint Vladimir as opposed to the territorial and tribal connection with Clovis.) Moscow as well as Aachen was seen by contemporaries as a New Jerusalem.

If this descending theme powerfully enhanced the ruler's power by linking his will to the will of God, it also irresistibly brought with it the obligation to obey God's law and God's will, however those concepts were understood. Both Ivan and Charlemagne undertook royally sponsored reforms of the Church and each held a unique place within the Church granted to no other layman. In his coronation ceremony, Charlemagne promised to obey God's laws and protect the Church before he was crowned. At Ivan's coronation, the metropolitan admonished Ivan that his realm was a sacred trust for which he would be held responsible at the Last Judgment. Significantly, this admonition occurred after the bestowing of the regalia (but before the unction), and Ivan made no promises in reply.

I should emphasize again that the ideological wardrobes chosen by their clerical image-makers for Ivan and Charlemagne were in neither case original creations, but they were remarkably similar, had similar sources (the Bible, Byzantium, and the Roman Empire), and were assembled as part of larger cultural programs, which in turn were also quite similar. Although the changes wrought by the "Carolingian Renaissance" were both more rapid and more radical than the corresponding changes in Muscovy (in part because the territories that constituted Muscovy, unlike many of Charlemagne's territories, had been at least nominally Christianized for centuries), the task for both courts was to overlay the existing layers of political thought and practice, particularly unwritten and customary layers, with a thoroughly Christian concept of rulership in which the power of the ruler came exclusively from above. The image of the people had simultaneously to be changed from the independent political and semi-independent cultural units that they had been in their recent past, to a single Christian people united by a common Christian culture. From a functional point of view, the work of Makarii and his colleagues paralleled that of the writers and artists of the Carolingian Renaissance. Makarii's Great Menology collected and arranged the common store of liturgical and religious materials, particularly saints' lives; the Book of Degrees attempted to create a common historical tradition

based on the dynasty; in art and architecture, provincial styles and craftsmen were brought to Moscow to create a visual culture common to the whole Muscovite realm. A common iconography with common themes could be found in the Kremlin churches and in the Golden Palace. (Many of the same themes were taken up again by the artists who decorated the Palace of Facets under the patronage of Boris Godunov.) In each of these areas of activity, considerable originality was displayed in working out the symbols of this common Christian culture. The so-called "Church Militant" icon is perhaps the best summary of these ideas expressed in symbols that surely would have been understood by Charlemagne and his court. The "Church Militant" title, added in the eighteenth century, misleadingly recalls later medieval developments in the West under a revived Papacy. What is militant in the icon is not a Church but a sacred state led by Ivan below and the Archangel Michael above. The theological tone and highly personal nature of these texts and images in both cultures is light years away from the self-interested statecraft of Machiavelli as well as from the rational Christian humanism of Thomas More.

One might argue, and with some justice, that these royal symbols and concepts could be found as easily in later medieval or even Renaissance coronation services or documents, that they were common to European ideas of kingship in general. There are two answers to this argument. One is that they never occupied as much of stage center as they did in the Carolingian period. The other is that, though symbols and even texts may have survived, especially in a liturgical setting, three European developments that did not occur in Muscovy and had not begun or were only beginning under Charlemagne, decisively changed the course of all political discussion, and in particular the ways in which these very symbols and concepts were understood. These developments were (1) the enormous growth of legal thought in both royal and ecclesiastical chancelleries, (2) the introduction of Aristotelian logic and the growth of scholasticism, and, (3) the continuing physical isolation of the Papacy, with its vast array of canon lawyers and theologians, from the political and intellectual control of any monarchy. Under both Charlemagne and Ivan IV, legal codes and practices were primitive when compared to Renaissance Europe, the habit of extended and logical analysis of abstract concepts was almost entirely absent, and the interests of the Church were felt by almost everyone to coincide with the interests of the state, except in very exceptional circumstances. In any case, the Church lacked the political, economic, and military strength to resist the state.

These very general statements can be illustrated at an only slightly lower level of generalization if we briefly consider from the perspective of later

European history a central paradox inherent in the descending theme of government and if we also consider the Muscovite and Carolingian responses to that paradox. Simply stated, the paradox is this: the descending theme presupposes, for what might be called ritual reasons, an ideal ruler who can perfectly transmit God's will to the earthly realm. Few if any rulers were perfect; most were far from it. What do you do with a bad king? My verb "do" here conceals three paths that Europeans followed in their efforts to resolve this paradox, though by the Renaissance they had by no means reached the end of any path: *(a)* the working out of a definition of the law so that at least some people could agree when the ruler broke it; *(b)* the working out of concepts and terminology so that the ruler could be criticized (or merely described) without overthrowing the whole idea of legitimate government; and *(c)* the gradual evolution of machinery that could, short of civil war, constrain the ruler to obey the law as defined in *(a)* and thus obey God's will. The Muscovites did make considerable progress on path *(a)*, especially during the Time of Troubles and during the long campaign of gentry petitions in the seventeenth century, but the personal and religious nature of political discussion prevented, for better or worse, much movement before about 1650 along paths *(b)* or *(c)*, except for the idea of criticizing the advisers of the ruler in place of the ruler himself, a habit that was frequently used in the Carolingian period, as will be discussed immediately below.

This identification of the law with God's will may strike us as naive and may have seemed so to later Europeans, but it seems to have been an obvious one to Carolingian and Muscovite alike. The early medieval concept of law, like the meaning that we find attached to *zakon* and its derivatives in Muscovite literary sources, went far beyond "mere" written law. It encompassed a frustrating (for us) amalgam of what we would call moral or ethical law, religious law, and customary law, all of which taken together, or even separately, were more important than written positive law. In particular, Muscovite and Carolingian thought placed a heavy emphasis upon custom, the importance of doing what was done in your father's and grandfather's time, of preserving the social hierarchy, an emphasis common to most traditional societies. Neither the Muscovite nor the Carolingian literary culture seems to have differentiated public from private rights, laws from morals, or positive law from ideal law. This characteristic may have been at least as much an asset as a defect in Ivan's or Charlemagne's kingdoms, but it hampered the movement of political thought in the direction that Europe happened to take because, although both cultures agreed that the ruler had a primary obligation to uphold the law, each had to go through a painful period

of trial and error in order to arrive at even a general sense of what the law was or was not.

Muscovite and Carolingian alike found it difficult to criticize the ruler within the accepted terms of political discussion. Both cultures placed a heavy emphasis, in coronation rituals and other texts, on the piety and wisdom of the ruler, but neither provided an effective conceptual framework for describing or correcting an erring ruler short of declaring him king no longer. In the West, the long and complicated evolution of the idea of the king's two bodies eventually provided an effective theoretical way of dealing with this question, since the ruler could be criticized as a person while his office remained unblemished, but this evolution had not begun in Carolingian Europe. I know of only one attempt (by Ivan Timofeev) in Muscovite sources before 1630 to separate the corrupted person of the ruler from his incorruptible throne, and this suggestion was not pursued. One suspects that the great popularity in Muscovy of Agapetus's "Hortatory Chapters" was largely due to his discussion of the two natures of the ruler, God-like and man-like, but Agapetus, like the texts available to the Carolingians, never succeeded in resolving the paradox or in separating the body politic from the body natural, so that the personal and political aspects of the ruler remained intertwined. For this reason, it was difficult to criticize the policies of a ruler without criticizing his personal piety and wisdom, and so making him an ineffective mirror of God's will.

Another solution to the problem, one that was frequently used by both Carolingian and Muscovite writers, was to focus on the ruler's advisers: the advisers of a ruler could be criticized without touching the ritually necessary perfection of the ruler. In Muscovy, the role of advice-giving received more and more emphasis. The role of wise advisers was repeatedly emphasized in the murals in the Golden Palace. In contemporary sources, evil advice and the "foolish silence" (*bezumnoe molchanie*) of the righteous, who should have served as wise advisers, were described as major reasons for the evils of Ivan's reign and the coming of the Time of Troubles. In the purely practical realm, the creation of a political consensus was an essential step in driving out the foreign invaders and re-establishing the tsardom. After the Troubles, the gentry were more and more accustomed to being consulted, and firmly believed in their right to present petitions and grievances to the tsar. Post-Troubles coronation ceremonies added a popular acclaim that had been absent in Ivan IV's days. Yet in both cultures, Carolingian and Muscovite, the role of the wise adviser remained defined by personal qualities rather than institutional affiliation and remained in effect an aspect of the mercy of the ruler. Even when, in seventeenth-century Russia, advice was conveyed

through quasi-institutional forms, it was seen as a manifestation of God's will rather than an expression of popular will that had legitimacy in its own right. And, as the gentry petitions of the mid-seventeenth century showed, if a ruler persisted in surrounding himself with scoundrels even after petitions and good advice, then criticism of the ruler himself was hard to avoid. Ultimately then, the brittle logic of political discourse in both cultures left little choice between accepting the will of the ruler as the will of God, or rejecting it as the prattlings of a usurper or, worse, the poisonous messages of the Antichrist himself or of his forerunner.

The practical result of this King/No King dualism was that, in the case of the breakdown of the informal mechanisms of consultation and negotiation that were the basis of government in both societies (and in Renaissance Europe), there was no clear institutional framework to resolve conflict. In later medieval and Renaissance Europe, however, the function of advice-giving was progressively institutionalized and hedged around by legal formulations. Attempts in this direction were made both in countries like England, where representative institutions ultimately triumphed, and in countries like France, where they did not. In Carolingian Europe and in sixteenth-century Russia, by contrast, this pattern of representing conflict in constitutional or institutional terms seems not to have had much appeal. This feature of public political discourse in Russia seems largely responsible for the fact that, although the gathering of advice and political support from a fairly wide range of Muscovite society during and after the Time of Troubles was crucial to the survival of the state and the conduct of business, this function of advice-giving found no long-term place in the structure of the government. Instead, the government of a "God-chosen" tsar as it was imagined to have existed in the sixteenth century was carefully reconstructed.

I hope that this survey, brief and undocumented as it has been, has illustrated some fundamental similarities between Muscovite and Carolingian political ideas. In both places, these ideas were assembled by clerics attached to the court drawing on imperial and Christian traditions, particularly the Bible. In both places, the central political idea was the descent of all political power from God alone, with the people seen as God's chosen people, the successors to Israel, ruled by God's will as transmitted by His chosen ruler. Around this central idea were arrayed similar notions of advice, of law and the ruler's obligation to govern in accord with it, and of the responsibility of the ruler to preserve Christian doctrine and the Church. Russian ideology, therefore, has roots very similar to the roots of Western European ideology and is neither bizarre nor exotic in the European context.

Within this context of similarity, we have discussed a number of important dissimilarities. Almost all of these differences—in language, in concepts of law, in literary traditions governing the discussion of politics, in the relative power of Church and State—worked to inhibit the Russians from following the path of establishing institutional or constitutional limits on the monarch's power that some Western countries followed. Although Muscovy had, by the seventeenth century, institutions like a powerful Boyar Duma and a wealthy Church that might have acted as institutional checks on the power of the monarch, neither in fact played this role. This situation can surely be explained in part by the continuing medieval, non-institutional nature of the political discourse that seventeenth-century Russians inherited from their sixteenth-century ancestors and in part by the differences between Carolingian and Muscovite political culture that we have just outlined. Moreover, before the ambiguities in Muscovite political culture had had a chance to work themselves out (scant progress was made in this direction), they were replaced starting in the late seventeenth century by western European absolutist ideas that had been specifically designed to resolve those very ambiguities (in their Western medieval form) in favor of monarchical power. The Russian redaction of the medieval ideal of Christian rulership was thus both less hospitable to the evolution of constitutional or institutional limits on the monarch's power than was the Carolingian and was in any case replaced by a much more modern ideological system imported from the West designed to deny such limits.

How do these observations fit in with our knowledge of other aspects of Muscovite society? Many aspects of that society—the size of the state, its relatively primitive administrative apparatus (at least in the sixteenth century), the power of the boyars both relative to the ruler and to everyone else in the realm, the development of what Professor Keenan has called "the land-for-service paradigm" of land held in return for military service to the state—had a strong resemblance to similar features of the early medieval Western European landscape. Yet, as we observed earlier, Muscovy was a fast-moving target. In particular, we have seen a number of impressive studies of the rapid growth and bureaucratic evolution of the administrative apparatus, which inevitably tended to substitute abstract legal norms and routine procedures for the personal contact and religious orientation of the political discourse we have been discussing. As Valerie Kivelson has argued, the tension between these two kinds of political discussion (and political action) became acute over the course of the seventeenth century, with first the bureaucracy, then the ruler, and finally the service aristocracy at all levels gradually abandoning the old way of looking at things.

The bureaucracy found the old personal and religious discourse impractical and difficult to accommodate in administrative procedure. The ruler was dismayed by the theoretical door left open to rebellion by those who disagreed with the religious policies of the Church. The service aristocracy simply found it advantageous to adapt to the new circumstances for a variety of practical reasons. Thus, by the accession of Peter I, the most active parts of Russian society had begun to question the traditional way of representing political power. It remained for that energetic monarch finally to sweep away the traditional images and replace them with the image of a European-style *Rechtsstaat* based in theory (if not always in practice) on the impersonal rule of law, an ideal based on early modern, rather than early medieval, European models.

In spite of the illusion created by this ideological change of a revolution imposed from above, practical political life went on much as before, with the retention of everything from the land-for-service paradigm to an informal court politics based more on clan and patronage than on European-style laws. Whether or not these features deserve the name "medieval" or coincided with political practice further west are questions beyond the bounds of this essay. I think that Professor Keenan would agree, however, that many of these "old-fashioned" features gave the Russian political system, surrounded by enemies and short of resources, its peculiar strength and durability, at least in the short and middle terms. Perhaps the same can be said for Muscovite political ideas in the years before 1650.

The University of Kentucky

To Call a Spade a Spade, or the Etymology of *Rogalije*

IHOR ŠEVČENKO

I

Under the year 1091, the *Pověstь vremennyxъ lětъ* has preserved an eyewitness account written in what looks like a *stile dicté*: it tells the story of the *translatio* of the relics of Feodosij, abbot of Kyiv's Monastery of the Caves. Shortly before August 15 of that year, Feodosij's remains were removed from the cave, where he had been buried after his death in 1074, and were transferred to the Church of the Dormition, which he had founded. Here is the translation of a passage from the account:[1]

In the year 6599. The abbot and the monks took counsel and said: "It is not good that our father Feodosij be lying outside the monastery and his <own> church. For it is he who has founded the church and gathered the monks together." After having taken counsel, they ordered that a spot be prepared where his relics would be laid down. And three days before the coming of the feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God[2] the abbot commanded to break the ground where his, that is, our father Feodosij's, relics lay. I, the sinner, was the first eyewitness to the abbot's command, and I shall recount it, for it was not a matter of hearsay, but I myself was

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[1] *Pověstь vremennyxъ lětъ* [henceforth to be quoted as *PVL*], in *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej*, 2nd ed., 1 (Leningrad, 1926) (the best for the Laurentian manuscript), 209, 10–210, 21. I also used the unpublished synoptic edition of the five main manuscript witnesses for *PVL* that Donald Ostrowski kindly put at my disposal. After the manuscript evidence, Ostrowski offers the text of the three previous editions, as well as his own text. See Appendix below. — Cf. also Samuel H. Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, *The Russian Primary Chronicle....* (Cambridge, Mass. [1953]), 170–71. Samuel Hazzard Cross's translation of the passage is elegant. Unfortunately, that elegance is spurious, for in parts the translation amounts to a paraphrase; it also contains some plain errors in addition to a cultural Westernism or two.

[2] The day of the Dormition of the Virgin (August 15) was an appropriate time to place Feodosij's relics in the church founded by him, because it was dedicated to the Virgin's Dormition. To complete the operation in time, however, it had to be started a few days earlier. *PVL*'s *приспѣвшю празднику успеньꙗ б(огороди)цѣ треми д(ь)ньми* (209, 16–17) is somewhat involved. That is perhaps why Dmitrij S. Lixačev was misled into rendering the passage by *и через три дня, в праздник Успения богородицы* (cf. D. S. Lixačev and others, *Povest' vremennyx let,* 1 [Moscow, 1950], 339). But the abbot's preliminary command would no longer make sense by August 15. *PVL* (211, 21) explicitly dates the arrival of Feodosij's relics in the Dormition Church to August 14 and Lixačev translated it correspondingly (see ibid., 340).

the initiator of the thing. The abbot came to me and said to me: "Let the two of us go to Feodosij's cave." And I came together with the abbot, and nobody was aware <of it>; and we inspected where one should dig, and we marked the spot where one should dig, outside of the entrance. And the abbot said to me: "You must not tell any of the brethren, so that no one would learn <about it>; but take anyone you wish, so that he might help you." On that day I readied the *рогалие* with which to dig, and on Tuesday [= August 12] evening at dusk I took another brother[3] with me. Without anyone's knowledge, I came to the cave, and, after having completed the singing of the psalms, I started to dig. And, having grown weary, I gave <the tool> to the other brother. We dug and toiled until midnight, and as we were not able to dig <our way> down, I began to worry that we might be digging off the mark. And I took up the *рогалью* and began to dig vigorously, while my companion was resting in front of the cave. And he said to me: "They struck the sounding board" [= August 13 at dawn]. And at that <very> moment I dug <all the way> down to the relics of Feodosij, just as <my companion> was saying to me, "They struck the sounding board," and I said, "I have dug <all the way> down." And when I had dug <all the way> down, I was overcome with awe, and I began to intone "Lord, have mercy." At that <very> moment, two of the brethren were sitting in the monastery; <it was> when the abbot was <still> keeping <things> secret from us and <had not yet said> with whom he was going to transfer Feodosij in secret. Looking towards the cave <just> as the sounding board was <being> struck, they saw three pillars like radiant bows; these stood <for a while> and <then> moved to the top of the church where Feodosij was <to be> laid down. [The ceremonial transfer of Feodosij's relics occurred on Thursday, August 14, cf. *PVL*, 211, 21-24].

In the fifteenth century, the *Povѣstь*'s anonymous report on the translation of Feodosij's relics was inserted, with some embellishments and attribution to Nestor, into the so-called Kassian versions of the widely read Kyivan *Paterikon* of the Monastery of the Caves.[4] Otherwise, there seems to be no

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[3] "On that day": the proper reading is *семь д(ь)ни*, "on this day." This was already seen by Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj (reported by Dmytro Abramovyč in Dmitrij Tschiżewskij's *Das Paterikon* [as in the subsequent n.], 218), but not by Muriel Heppell, *The Paterik of the Kievan Caves Monastery* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 90, who translated the parallel passage of the Kyiv *Paterikon* by "in the course of seven days." In 1091, August 12 in fact fell on a Tuesday. — I take ·в҃· *брата* of the Laurentian manuscript (210, 3) to mean *другаго брата* acc. sg., "another brother," rather than "two brethren," which is the usual translation (cf. Cross, 170 and Lixačev, 339). Cf. *другому брату,* "the other brother," in 210, 6, *другу моему,* "my companion," in 210, 9–10, and the abbot's instruction "take *anyone*.... so that *he* may help you" in 209, 28–210, 1. In this way a superfluous third person is removed from the operation, and the text reads smoothly. The reading adopted here was suggested to me by Professor Andrzej Poppe (Warsaw).

[4] Cf., e.g., Dmitrij Tschiżewskij, ed., *Das Paterikon des Kiever Höhlenklosters* [= Slavische Propyläen, Bd. 2] (Munich, 1964), 78–80 [= Discourse 9] (Tschiževskij reprinted the text of D. Abramovyč's *Kyjevo-Pečers'kyj Pateryk* [Kyiv, 1930]). For the English translation of the passage, cf. Muriel Heppell, *The Paterik of the Kievan Caves Monastery* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 89–91. — This minimalist statement leaves aside the brilliant speculations by Aleksej A. Šaxmatov, "Kievopečerskij paterik i Pečerskaja letopis'," *Izvestija ORJaS,* 2, 3 (1897), 795–844 and the subsequent scholarly discussion that they brought forth.

other reference to the form *рогалиѥ* or the like in the literature of Old Rus' proper. When the story of Feodosij's relics was included into the *Nikon Chronicle* in Muscovy soon after 1559, our term underwent further transformations.[5]

The context of the passage, however, leaves no doubt as to *рогалиѥ*'s meaning. The term denotes a tool, surely a tool for digging. At first sight, its etymology, too, seems to leave little or no doubt. That etymology has been postulated, or implied, to be Slavic. In his dictionary, Dal' listed *рогалія* within the main entry *рогъ*, "horn."[6] One recent commentator connected the word's first element "without doubt" with the Slavic *рогъ*; thus (so we deduce) *рогалиѥ* was something "horned," that is, two-pronged, like, but not identical with, a two-pronged hoe or a pitchfork. As for the "suffix" *-аль, -алие* or the like, the same commentator assigned it to "the type" present in such Slavic words as *оружие, ожерелие, оплечие.*[7]

In this short tribute to a scholar not averse to revisionist views in his own work, I shall maintain that the etymology of *рогалиѥ* and the like is not Slavic; the word is a borrowing from the Greek. The Greek model of *рогалиѥ, рогалья*, etc., was either the standard ἐργαλεῖον (pl. ἐργαλεῖα, pronounced [erγa'lia]) or its late Byzantine and early modern Greek variants ἀργαλεῖον or ἀργαλειό,[8] meaning "a working tool," in particular, "an agricultural or digging tool."

My proposal is revisionist only in a limited sense. After completing the draft of the present note, I realized that Max Vasmer had already known about the juxtaposition of *рогалія* (a word he found in Dal''s dictionary) with ἐργαλεῖον — he tucked this bit of information into the entry *аргамъ* of his

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[5] Cf. *Nikon Chronicle* under the year 6601 [= 1093], in *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej,* 3rd ed., 9 (1965, reprint of the ed. of 1862), 116–17.

[6] Vladimir I. Dal', *Tolkovyj slovar'....* 2nd ed., 4 (St. Petersburg-Moscow, 1882), 100.

[7] Andrej S. L'vov, *Leksika "Povesti vremennyx let"* (Moscow, 1975), 100. — For all its peculiarity (and perhaps because of it), *рогалиѥ* did not attract much attention in the secondary literature. It is merely listed in Fedot P. Filin's *Leksika russkogo literaturnogo jazyka drevnekievskoj èpoxi (po materialam letopisej)* [= Učenye zapiski Leningradskogo pedagogičeskogo instituta, 80] (Leningrad, 1949), 160, and is absent from sections dealing with terms of material culture in the same author's *(a) Obrazovanie jazyka vostočnyx slavjan* (Moscow, 1962), 284–88, and *(b) Proisxoždenie russkogo, ukrainskogo i belorusskogo jazykov* (Leningrad, 1972), 563–78, as well as in Pavel Ja. Černyx's *Očerk russkoj istoričeskoj leksikologii* (Moscow, 1956), 57–59, 66. The word is also absent from Max Vasmer's etymological dictionary (for the Russian version, cf. n. 36 below).

[8] For ἀργαλεῖον, cf. already Charles du Cange, *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Graecitatis* (Paris, 1688), 114 (with examples). Cf. also Emmanouel Kriaras, Λεξικό της Μεσαιωνικής Δημώδους Γραμματείας, 6 (Thessalonica, 1978), 258 and ibid., 9 (1985), 414. For ἀργαλειό, cf. 'Ακαδημία 'Αθηνῶν, 'Ιστορικὸν λεξικὸν τῆς νέας ἑλληνικῆς.... 3, 1 (Athens, 1941), 32–33 (where one of the meanings is 'loom').

Greko-slavjanskie ètjudy — but he refused to accept the connection between the two words.[9]

II

What should make us think twice before opting for the Slavic etymology of the term, is the instability of its textual transmission. In its first occurrence in our passage [*PVL*, 210, 2], the word appears as *рогалиѥ* (Laur.), *рогальи* (Radz.), *рогалии* (Acad.), *рогалиꙗ* (Hyp.), and *рогалиа* (Xleb.).[10] The context requires an accusative, on account of the verb *пристроихъ*, "I readied." But an accusative of which number? Three witnesses (Laur., Rad., Akad.) assume the word to be in plural (*и м и же копати*), while two (Hyp., Xleb.), put it in the singular (*и м же копати*). In the first occurrence, the gender of *рогалиѥ* remains unclear.

In the second occurrence [*PVL*, 210, 9], *рогалиѥ*'s form is more stable, for it occurs in the accusative singular feminine in all witnesses. The variations regard the stem: while three scribes (those of Laur., Radz., and Acad.) were noncommittal with their *рогалью* or *рогалию,* two (those of Hyp. and Xleb.) were precursors of the modern upholders of the Slavic cause, for they wrote *рукалью* or *ржкалию* respectively. They thus connected the term with *ruka/rǫka* and suggested the meaning of "hand <-held> tool" for it.

The so-called second Kassian version of the Kyiv *Paterikon* offers the form *рогалiа* in both occurrences of the term in the corresponding passage. This form looks like a neuter plural. In the first occurence, however, we read *рогалiа и м же копати* (*им* as in Hyp. and Xleb.). Grammatically odd as it was, "Kassian's" *им* should not surprise us: the Kassian versions were produced in Kyiv, and Hyp. and Xleb. are of "Ruthenian" origin. In sum, the scribe of the Kassian version may not have been clear in his mind as to the gender and number (or even the meaning) of the word in question.

In the *Nikon Chronicle,* all the manuscripts used in the 1862 edition have the nonsensical *прогалию,* accusative singular feminine (on account of the following *е ю же копати,* although one witness has *его*!), in the first

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[9] Cf. Max R. Vasmer (Fasmer), "Greko-slavjanskie ètjudy III," *Sbornik ORJaS,* 86, 1 (1909), 34.

[10] *Рогалиѣ* in *PVL*, 210, 2 is a reconstruction by A. A. Šaxmatov, cf. his *Povest' vremennyx let,* 1 (1916), 266, 3. — Laur. = the Laurentian manuscript of 1377; Radz. = the Radziwiłł manuscript of the end of the fifteenth century; Acad. = the Moscow-Academy manuscript of the late fifteenth century; Hyp. = the Hypatian Monastery manuscript of the early fifteenth century; Xleb. = the Merchant Xlebnikov manuscript of the sixteenth century.

occurrence. In the second occurrence, we read the Slavic-sounding *рогаль,* presumably accusative singular masculine.[11]

Such instability in transmission is a likely sign of a word's foreign origin. In our hypothesis, both *рогалие*, the accusative plural of indefinite gender and *рогалью/-ию,* the accusative singular feminine, would go back to the neuter plural ἐργαλεῖα/ἀργαλεῖα/ἀργαλειά. A parallel pattern is offered by *фофудьами,* instrumental plural feminine [*PVL*, 38, 1, Radz., Acad., Hyp., and Xleb.] occurring along with *фофудью,* the accusative singular feminine [continuation of *PVL*, 290, 14-15, Laur.]. Both go back to φουφούδια, neuter plural of φουφούδιον/-διν. This noun and adjective of unclear meaning, but always connected with precious fabrics, probably silk, is attested (in plural and in singular), among other places, in the inventory of objects belonging to the Rus' monastery of Xylourgou on Mt. Athos, drawn up in 1142.[12] *Скамья* (first attested as a plural *скамьи* in the continuation of *PVL*, 454, 25, under the year 1230) belongs here as well, as it must go back to the neuter plural σκαμνιά (with the accent on the ultimate as in modern Greek).[13]

As for the metathesis from ἐργ-/ἀργ- to *рог-*, a perfect parallel is offered by ἐργαστήριον (also attested as ἀργαστήριον), translated by *рогостырь* in the Slavic version of Theophylact of Ochrid's *Commentary* on the Gospel of Saint Luke.[14]

[11] Cf. Tschiżewskij, *Das Paterikon* (as in n. 4 above), 80, 5 and 13; *Nikon Chronicle* (as in n. 5 above), 117, 1–6. — Two late examples *рогалей, рогали* (pitchfork?) have been adduced by A. S. L'vov, *Leksika* (as in n. 7 above), 100; they come from a monastic document from the area of Moscow (dated to 1590–1592) and from materials recording the Arxangel'sk dialect (undated).

[12] The forms are φουφούδ(ια) and φουφούδ(ιν). Cf. Paul Lemerle, Gilbert Dagron and Sima M. Ćirković, *Actes de Saint-Pantéléèmôn* [= Archives de l'Athos, XII] (Paris, 1982), no. 7, lines 12 and 13 (p. 74) and commentary on p. 69. The same words appear as φούφουδ. and φουφοδ. in the unreliable edition of the same inventory by Filipp A. Ternovskij, *Akty russkago na svjatom Afone monastyrja sv. velikomučenika i celitelja Panteleimona* (Kyiv, 1873), no. 6, p. 52 (cf. also p. 63 n. 8, commentary *ad locum).*

[13] For a number of analogous examples, headed by *грамота* < γράμματα, cf. Vasmer, "Greko-slavjanskie" (as in n. 9 above), 17.

[14] Cf. Aleksandr V. Gorskij and Kapiton I. Nevostruev, *Opisanie slavjanskix rukopisej Moskovskoj Sinodal'noj biblioteki,* II, 1 (Moscow, 1857), 139, quoting Theophylact's *Commentary* on Luke 19:15–28 from MS. Sinod. 90, sixteenth century, "Russian" orthography (described ibid. on p. 128), fol. 183: *ӕ́ко же в велицѣм(ъ) семъ рогостыри мира торговати,* cf. Migne, *PG*, 123, col. 1028C: ὥστε ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἐργαστηρίῳ πραγματεύεσθαι, "so as to do business in the great workshop of this world." Even if the orthography of Sinod. 90 is "Russian," Theophylact is likely to have been translated in Bulgaria; this leaves open the question of where the metathesis ἐργ-*/рог-* took place. I am indebted to Professor Alexander Kazhdan for drawing my attention to the entry *рогостырь* in Izmail I. Sreznevskij's dictionary, *s.v.* — For ἀργαστήριον (from an Act of Esphigmenou), cf. Kriaras, Λεξικό (as in n. 8 above), *s.v.* ἐργαστήριον. — Further parallel cases of metathesis that come to mind are *(a) рам-* : ἀρμ- in *Cod. Suprasliensis* 281, 22 ed. Sergej Sever'janov, where

III

When Vasmer rejected the juxtaposition of *рогалія* with ἐργαλεῖον/ ἀργαλειό, he did it on semantic grounds. The connection between the two appeared doubtful to him, "for the meaning of the Greek word does not quite correspond to that of the Russian one."[15] Our task, therefore, is to show that in terms of semantics, ἐργαλεῖον fits quite well as the model for *рогалиѥ*.

A survey of more than two hundred eighty-six occurrences of ἐργαλεῖον in Greek literary texts[16] yields the following results: as expected, in a large number of occurrences the word simply means "tool" (rarely: "remedy" or "organ"). In the majority of cases (approximately one hundred seventy-five), however, it is specified as a tool used in the exercise of a particular craft, such as a physician's, a veterinarian's, a carpenter's, a builder's, a shipbuilder's, a smith's or a jeweler's, a cook's, a weaver's, or a stonemason's tool. Of these, in approximately thirty-six cases ἐργαλεῖον is explicitly defined as an agricultural tool: γεωργικὸν ἐργαλεῖον, ἐργαλεῖον γεωργικόν, τὰ τῆς γεωργίας ἐργαλεῖα, ἐργαλεῖα τῆς γεωργικῆς ἐπιστήμης, or εἰς γῆς ἐργασίαν .... ἐργαλεῖον. These thirty-six cases range from Poseidonios in the second–first century B.C., to the Byzantine erudite John Tzetzes in the twelfth century A.D.

In a further eleven cases, the context makes it clear that the ἐργαλεῖον in question is an agricultural tool. The sources range from Diodorus Siculus in the first century B.C. to John Tzetzes. For our purposes, it will be enough to quote a relevant passage each from these two authors. Diodorus Siculus: "Some they forge in the shape of weapons; other in a shape suitable for two-pronged hoes, sickles, and other tools (ἐργαλείων)."[17] Tzetzes: "In a bronze tool (ἐργαλείῳ): <that is,> in two-pronged hoes, axes, and other such <tools>."[18]

рамѣньскѧ translates τῶν 'Αρμενίων, "of the Armenians"; *(b) мра-/моро-* : μαρ- in *мраморъ* : μάρμαρος; and *(c)* the reading *рыскали* (which survives in modern Ukrainian *рискаль*) of Xleb. in *PVL*, 197, 6 where all the four remaining witnesses have the original *лыскари/-рѣ*.

[15] Vasmer, "Greko-slavjanskie" (as in n. 9 above), 34.

[16] My sample comes from the database of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (Irvine, Calif.) and from the Dumbarton Oaks (Washington, D.C.) Hagiography Database. I am indebted to Dr. Alice-Mary Talbot and her assistants for providing me with relevant material from the latter database.

[17] *Diodori bibliotheca historica,* vol. 5, 13, 2 = vol. 2, 21, 1–2 ed. Fr. Vogel.

[18] Cf. Tzetzes's scholium to Hesiod, *Works and Days* 150, in Thomas Gaisford, ed., *Poetae minores graeci,* 2 (1823), 134, 4–5.

Finally, in at least six cases ἐργαλεῖον is explicitly or by implication referred to as a tool for digging. Examples extend from Ps.-Macarius of Egypt in the fourth–fifth century A.D. ("they take ἐργαλεῖα and dig [ὀρύσσουσιν] in each spot")[19] to Eustathius of Thessalonica in the twelfth ("tool for digging wells," ἐργαλεῖον φρεωρυχικόν).[20] One passage with ἐργαλεῖον in this particular meaning is of a special interest for us, for the circumstances described there were somewhat similar to what went on in Feodosij's cave. The passage comes from the late ninth-century *Vita* of Makarios, abbot of the Pelekete monastery near the southern shore of the Marmara Sea in present-day Turkey.[21]

The saint decided to have a church built. Providentially, an ancient ruin was still standing nearby. The saint ordered those present to clear (ἀποκαθαίρειν) the ruin's site:

While everyone was hard at work, one of the monks was idly[22] standing by and watching the workers. The saint commanded him to assist those toiling.[23] The monk replied that he was not able to do so, for he happened to have a withered thumb. The saint, using moderation, struck him with his staff, reproached him for his lack of faith, and urged him to get to work as quickly as possible. When the monk took the suitable tool (τὸ ἐπίτηδες ἐργαλεῖον) and started to clear away (ἀποκαθαίρειν) the soil (or rubble: τὸν χοῦν), he instantly became active[24] and was working together with the others.

In the Greek-Rus' perspective, *рогалие*, "a tool for digging," has its semantic counterpart and formal ancestor in ἐργαλεῖον. In the typological perspective, more generous in terms of time and space, it has its counterpart in the modern Russian and Ukrainian *струмент*, "a set of craftsman's tools."[25] Both cases have many points in common: the meaning of the foreign model (ἐργαλεῖον's Latin equivalent is *instrumentum*[26]); the borrowing's subliterary

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[19] *Homily* 26, ch. 12, 3 = I, 248 ed. Heinz Berthold et al.

[20] *Comment. ad Homeri Odysseam,* 1 (Leipzig, 1825, reprint Hildesheim, 1960), 212, 18 ed. Gottfried Stallbaum.

[21] [Joseph van den Gheyn], ed., "S. Macarii, monasterii Pelecetes hegumeni Acta graeca," *Analecta Bollandiana,* 16, 2 (1897), 140–63. Our passage is in ch. 16 = p. 160, 9–17.

[22] In 160, 11 read ἀεργός, "inactive."

[23] In 160, 10 ἐργωμένοις is to be kept. Cf. Iohannes Tzetzes, *Chiliad.,* XII, 873 ed. Leone: ἐργῶνται αἱ γυναῖκες.

[24] In 160, 16, read ἐνεργός instead of the editor's meaningless ἐν ἔργον. Ἐνεργός, "active," is put here in opposition to ἀεργός, "inactive," of 160, 11.

[25] For the Russian word, cf. Dal', *Tolkovyj slovar'* (as in n. 6 above), 343; for the Ukrainian one, cf., e.g., the dictionaries by Borys Hrinčenko and Jevhen Onac'kyj, *s.v.*

[26] It was already so for Jepifanij Slavynec'kyj (d. 1675) who in his *Trejazyčnyj slovar'* translated ἐργαλεῖον by *instrumentum.* Cf. St. Petersburg, *Ross. nac. bibl.,* fond 799, 1683 (67), fol. 487^{r} a.

form;[27] the deformation at the beginning of the word; the collective singular likely derived from the model's plural; and the endowing of a generic term with a concrete meaning.[28] The main difference is that the Russian and Ukrainian terms come from the Latin West, while *рогалию* hails from the Byzantine South.

IV

The instability in textual transmission attested in the case of *рогалию* and its variants suggests two more things: contacts on a low level and a process of borrowing by word of mouth rather than by copying a literary source. In this respect, *рогалию* does not stand alone in the *Povĕstь vremennyxъ lĕtъ*. *Лыскарь* [*PVL*, 197, 6], "spade," goes directly back to λισκάριν, "*idem*," attested at least twice in monastic inventories dated to 1142[29] and 1192[30] respectively. Both of them are business documents written by lowly officials and therefore subliterary.[31] Φουφούδιον/φουφούδια, the precise model for *фофудьами* and *фофудью* that we already encountered [*PVL*, 38,1 and its continuation 290, 14-15] occurs at least four times in monastic and secular documents, one from Mt. Athos, one from (eastern?) Asia Minor, and two from thirteenth-century Calabria,[32] again on a subliterary level. Moreover, *мастеръ* (as in *мастеры от[ъ] Грекъ* [*PVL*, 121, 27]) can be best explained

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[27] Dmitrij N. Ušakov's *Tolkovyj slovar'* of standard literary Russian does not have *струмент*.

[28] For the popular language's tendency to employ words of an indeterminate meaning in a concrete sense, cf. the remark by Karl Dieterich, "Die heutige griechische Sprache im Spiegel der Kulturgeschichte," *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum....*, 11 (1903), 693.

[29] Cf. Lemerle et al., *Actes de Saint Pantéléèmôn* (as in n. 12 above), no. 7, line 27: λισκάριν ᾱ; cf. also commentary on p. 72. Ternovskij, *Akty russkogo* (as in n. 13 above), no. 6, 56 has the almost correct λισκάριον - α.; yet, on p. 64, n. 15 (commentary *ad locum)* he uses "Du Cange's" forms λίσγος, λισγάριον.

[30] Franz Miklosich and Joseph Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, 4 (Vienna, 1871), no. 107, p. 202: λισκάρια τρία (mentioned along with other utensils in a bequest to the monastery of St. Marina).

[31] The bequest of 1192 was written by a village notary, cf. Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, 203.

[32] Athos: cf. n. 12 above. Asia Minor: Testament of Eustathios Boilas, cf. Paul Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin* (Paris, 1977), esp. 24, 37. Calabria: Vera von Falkenhausen, "Un inedita singrafe dotale Calabrese del 1208/09," *Rivista Storica Calabrese*, N.S. VI, 1–4 (gen.-dic. 1985), esp. 446, 450 (φοφόδ(ην)), province of Reggio di Calabria; the monastery of Saints Peter and Paul in Calabria: cf. Spyridon P. Lampros, "Ὀκτὼ ἀνέκδοτα γράμματα....," Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, 7 (1910), 40, lines 15 and 20 (φουφούδιον, φουφούδιν) and p. 30 for the thirteenth-century date. *Fuffude* or *fuffudi* is attested in some marriage contracts in eleventh–twelfth-century Apulia, cf. von Falkenhausen, 452 n. 22. I wish to thank the author for drawing my attention to her article. The evidence just adduced should make the repeated recourse to Du Cange's φουφουδοτήν (as in *PSRL*, 1 [1926], note "ж" to *PVL*, 38, 1, copied by later editors) unnecessary.

as a counterpart of the spoken early modern Greek form μάστορας (true, first attested in writing in the fifteenth century), rather than as a borrowing based on more learned forms such as μαΐστωρ, let alone the high style μάγιστρος or *magister.*[33]

In the *Pověstь vremennyxъ lětъ*, *лыскарь* and *рогалие* appear in two related stories connected with Abbot Feodosij. The one containing *лыскарь* (entered under the year 1074), deals with Feodosij's death and burial and gives the famous biographical sketches of ascetic monks from his monastery. The other, containing *рогалие*, is our account of 1091 concerning the translation of Feodosij's relics. In each of the stories the narrator referred to himself as an eyewitness (*самовидець*, *PVL*, 196, 17 and 209, 20), a possible indication that the author of these two related stories was one and the same person. If this was in fact so, we meet on the pages of the *PVL* one eleventh-century monk of the Caves Monastery who was familiar with at least two ultimately Greek words denoting objects of material culture.

It is beyond the scope of this short note to speculate who that author-monk may have been, whether he was or was not Nestor, and from where the story of the translation of Feodosij's relics entered the *Pověstь vremennyxъ lětъ*.[34] In any hypothesis, the words of Greek origin discussed in this note are traces of technological transfer—direct or indirect—between the Mother and Daughter Churches. It has been a commonplace for a long time to assert that the carriers of this transfer were either Greek-speaking monks and craftsmen coming to Rus' (*мастеры от[ъ] Грекъ* being the catchword here), or Rus' monks traveling to and from their own monasteries on Mt. Athos. In the last fifty years or so, however, we have not sufficiently kept in mind the corollary of this proposition, namely, that in the areas of material culture at least, this transfer could have occurred on a subliterary level. Paying more attention to

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[33] Cf. Kriaras, Λεξικό (as in n. 8 above). 9 (1985), 359–60, *s.v.* μάστορας. Μαΐστωρ is the sure model for medieval Serbian *маисторь*.

[34] On these much discussed topics cf., most recently, Leonid V. Milov, "Kto byl avtorom 'Povesti vremennyx let'?" in idem, ed., *Ot Nestora do Fonvizina. Novye metody opredelenija avtorstva* (Moscow, 1994), 40–69, summing up two centuries of previous speculation (pp. 40–56). On pp. 56–69, Milov presented his own results. Supported by "new [computer] methodology on the level of contemporary science," he found, among other things, that *PVL*'s entry for the year 1074 (a part of the postulated "Caves Chronicle") was written by Nestor. As for our entry for 1091 (traditionally also a part of the "Caves Chronicle"), Milov excluded it from his computations on purpose, since "the likelihood that it was produced by another author is very high" (p. 58). Any methodology, new or old, should call for inclusion of this entry, just to find out whether it belongs to "another author" or not. Intuitive reading of *PVL*'s entries for 1051 (explicitly attributed to Nestor) and 1091 does reveal the existence of similar phrases in these two short texts. Cf. 158, 20, *и съвѣтъ створиша братья со игуменомь* with 209, 10–11, *игуменъ и черноризци свѣтъ створше* and 160, 1, *совокупляти нача многы черноризьци* with 209, 114, *и черноризци совокупилъ*.

the level on which linguistic contacts between Byzantium and Rus' took place will make us rely less heavily on standard literary texts and more on colloquial Byzantine and early modern Greek.[35] All this should result in a net gain for our studies.[36]

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[35] Such an approach was obvious, even programmatic, in the practice of such (then Russian) scholars of almost a century ago as Vasmer. Cf. his "Greko-slavjanskie," 4 and passim. Things became blurred in subsequent decennia.

[36] If we view things in this light, we shall no longer be satisfied with adducing imperfect parallels inherited from our venerable predecessors, or paradoxically imply that the name of an agricultural tool such as *лыскарь* could have been borrowed directly from a nomadic people (so Vasmer, "Greko-slavjanskie [see n. 9]," 118, who operated with "Du Cange's" λισγάρι(ον), although the almost correct λισκάριον had been available in print since 1873 [cf. n. 29 above], and denied a direct Greek origin to *лыскарь*); we shall not doubt the Greek origin of *лыскарь* altogether (so Vasmer's *Ètimologičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka* in Oleg N. Trubačev's translation, 2 [Moscow, 1967], 541); nor shall we list *лыскарь* among East Slavic words (so L'vov, *Leksika* [see n. 7], 99, 103). We shall show less caution in searching for antecedents of such words as *мастеръ* (cf. L'vov, *Leksika* [as in n. 7 above], 142, for whom the question of the language from which "Old Russian" borrowed the term remains moot). One day, we might even solve the puzzle of *вариманътью* (*PVL*, 211, 12).

APPENDIX

209,10:

Laur: в лѣт ҂ѕ ф ч͠ѳ игуменъ и черноризци свѣтъ
Rad: лѣт ҂ѕ ф ч͠ѳ игуменъ и черноризци свѣтъ
Akad: в лѣт ҂ѕ ф ч͠ѳ игуменъ и черноризци съвѣтъ
Hyp: в лѣт ҂ѕ ф ч͠ѳ игуменъ и черноризци свѣтъ
Xleb: въ лѣт ҂ѕ ф ч͠ѳ игуменъ иѡаннъ и черноризци съвѣт

Быч: В лѣто 6599. Игуменъ и черноризци съвѣтъ
Лих: В лѣто 6599. Игуменъ и черноризци съвѣтъ
Шах: В лѣто 6599. Игуменъ и чьноризьци, съвѣтъ
Ost: В лѣто 6599. Игуменъ и чьрноризьци съвѣтъ

209,11:

Laur: створше рѣша не добро есть лежати ѡц͠ю
Rad: створиши рѣша не добро еͨ лежати ѡц͠ю
Akad: створше рѣша не добро есть лежати ѿцю
Hyp: створше рѣша не добро есть лежати ѡц͠ю
Xleb: сътворше рѣша не добро еͨ лежати ѿц͠у

Быч: створше, рѣша: ‘‘не добро есть лежати отцю
Лих: створше, рѣша: ‘‘Не добро есть лежати отцю
Шах: сътворьше, рѣша: ‘‘не добро есть лежати отьцю
Ost: сътворьше, рѣша: ‘‘Не добро есть лежати отьцю

209,12:

Laur: нашему ѳеѡдосьеви кромѣ манастыря
Rad: нашему феѡ͠сневи кромѣ монастыря и
Akad: нашему феѡдосьеви кромѣ манастыря и
Hyp: нашему федосьеви кромѣ манастыря
Xleb: нашему ѳеѡ͠сню кромѣ монастыря и

Быч: нашему Феодосьеви кромѣ манастыря и
Лих: нашему Феодосьеви кромѣ манастыря и
Шах: нашему Феодосиеви кромѣ манастыря и
Ost: нашему Феодосиеви кромѣ манастыря и

209,13:

Laur: ц͠ркве своеꙗ понеже то есть ѡсновалъ ц͠рквь
Rad: ц͠ркви своеꙗ понеже тои еͨ ѡсновалъ ц͠рквь
Akad: ц͠ркви своеꙗ понеже тои есть ѡсновалъ ц͠рквь
Hyp: церкви своеꙗ понеже т<о> есть ѡсновалъ ц͠рковь
Xleb: ц͠ркве своеꙗ поне͗ тъ еͨ ѡсновалъ ц͠ркв

Быч: церкве своея, понеже той есть основалъ церковь
Лих: церкве своея, понеже той есть основалъ церковь
Шах: цьркъве своея, понеже тъ есть основалъ цьркъвь
Ost: цьркъве своея, понеже тъ есть основалъ цьркъвь

209,14:

Laur: н чернорнзцн совокупнлъ свѣтъ створше
Rad: н чернорнзцн совокупнлъ совѣтъ сотворше
Akad: н чернорнзцн совокупнлъ совѣтъ сотворше
Hyp: н <ч>ернорнзцн совокупнлъ н свѣтъ створше
Xleb: н чернорн^{з}цн съвокупн^{л} н съвѣ^{т} сътворше

Быч: и черноризци совокупилъ''. Совѣтъ створше,
Лих: и черноризци совокупилъ''. Совѣтъ створше,
Шах: и чьноризьцѣ съвъкупилъ''. И съвѣтъ сътворьше,
Ost: и чьрноризьцѣ съвъкупилъ''. И съвѣтъ сътворьше,

209,15:

Laur: повелѣша устронтн мѣсто ндѣ же положнтн
Rad: н повелѣша устронтн мѣсто ндѣ же положнтн
Akad: н повелѣша устронтн мѣсто нде же положнтн
Hyp: повелѣша устронтн мѣсто нде же положнтн
Xleb: повелѣша устронтн мѣсто нде же положнтн

Быч: повелѣша устроити мѣсто, идѣже положити
Лих: повелѣша устроити мѣсто, идѣ же положити
Шах: повелѣша устроити мѣсто, идѣже положити
Ost: повелѣша устроити мѣсто, идѣ же положити

209,16:

Laur: мощѣ его н прнспѣвшю праздннку успенья
Rad: мощн его н прнспѣвшю празннку успенья
Akad: мощн его н прнспѣвшу празннку успенью
Hyp: мощн е^{г} н прнспѣвшу праздннку успѣнья
Xleb: мощн его н прнспѣвшу праз^{д}ннку успенна

Быч: мощѣ его. И приспѣвшю празднику Успенья
Лих: мощѣ его. И приспѣвшю празднику Успенья
Шах: мощи его. И приспѣвъшю праздьнику Усъпения
Ost: мощи его. И приспѣвъшю праздьнику Усъпения

209,17:

Laur: бц҃ѣ тремн дн҃ьмн повелѣ нгуменъ рушнтн
Rad: бц҃н тремн днемн н повелѣ нгуменъ рушнтн
Akad: бц҃н тремн дн҃ьмн н повелѣ нгуменъ рюшнтн
Hyp: бц҃ѣ тремн дн҃ьмн н повелѣ нгуменъ рушнтн
Xleb: бц҃н тремн дн҃ьмн н повелѣ нгуме^{н} руш^{тн}

Быч: Богородицѣ треми деньми, повелѣ игуменъ рушити
Лих: Богородицѣ треми деньми, повелѣ игуменъ рушити
Шах: Богородицѣ трьми дьньми, повелѣ игуменъ рушити
Ost: Богородицѣ трьми дьньми, и повелѣ игуменъ рушити

209,18:

Laur: кдѣ лежⷣть мощѣ его ѡц҃а нашего ѳеѡдосьꙗ
Rad: гдѣ лежать мощи еⷢ ѡц҃а нашего феѡⷣсна
Akad: геⷣ лежатъ мощи его ѿц҃а нашего феѡдосьа
Hyp: гдѣ лежать мощѣ ѡ<ц҃>а нашего федосьꙗ
Xleb: где лежаⷮ мощи ѿц҃а нашего ѳеѡⷣⷪсна

Быч: кдѣ лежать мощѣ его, отца нашего Феодосья,
Лих: кдѣ лежать мощѣ его, отца нашего Феодосья,
Шах: къдѣ лежать мощи отьца нашего Феодосия,
Ost: къдѣ лежать мощи отьца нашего Феодосия,

209,19:

Laur: его же повелѣнью бꙑⷯ азъ грѣшнꙑи первое
Rad: его же повелѣнию бꙑⷯ азъ и первое
Akad: его же повелѣнию бꙑⷯ азь первое
Hyp: его же повелѣнью бꙑхъ азъ грѣшнꙑи первое
Xleb: егоⷤ повеленню бꙑⷯ азъ грѣшнꙑи самовидець

Быч: егоже повелѣнью быхъ азъ грѣшный первое
Лих: его же повелѣнью бых азъ грѣшный первое
Шах: егоже повелѣнию быхъ азъ грѣшьный... пьрвое
Ost: его же повелѣнию быхъ азъ грѣшьный пьрвое

209,20:

Laur: самовидець еже скажю не слухомъ бо слꙑшавъ
Rad: самовидець еже и скажю не слухом бо слꙑшевъ
Akad: самовидець еже и скажю не слухомъ бо слꙑшавъ
Hyp: самовидець се же и скажю не слухомъ бо слꙑшавъ
Xleb: пръвое се же и скаⷤу не слухѡⷨ бо слꙑшавъ

Быч: самовидець, еже скажю, не слухомъ бо слышавъ,
Лих: самовидець, еже скажю, не слухомъ бо слышавъ,
Шах: самовидьць. Се же и съкажю, не слухъмь бо слышавъ,
Ost: самовидьць. Се же и съкажю, не слухъмь бо слышавъ,

209,21:

Laur: но самъ ѡ семь началникъ пришедшю
Rad: но самъ ѡ семъ началниⷦ пришеⷣшю
Akad: но самъ ѡ семь началникъ и пришеⷣшу
Hyp: но самъ ѡ собѣ началникъ пришедшю
Xleb: но саⷨ ѡ себѣ началникь бꙑⷯ пришеⷣшю

Быч: но самъ о семь началникъ. Пришедшю
Лих: но самъ о семь началникъ. Пришедшю
Шах: нъ самъ о семь начальникъ. Пришьдъшю
Ost: нъ самъ о собѣ начальникъ. Пришьдъшю

209,22:

Laur: же игумену ко мнѣ и рекшю ми поидевѣ
Rad: же игумену ко мнѣ и рекшю ми поиднвѣ
Akad: же игумену ко мнѣ и рекшю ми поиднвѣ
Hyp: бо игумену ко мнѣ и рекшю мнѣ поидевѣ
Xleb: бω игумену къ мнѣ и рекшю ми поидевѣ

Быч: же игумену ко мнѣ и рекшю ми: "поидевѣ
Лих: же игумену ко мнѣ и рекшю ми: "Поидевѣ
Шах: же игумену къ мънѣ, и рекъшю ми: "поидѣвѣ
Ost: бо игумену къ мънѣ и рекъшю ми: "Поидѣвѣ

209,23:

Laur: в печеру к θеωдосьеви азъ же пришедъ и
Rad: в пещеру ко феω^д^сневи азъ же прише^д^
Akad: в печеру ко федосьеви азь же прише^д^
Hyp: в пещеру к федосьеви азъ же пришодъ
Xleb: въ пещеру къ θеω^до^сневи азъ же прише^д^

Быч: в печеру к Феодосьеви", азъ же пришедъ и
Лих: в печеру к Феодосьеви". Азъ же пришедъ и
Шах: въ пещеру къ Феодосиеви", азъ же, пришьдъ
Ost: въ пещеру къ Феодосиеви". Азъ же пришьдъ

209,24:

Laur: со игуменомъ не свѣдущю никому же разгл^ѧ^давша
Rad: со игуменомъ не сведущю никому же разглѧдавша
Akad: со игуменомъ не сведуще никому же разглѧдавша
Hyp: съ игуменомъ не вѣдущю никому же разглѧдавша
Xleb: съ игуменω^м^ не вѣдущю никому^ж^ разглѧдавше

Быч: со игуменомъ, не свѣдущю никомуже, разглядавша,
Лих: со игуменомъ, не свѣдущю никому же, разглядавша,
Шах: съ игуменъмь, не съвѣдущю никомуже, разглядахъ,
Ost: съ игуменъмь, не вѣдущю никому же, разглядавша,

209,25:

Laur: кудѣ копати и знаменавша мѣсто кдѣ
Rad: куда копати
Akad: куда
Hyp: ^ку^дѣ копати и назнаменавша мѣсто кдѣ
Xleb: куда копати и назнаменавша мѣсто где

Быч: кудѣ копати, и знаменавша мѣсто, кдѣ
Лих: кудѣ копати, и знаменавша мѣсто, кдѣ
Шах: куда копати, и знаменахъ мѣсто, къде
Ost: куда копати, и назнаменавша мѣсто, къдѣ

209,26:

Laur: копати кромѣ устьꙗ ре^ч же ко мнѣ игуменъ
Rad: кромѣ устьꙗ ре^ч же ко мнѣ игуменъ
Akad: копати кромѣ устьѧ рече же ко мнѣ игуменъ
Hyp: копати кромѣ устьꙗ ре^ч же ко мнѣ игуменъ
Xleb: копа^ти кроме устиа ре^ч же къ мнѣ игуменъ

Быч: копати, кромѣ устья. Рече же ко мнѣ игуменъ:
Лих: копати кромѣ устья. Рече же ко мнѣ игуменъ:
Шах: копати, кромѣ устия. Рече же къ мънѣ игуменъ:
Ost: копати кромѣ устия. Рече же къ мънѣ игуменъ:

209,27:

Laur: не мози повѣдати никому же
Rad: не мози поведати никому^ж ѿ бра^ти да не
Akad: не мози поведати никому же ѿ братьи да [не]
Hyp: не мози повѣдати никому же повѣдати ѿ братьи да не
Xleb: не моѕи повѣдати никому^ж ѿ братии да не

Быч: ‘‘не мози повѣдати никомуже отъ братьи, да не
Лих: ‘‘Не мози повѣдати никому же от братьи, да не
Шах: ‘‘не мози повѣдати никомуже отъ братия, да не
Ost: ‘‘Не мози повѣдати никому же отъ братия, да не

209,28:

Laur: но поими его же хощеши
Rad: увѣдаеть никто же но поими его же хощеши
Akad: увѣдаетъ никто же но поими его же хощеши
Hyp: увѣсть никто же но поими его же хощеши
Xleb: увѣсть никто^ж но поими его же хощеши

Быч: увѣдаеть никтоже; но поими, егоже хощеши,
Лих: увѣдаеть никто же; но поими, его же хощеши,
Шах: увѣсть никътоже, нъ поими, егоже хощеши,
Ost: увѣсть никъто же, но поими, его же хощеши,

210,1:

Laur: да ти поможеть азъ же пристроихъ з҃ дн҃ии
Rad: да ти поможеть азъ же пристрои^х з҃
Akad: да ти поможеть азь же пристроихъ з҃
Hyp: да ти поможеть азъ же пристрои^х семь дн҃и
Xleb: да ти поможеть аз же пристрои^х того дн҃и

Быч: да ти поможеть’’. Азъ же пристроихъ семь дний
Лих: да ти поможеть’’. Азъ же пристроихъ семь дний
Шах: да ти поможеть’’. Азъ же пристроихъ семь дьни
Ost: да ти поможеть’’. Азъ же пристроихъ семь дьни

210,2:

Laur: рогалие ими же копати и въ втор$^{\text{к}}$ь ве$^{\text{ч}}$
Rad: рогальи ими же копати въ втр$^{\text{к}}$о ве$^{\text{ч}}$
Akad: рогалии ими же копати въ вто$^{\text{к}}$ ве$^{\text{ч}}$ръ
Hyp: рогалиꙗ им же копати и въ вторникъ вечоръ
Xleb: рогалиа им же копати и въ вторникь ве$^{\text{ч}}$ръ

Быч: рогалие, имиже копати. И въ вторникь, вечеръ
Лих: рогалие, ими же копати. И въ вторникь, вечер
Шах: рогалиѣ, имиже копати. И въ въторьникь вечеръ,
Ost: рогалиѣ, имже копати. И въ въторьникь, вечеръ

210,3:

Laur: поꙗхъ с собою в҃ брата не
Rad: в суморо$^{\text{к}}$ поꙗ$^{\text{х}}$ с собою два бра$^{\text{т}}$ не
Akad: в суморокъ поꙗхъ и с собою в҃ брата не
Hyp: в суморокъ поꙗхъ съ собою в҃ бра$^{\text{т}}$ не
Xleb: в суморокь поѧ$^{\text{х}}$ и с собою два брата не

Быч: в суморокъ, пояхъ с собою 2 брата, не
Лих: в суморок, пояхъ с собою 2 брата, не
Шах: в суморокъ, пояхъ съ собою дъва брата, не
Ost: в суморокъ, пояхъ съ собою 2 брата, не

210,4:

Laur: вѣдущю никому же придо$^{\text{х}}$ в печеру и ѿпѣвъ
Rad: доведущу никому$^{\text{ж}}$ приидо$^{\text{х}}$ в пещеру ѿпѣвъ
Akad: доведущу никому же приидо$^{\text{х}}$ в пещеру ѿпѣвъ
Hyp: вѣдущю никому же приидо$^{\text{х}}$ в пещеру и ѿпѣхъ
Xleb: вѣдущю никому$^{\text{ж}}$ приидо$^{\text{х}}$ в пещеру и ѿпѣвь

Быч: вѣдущю никомуже, придохъ в печеру, и отпѣвъ
Лих: вѣдущю никому же, придох в печеру, и отпѣвъ
Шах: вѣдущю никомуже, придохъ въ пещеру и, отъпѣвъ
Ost: вѣдущю никому же, придохъ въ пещеру, и отъпѣвъ

210,5:

Laur: плм$^{\text{с}}$ы поча$^{\text{х}}$ копати трудивъсѧ вдахъ
Rad: ψлм$^{\text{с}}$ъі и поча$^{\text{х}}$ копати и трудивъ$^{\text{с}}$ да$^{\text{х}}$
Akad: ψлм$^{\text{с}}$ъі и поча$^{\text{х}}$ копати и утрудивсѧ да$^{\text{х}}$
Hyp: плмъі почахъ копати и вътрудивсѧ вда$^{\text{х}}$
Xleb: ψалмъі поча$^{\text{х}}$ копати и утру$^{\text{ди}}$всѧ вда$^{\text{х}}$

Быч: псалмы, почахъ копати; и утрудився вдахъ
Лих: псалмы, почах копати. И утрудився вдахъ
Шах: псалъмы, почахъ копати. И утрудивъся, въдахъ
Ost: псалъмы, почахъ копати. И трудивъ ся въдахъ

210,6:

Laur: другому брату копахомъ до полуночьꙗ трудихомсѧ
Rad: другому бра[т]у копати и копахо[м] до полунощи и трудихомъ[с]
Akad: другому брату копати и копахомъ до полунощи и трудихомсѧ
Hyp: другому бра[т] и копахомъ до полуночьꙗ и трудихомсѧ
Xleb: другому брату и копахѡ[м] до полуночна и тру[ди]хомсѧ

Быч: другому брату, копахомъ до полуночья, трудихомся,
Лих: другому брату, копахомъ до полуночья, трудихомся,
Шах: другому брату, копахомъ до полунощия; трудихомъся,
Ost: другому брату, копахомъ до полунощия, трудихомъ ся,

210,7:

Laur: и не могуче сѧ докопати нача[х]
Rad: не могоще сѧ докопати нача[х]
Akad: не могуще докопати нача[х]
Hyp: не могуще сѧ докопати начахъ
Xleb: не могуще сѧ докопати и нача[х]

Быч: и не могуще ся докопати, начахъ
Лих: и не могуче ся докопати, начах
Шах: не могуще ся докопати, и начахъ
Ost: не могуще ся докопати, начахъ

210,8:

Laur: тужити єда како на страну копаємъ азъ же
Rad: тужити єг[д]а како на страну копаємъ азъ же
Akad: тужити єг[д]а какъ на страну копаємъ азь же
Hyp: тужити єда како на страну копаємъ азъ же
Xleb: тужити єда како на страну копає[м] аз же

Быч: тужити, еда како на страну копаемъ. Азъ же
Лих: тужити, еда како на страну копаемъ. Азъ же
Шах: тужити, еда како на страну копаемъ. Азъ же,
Ost: тужити, еда како на страну копаемъ. Азъ же

210,9:

Laur: вземъ рогалью нача[х] копати рамено и другу
Rad: вземъ рогалию нача[х] рамено копати а дру[г]
Akad: вземь рогалию нача[х] рамено копати а другу
Hyp: вземь рукалью начахъ рамѧно копати другу
Xleb: възє[м] рѫкалию нача[х] рамѧно копати другу

Быч: вземъ рогалью начахъ копати рамено, и другу
Лих: вземъ рогалью начах копати рамено, и другу
Шах: възьмъ рогалию, начахъ копати рамяно, другу
Ost: възьмъ рогалию начахъ рамяно копати, другу

210,10:

Laur: моему ѡпочнвающю передъ пещерою н реⷱ мн
Rad: моему почнвающю преⷣ печерою н реⷱ мн
Akad: моему почнвающю преⷣ пещерою н рече мн
Hyp: моему ѡпо<ч>нвающю предъ пещерою н реⷱ мн
Xleb: моему ѡпочнвающу преⷣ пещерою н реⷱ мн

Быч: моему опочивающю передъ пещерою, и рече ми:
Лих: моему опочивающю передъ пещерою, и рече ми:
Шах: моему опочивающю предъ пещерою. И рече ми:
Ost: моему опочивающю предъ пещерою. И рече ми:

210,11:

Laur: ударнвше в бнло н азъ в то чннъ прокопаⷯ
Rad: ударнша в бнло а ıазъ ѡ то чнна прокопаⷯ
Akad: ударнша у бнло н азь ѡ то чнна прокопаⷯ
Hyp: <у>дарнша в бнло н азъ тотъ чаⷭ протѧхъ
Xleb: ударнша в бнло н азъ въ тъ̏ чаⷭ протѧⷯ

Быч: "удариша в било"; и азъ в тъ чинъ прокопахъ
Лих: "Удариша в било". И азъ в тъ чинъ прокопах
Шах: "удариша въ било". И азъ въ тъ чинъ протяхъ
Ost: "Удариша въ било". И азъ въ тъ часъ протяхъ

210,12:

Laur: на мощѣ ѳеѡдосьевꙑ ѡному гл҃щю
Rad: наⷣ мощмн феѡⷣснеѵꙑмн ѡному глщ҃ю
Akad: наⷣ мощьмн феѡдосьевꙑмн ѡному гл҃ющему
Hyp: на мощн федосьевꙑ н ѡному глю҃щю
Xleb: наⷣ м ѡщн ѳеѡⷣⷪснеѵꙑ н ѡному гл҃ющу

Быч: на мощѣ Феодосьевы, оному глаголющю
Лих: на мощѣ Феодосьевы. Оному глаголющю
Шах: на мощи Феодосиевы. И оному глаголющю
Ost: на мощи Феодосиевы. И оному глаголющю

210,13:

Laur: ко мнѣ ударнша в бнло мнѣ же рекущю
Rad: ко мнѣ ударнша в бнло мнѣ же ркущу
Akad: ко мнѣ ударнша в бнло мнѣ же н ркущу
Hyp: ко мьнѣ ударнша <в> бнло мнѣ же рекшю
Xleb: къ мнѣ ударнша въ бнло мнѣ же рекшу

Быч: ко мнѣ: "удариша в било"; мнѣ же рекущю:
Лих: ко мнѣ: "Удариша в било"; мнѣ же рекущю:
Шах: къ мънѣ: "удариша въ било". мънѣ же рекущю:
Ost: къ мънѣ: "Удариша въ било". Мънѣ же рекущю:

210,14:

Laur: прокопахъ уже егда же прокопахъ ѡбдержашеть
Rad: прокопа$^{\text{х}}$ уже егда же прокопа$^{\text{х}}$ ѡбдержашеть
Akad: прокопа$^{\text{х}}$ уже ега$^{\text{д}}$ прокопа$^{\text{х}}$ ѡбдръжашет
Hyp: прокопахъ уже егда же прокопахъ ѡбъдержашет
Xleb: прокопа$^{\text{х}}$ уже ега$^{\text{д}}$ же прокопа$^{\text{х}}$ ѡдръжаше

Быч: ''прокопахъ уже''. Егда же прокопахъ, обдержашеть
Лих: ''Прокопахъ уже''. Егда же прокопахъ, обдержашеть
Шах: ''прокопахъ уже''. Егда же прокопахъ, обьдержашеть
Ost: ''Прокопахъ уже''. Егда же прокопахъ, обьдержашеть

210,15:

Laur: мѧ ужасть и нача$^{\text{х}}$ ѕвати гн$^{\text{с}}$ помилуи
Rad: мѧ ужастъ и нача$^{\text{х}}$ ѕвати гн҃ помилуи
Akad: мѧ ужасть и нача$^{\text{х}}$ ѕвати гн҃ помилуи
Hyp: мѧ <у>жасть нача$^{\text{х}}$ ѕвати г$^{\text{с}}$н҃ помилуи
Xleb: мѧ ужасть нача$^{\text{х}}$ ѕвати гн҃ пом$^{\text{л}}$҃уи

Быч: мя ужасть, и начахъ звати: Господи помилуй!.
Лих: мя ужасть, и начах звати: ''Господи помилуй!''.
Шах: мя ужасть, и начахъ зъвати: ''Господи помилуй!''.
Ost: мя ужасть, начахъ зъвати: ''Господи помилуй!''.

210,16:

Laur: ѡ се чинь же сѣдѧста в҃ брата в манастыри
Rad: ѡ си чину же седѧста в҃ бра$^{\text{т}}$ в монастыри
Akad: ѡ си чину же седѧста два брата у монастыри
Hyp: въ т же ча$^{\text{с}}$ сѣдѧста два бра$^{\text{т}}$ в манастыри
Xleb: въ тъ҇ же ча$^{\text{с}}$ сѣдѧста два брата в манастыри блюдуще

Быч: О се чинь же сѣдяста 2 брата в манастыри,
Лих: О се чинь же сѣдяста 2 брата в манастыри,
Шах: О сь чинъ же сѣдяста 2 брата въ манастыри, блюдуща,
Ost: О тъ же часъ сѣдяста два брата въ манастыри,

210,17:

Laur: еда игуменъ утаивъсѧ нѣ с кыими пренесеть
Rad: ег$^{\text{д}}$а игуменъ утаивсѧ нѣ с кы$^{\text{м}}$ пренесе$^{\text{т}}$
Akad: ега$^{\text{д}}$ игуменъ утаивсѧ нѣ с кымъ принесеть
Hyp: егда игуменъ утаивсѧ нѣ с ким<ъ> принесеть
Xleb: еда игуме$^{\text{н}}$ утаивсѧ нѣ с кы$^{\text{м}}$ пренесе$^{\text{т}}$

Быч: еда игуменъ, утаивъся, нѣ с кымъ пренесеть
Лих: еда игуменъ, утаивъся, нѣ с кымъ пренесеть
Шах: еда игуменъ, утаивъся, нѣ съ кымь пренесеть
Ost: егда игуменъ, утаивъ ся, нѣ съ кымь пренесеть

210,18:

Laur: его ѡтан к печерѣ зрꙗща егда
Rad: е^г ѡтан к пе^ч ре зрꙗста н ега^д
Akad: его ѡтан к печерѣ зрꙗста ега^д
Hyp: е^г ѡ^х тан зрꙗста к пещерѣ н егда
Xleb: его ѡтан н зрꙗста к пещерѣ н ега^д

Быч: его отай к печерѣ зряща, егда
Лих: его отай к печерѣ зряща. Егда
Шах: его отаи, и зьряста къ пещерѣ; и егда
Ost: его отай зьряста къ пещерѣ. И егда

210,19:

Laur: ударнша в бнло внДѣста г҃ столпы ако
Rad: ударнша в бнло вндѣста столпы акн
Akad: ударнша у бнло вндѣша столпы а[кы]
Hyp: <у>дарнша в бнло вндста трн столпы акы
Xleb: ударнша въ бнло вндѣста трн стлъпы акы

Быч: удариша в било, видѣста 3 столпы, ако
Лих: удариша в било, видѣста 3 столпы, ако
Шах: удариша въ било, видѣста три столпы, акы
Ost: удариша въ било, видѣста три столпы, акы

210,20:

Laur: дугы зарны н стоꙗвше прндоша надъ
Rad: дугн зарены н стоꙗвше н прнндоша на^д
Akad: дугы зарены н стоꙗвше н прендоша на^д
Hyp: дугы зарнн н стоꙗвше н прнндоша надъ
Xleb: дугы зарнн н стоавше прнндоша над

Быч: дугы зарны, и стоявше придоша надъ
Лих: дугы зарны, и стоявше придоша надъ
Шах: дугы зарьны; и стоявъше преидоша надъ
Ost: дугы зарьны, и стоявъше и приидоша надъ

210,21:

Laur: верхъ цр҃кве нде же положенъ бы^с ѳеѡдоснн
Rad: верхъ цр҃кве ндѣ же положенъ бы^с феѡ^д снн
Akad: верхъ црке҃ве нде же положенъ бы^х феѡдоснн
Hyp: верхъ цр҃кве ндѣ же положенъ бы^с федоснн
Xleb: верхъ цр҃кве нде же положенъ бы^с ст҃ын ѳеѡ^до снн

Быч: верхъ церкве, идеже положенъ бысть Феодосий.
Лих: верхъ церкве, иде же положенъ бысть Феодосий.
Шах: вьрхъ цьркъве, идеже положенъ бысть Феодосии.
Ost: вьрхъ цьркъве, иде же положенъ бысть Феодосий.

Первые типографии в России

Р. Г. СКРЫННИКОВ

В середине XУ в. Иоганн Гутенберг изобрел книгопечатание, что явилось величайшим достижением европейской цивилизации. Россия имела возможность перенять изобретение уже в конце того же столетия. Новгород Великий через немецкую Ганзу поддерживал более тесные торговые связи с Западом, чем другие земли и княжества. Поэтому новгородцы раньше других ознакомились с немецким изобретением.

Ф. Лилиенфельд отметила появление в Новгороде конца XУ в. своего рода «западничества», связанного с деятельностью местного архиепископа Геннадия и его помощников.[1] Наблюдение Ф. Лилиенфельд нуждается в уточнении. «Западничество» как явление общественной мысли возникло много позже. В конце XУ в. речь шла скорее о проникновении на Русь идей церковной унии, или, во всяком случае, о влиянии этих идей на русскую мысль. Для русского духовенства Византия издавна была источником мудрости и святости. Признание константинопольским патриархом верховенства папы на Флорентийском соборе 1439 г. поразило русских иерархов и обострило интерес к католическому Западу. Интерес усилился под влиянием греков, прибывших из Италии в свите Софьи Палеолог и занявших при московском дворе видное положение. Проповедь греков, симпатизировавших унии, помогла таким ортодоксам, как архиепископ Геннадий, увидеть в католиках не врагов, но союзников.

После завоевания Новгорода Москвой местное архиепископство утратило прежнюю автономию. Принцип выборности главы Софийского дома на вече был уничтожен. Москва назначала на архиепископскую кафедру своих ставленников. Однако московским иерархам не сразу удалось утвердить свой авторитет среди новгородской паствы. В период раздробленности церковная мысль развивалась в различных землях своими путями. Вместе с тем возникли различия и в обрядности. Московские святые не пользовались признанием и популярностью у новгородцев. Первый новгородский архиепископ из москвичей Сергий не сумел добиться уважения от новгородской паствы. Не выдержав напряжения, он впал «в изумление» (психическое

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[1] F. Lilienfeld, *Nil Sorskij und seine Schriften. Der Bruch der Tradition in Russland Ivan s III* (Berlin, 1963).

расстройство), из-за чего и вынужден был покинуть кафедру. Его преемник Геннадий Гонзов вел себя более осторожно, но и он не избежал столкновения с местной паствой, которая была предана новгородской старине и заражена вольнодумством.

В XУ в. усилился контраст между новой теологией Запада и традиционным богословием, некогда составлявшим основу христианского учения. Западное богословие заново открыло для себя античную философию, что послужило толчком для разработки концепций теологии на новых основах. Восточная греческая церковь предпочитала схоластике мистические искания. На Руси наибольшую восприимчивость к новым идеям проявляли образованные новгородцы. В своих богословских исканиях они шли значительно дальше, чем могли позволить себе московские ортодоксы. На этой почве и возникло одно интереснейших явлений русской общественной мысли - новгородское «вольнодумство», объявленное вскоре же ересью.

Геннадий поклонялся московским чудотворцам и скептически относился к местным святым. Неудивительно, что местное духовенство подозревало его в ереси. В свою очередь, новгородские и псковские книжники, вольно толковавшие писание, обличавшие симонию, процветавшую в Москве, и не желавшие заменять местных святых московскими, выглядели сущими еретиками в глазах московских ортодоксов. В 1490 г. Геннадий жаловался единомышленникам в Москве, что московские епископы не проявляют усердия в борьбе с новгородскими еретиками, и не заботятся о приведении паствы в единую веру. «И как мню, - писал он, - ныне вы положили то дело ни за что, как бы вам мнится, Новгород с Москвою не едино православие».[2] Себя архиепископ почитал борцом за единое православие, конечно же московского образца.

Новгородские вольнодумцы не уступали в образованности московским иерархам. Они почитали себя защитниками и поборниками истинного православия. Геннадию трудно было одержать над ними победу в богословском споре. В конце концов архиепископ расправился со своими противниками, обвинив из в принадлежности к тайной секте иудеев (отсюда название «жидовствующие»).

Борьба католической церкви против иудаизма приобрела в конце XУ в. исключительный размах. Начав поход против новгородских «жидовствующих» Геннадий стал рассматривать католиков как

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[2] Источники из истории еретических движений XIУ – начала XУI в. // Н. А. Казакова, Я. С. Лурье, *Антифеодальные еретические движения на Руси XIУ – начала XУI в*. М.-Л., 1955. *далее* Источники. С. 317.

союзников в борьбе с иудаизмом. Благодаря посредничеству византийцев («греков») архиепископ вступил в контакт с имперским послом, прибывшим на Русь в 1490 г., и получил от него подробную информацию о преследовании иудеев в Испании. Опыт только что организованной святейшей инквизиции привел владыку в восторг. Геннадий горячо хвалил католического «шпанского короля», который очистил свою землю от «ересей жидовских» и «хвала того шпанского короля пошла по всем землям по латинской вере».[3]

Геннадий пригласил на службу в Софийский дом доминиканского монаха из Хорватии Вениамина. Этот «презвитер, паче же мних обители святого Доминика, именем Вениамин, родом словенин» был, по его собственным словам, знатоком латинского языка и «фряжска». По-видимому, Вениамину принадлежала ведущая роль в составлении новгородского Библейского свода. Примечательно, что Вениамин целиком ориентировался на латинские рукописи, часть из которых он привез с собой. Следствием явился заметный сдвиг славянской Библии с греческого русла в латинское.[4]

Находясь на службе у Геннадия доктор Николай Булев из Любека, католик и сторонник Флорентийской унии, перевел с латинского языка сочинение Самуила-евреина против иудаизма.[5]

Будучи на Западе с посольской миссией грек Юрий Траханиот в 1492–93 г. пригласил на Русь любекского печатника Б. Готана. Благодаря посредничеству грека печатник был принят на службу Геннадием, а привезенные им книги—Библия и Псалтырь—поступили в распоряжение софийских книжников. Русь была готова воспринять крупнейшее завоевание западной цивилизации. Согласно любекской хронике, Иван III поддержал проект и «договорился с печатниками из Любека, чтобы они напечатали на латинском и русском языке книги».[6] Однако позднее русские власти отобрали у Готана все имущество, а его самого якобы утопили в реке.[7] (Сведения о казни печатника не поддаются проверке). По-видимому, крушение проекта Готана было связано с раздором между монархом и новгородским владыкой. осмелился спорить с Иваном III и лишился кафедры в 1504 г. Существенно то обстоятельство, что ортодоксы утратили интерес к успехам католицизма и инквизиции на Западе после окончательного

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[3] Источники. С. 378–81.

[4] И. Е. Евсеев, *Очерки по истории славянского перевода Библии*. Пг., 1916. С. 16–21.

[5] А. А. Зимин, *Россия на пороге нового времени*. М., 1972. С. 350–54.

[6] А. И. Рогов, Возникновение и развитие книгопечатания // *Очерки русской культуры ХУІ в*. М., 1977. Ч. 2. С. 266.

[7] А. А. Зимин, *Россия на рубеже ХУ–ХУІ столетий*. М., 1982. С. 221–22.

искоренения ереси «жидовствующих» и сожжения еретиков в 1504–1505 гг. Неудача Готана надолго задержала введение книгопечатания в России.

Имеются сведения об обращении в Москву печатников из Литвы между 1525 и 1530 г. Однако и эта попытка не удалась. Василий III приказал сжечь привезенные в Россию печатные книги на том основании, что они были изданы людьми, «преданными римской церкви».[8]

Идея устройства типографии возродилась после того, как Русское государство вступило в эпоху реформ. В 1550 г. Иван IУ направил датскому королю Кристиану III письмо с просьбой прислать мастеров, и в особенности печатников для основания типографии в Москве.[9] В мае 1553 г. король уведомил Ивана IУ о посылке в Москву мастера Ганса Богбинтера. Анализируя вопрос о миссии датского мастера в Москву, А.И. Рогов пишет: «Неясными остаются... два существенных обстоятельства: во-первых, был ли Богбинтер действительно мастером печатного дела, ... и, во-вторых, доехал ли он до Москвы».[10] Сомнения такого рода едва ли основательны. В своем письме Кристиан III писал: если будет принято и одобрено «сие наше предложение и две книги с Библией, то оный слуга наш напечатает в нескольких тысячах экземплярах означенные сочинения, переведя на отечественный ваш язык».[11] Приведенные строки не оставляют сомнения в том, что посланный в Россию мастер был печатником и при нем находились все необходимые типографские принадлежности. Предположение, будто Богбинтер мог и не доехать до Москвы, кажется маловероятным, поскольку Русь и Дания поддерживали регулярные сношения, а переговоры о посылке мастера шли на самом высоком уровне.

Не взирая на покровительство царя, Богбинтер не смог основать типографию. Датчанин явился в Москву «с Библией и двумя другими книгами, в коих (как сообщал Кристиан III) содержится сущность нашей христианской веры». Ознакомившись с датскими книгами, русское духовенство убедилось, что христианская вера короля весьма далеко отстоит от православной веры. Будучи лютеранином, Кристиан III надеялся увлечь царя идеей борьбы с католицизмом. Но его надежды не оправдались. Московские власти категорично воспротивились переводу

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[8] А. В. Флоровский, Франциск Скорина и Москва // ТОДРЛ. Л., 1968. Т. 24. С. 135–58.

[9] И. Снегирев, О сношениях датского короля Христиана III с царем Иоанном Васильевичем касательно заведения типографии в Москве // *Русский исторический сборник*. М., 1840. Т. IУ. Кн. 1. С. 123.

[10] А. И. Рогов, Возникновение и развитие книгопечатания. С. 266.

[11] И. Снегирев, О сношениях датского короля. С. 122.

и публикации протестанских книг. Введение книгопечатания на Руси было надолго задержано процессом Башкина 1553 г., показавшим, что протестанские идеи уже проникли на Русь и дали первые всходы. Датского печатника не изгнали из Москвы, но и не приняли на царскую службу, не взирая на королевскую рекомендацию. Миссенгейм получил возможность работать, видимо, как частное лицо.

Косвенные указания на то, что в Москве датский мастер приступил к исполнению своих обязанностей, можно найти в авторитетных русских источниках. Осведомленный современник первопечатник Иван Федоров писал, что на Руси «начаша изыскивати мастерства печатных книг в лето 61 осьмыя тысящи».[12] Датский печатник получил рекомендательное письмо в мае 1552 г. и использовал летнюю навигацию, но аудиенцию у царя смог получить лишь после ноября 1552 (7061) года, когда Иван IУ вернулся из Казанского похода. Даты в документах совпадают. После представления мастера монарху московские власти начали «изыскивать мастерство книгопечатания», иначе говоря, стали готовиться к открытию типографии. Обычно иностранным мастерам вменялось в обязанность обучать русских учеников. Через три года после приезда датского мастера в России появились первые собственные «мастера печатных книг». Таким необычным титулом официальная церковная грамота именовала в 1556 году новгородца Марушу Нефедова.[13]

Как ни интересны и знаменательны попытки русского правительства использовать опыт западноевропейских печатников, замечает А.И. Рогов, гораздо более важное значение имеет вопрос о степени готовности «собственных кадров» к деятельности в типографии.[14] В действительности второй вопрос является производным от первого. Русским печатникам не нужно было изобретать книгопечатание заново. Проблема заключалась в том, от каких иностранных учителей они восприняли искусство книгопечатания. Судя по всему, учителем московских печатников был датский мастер, присланный в Москву со специальной миссией основать типографию.

Исследования советских историков (М. Н. Тихомиров и другие) показали, что первые печатные книги появились примерно между 1553 и 1563 г.[15] Без прямого участия иностранных специалистов эти книги

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[12] Б. П. Орлов, К вопросу о времени возникновения и именования типографии Ивана Федорова // *Книга. Исследования и материалы*. Т. УІ. М., 1962. С. 286.

[13] ДАИ. Т. 1. С. 148.

[14] А. И. Рогов, Возникновение и развитие книгопечатания. С. 276.

[15] М. Н. Тихомиров, Начало книгопечатания в России // *У истоков русского книгопечатания*. М., 1959. С. 31–33.

никогда бы не увидели свет. Но московское духовенство не желало, чтобы в православных книгах фигурировали имена мастеров-иноверцев. Если бы первые издания были одобрены церковным руководством, в них непременно было бы указано, при каком митрополите, по чьему благословлению и кем было осуществлено издание. Однако указания такого рода в книгах отсутствовали. По-видимому, первые издания носили пробный характер, вследствие чего в них не было выходных данных (о времени и месте издания и пр.). Благодаря пробным изданиям, датируемым временем ранее 1563 г., московские печатники получили подготовку, отвечавшую европейскому уровню.

Правитель Алексей Адашев проводил реформы под флагом ортодоксальной веры. Он был предан постам и молитвам и оставался равнодушным к достижениям европейской цивилизации. Лишь после его отставки казна наконец выделила субсидии на типографию.

В Москве был выстроен Печатный двор. Дело поручили дьякону кремлевской церкви И. Федорову и П. Мстиславцу. Оба имели некоторый опыт книгопечатания, «искусни бяху и смыслени к таковому хитрому делу; глаголют же нецыи о них, яко от самех фряг то учение прияста...».[16] 19 апреля 1563 года московская типография приступила к работе над знаменитым «Апостолом». Издание первой книги растянулось на целый год. Вторую свою книгу—«Часослов»— печатники выпустили двумя изданиями после введения опричнины, с августа по октябрь 1565 г. Затем деятельнось Печатного двора в Москве надолго прервалась. Первопечатнику пришлось покинуть Россию.

Еще в начале XIX в. было высказано мнение, что Федоров уехал из России из-за преследований со стороны православного духовенства, считавшего книгопечатание еретическим новшеством, грозившим, к тому же, подорвать доходы переписчиков церковных книг. Это традиционное мнение было опровергнуто исследователями, доказавшими, что печатная книга в ХУI–ХУII вв. не могла конкурировать с рукописной, так как стоила дороже. По мнению некоторых историков, первопечатник покинул Россию из-за обвинений в ереси, связанных с отражением в печатных книгах западных реформационных веяний или же еретических идей, подобных идеям Матвея Башкина.

Это мнение было опровергнуто А.И. Роговым, который обратил внимание на то, что текст опубликованного Федоровым «Апостола»

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[16] Там же. С. 200.

повторялся во всех последующих московских изданиях, т.е. рассматривался как вполне ортодоксальный и после изгнания печатника.[17] Будучи опытным книжным «справщиком» и образованным писателем, Иван Федоров старался упростить и уточнить перевод «Апостола», приблизить его к русскому языку и нормам русского правописания. Тем самым он продолжил традицию просвещенных деятелей круга митрополита Макария, правивших текст Великих Миней четиих. Печатный двор был основан в Москве при жизни Макария и с его благословения. Однако в дни печатания «Апостола» митрополит умер, что привело к большим переменам. Макарий возглавлял русскую церковь более двадцати лет и пользовался огромным авторитетом. Фанатики не могли рассчитывать на успех если бы вздумали критиковать его Минеи четьи, но они подвергли нападкам продолжателей его дела. Споры о том, как исправлять переводы с греческого «священных книг», неизбежно должны были прямо или косвенно повлиять на деятельность Печатного двора. Из-за недостатка источников мы не можем назвать имена ревнителей старины. Но лучшим источником по истории первой типографии служит его печатная продукция, в которой можно обнаружить следы разных подходов и принципов исправления книг. Иван Федоров завершил печатание «Апостола» 1 марта 1564 года. Прошло полтора года, прежде чем печатник взялся за издание «Часослова». В первом его издании (оно печаталось с 7 августа по 29 сентября 1565 г.) Федоров, казалось бы, полностью отказался от прежних приемов правки в пользу принципа старины. В неприкосновенности были оставлены даже явные описки и несообразности. Едва ли можно объяснить это спешкой. Не завершив работы над первым изданием, Иван Федоров уже 2 сентября 1565 г. приступил к работе над вторым изданием «Часослова», на этот раз следуя прежнему правилу серьезной правки традиционного текста.[18]

Отношение к каноническому древнерусскому тексту священных книг и их исправлению по греческим оригиналам имело принципиальное значение в глазах московских книжников. На этой почве возник раскол церкви в XVII веке. Но споры такого рода велись церковниками задолго до Никона и Аввакума. Они начались во времена Максима Грека и не прекратились, по-видимому, до времен опричнины. Критики Максима Грека утверждали, будто его переводы и исправления портят Священное писание. Отвечая им, выдающийся писатель подчеркивал: «А

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[17] А. И. Рогов, Возникновение и развитие книгопечатания. С. 276.

[18] Г. И. Коляда, Работа Ивана Федорова над текстами «Апостола» и «Часослова» и вопрос о его уходе в Литву // ТОДРЛ. Л., 1961. Т. 17. С. 238–43.

яко не порчю священные книги, якоже клевещут мя враждующии ми всуе, но прилежне, и всяким вниманием, и Божиим страхом, и правым разумом исправлю их, в них же растлешася ово убо от преписующих их ненаученых сущих и неискусных в разуме».[19] Слова о «растлении» священных книг дают представление, сколь яростным было столкновение между просвещенными «справщиками» книг и их противниками. Во времена опричнины давний спор не утратил злободневности. В послесловии к «Апостолу» Иван Федоров процитировал Максима Грека, упомянув, что неисправленные рукописные книги «растлени от преписующих ненаученых сущих и неискусных в разуме».[20]

Заботы о чистоте Священного писания волновали православный мир повсюду--и на Руси, и в Литве. За рубежом издания Федорова критиковал известный просветитель Симон Будный, слывший еретиком в среде московских книжников. Иван Федоров и Петр Мстиславец, утверждал Будный, исправили многие недавние и небольшие ошибки. «Они то, друкари (печатники - Р.С.), как сами мне сообщили, по старым книгам исправляли, но старые маркионовские, гомозианские и других еретиков искажения не по московскому собранию книг править и мало для этого голов Ивана Федорова и Петра Тимофеева Мстиславца».[21] Таким образом, Будный требовал еще более радикальной правки книг, утверждая, что «старые книги» из московских библиотек сами полны еретических искажений. Некоторое время спустя Курбский, отстаивая московские исправленные переводы, рекомендовал следовать образцам «старых нерочитых или паче Максима Философа переводов».[22]

Однако в Москве не все думали так же, как Максим Грека, Андрей Курбский и другие просвещенные люди. Ортодоксы с подозрением взирали на любые попытки изменить хотя бы единую букву в привычных им старых рукописных книгах и с этой точки зрения безусловно осуждали книгопечатание. Ревнителей старины - «оучителей» поддерживали священноначальники и начальники, т.е. высшее духовенство и бояре земщины, пуще огня боявшиеся того, что новшества с исправлением священных книг, вошедшие в жизнь вместе с книгопечатением, могут обернуться расколом церкви. По словам современника Грозного француза Теве, московское духовенство

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[19] *Сочинения Максима Грека.* Казань, 1862. Ч. III. С. 62.

[20] А. С. Демин, *Писатель и общество в России XVI–XVII вв.* М., 1985. С. 24.

[21] Г. Я. Голениченко, Русские первопечатники и Симон Будный // *Книга: Исследования и материалы*. М., 1965. Т. 10. С. 156.

[22] РИБ. Т. 31. Стб. 403.

опасалось, что «печатные книги могут принести какие-нибудь изменения в их убеждения и религию».[23]

Начало книгопечатания в России явилось крупнейшим завоеванием культуры. Но начинание едва не заглохло короткое время спустя. Во всяком случае, оно не сразу пустило корни в русской почве. Каковы же причины этого?

В послесловии к «Апостолу» Иван Федоров поведал о том, что московская типография была основана по замыслу и повелению благоверного царя Ивана Васильевича, «он же начат помышляти, како бы изложити печатные книги», после чего дело одобрил преосвященный Макарий, «глаголаше, яко от Бога извещение приемшу», и сам царь проявил исключительную щедрость, «нещадно даяше от своих царских сокровищ делателем (печатникам - Р.С.) и к их успокоению, донеже и на совершение дело их изыде...».[24] «Апостол» Ивана Федорова проникнут верой в большое будущее книгопечатания. Однако в послесловии к следующей книге - «Часослову» уже иное настроение. Как и прежде, Федоров ссылался на царскую волю: сам государь желал «яко да украсится и исполнится царство его славою Божиею в печатных книгах».[25] Но печатник ни словом не упоминал более о царской щедрости и счел за благоразумие опустить слова о неподвергавшихся правке «растлених» рукописных книгах.

Резкое изменение настроения печатника было следствием бурных событий, произошедших в Москве в 1564–1565 гг. Царь укрылся в опричнине и порвал всякие связи с земщиной. Кроме собственной безопасности, его ничто больше не интересовало. Печатный двор остался в земщине, и печатники, лишившись высокого покровительства, оказались предоставлены своей судьбе. Их подстерегали затруднения двоякого рода. Во-первых, противники книгопечатания из числа ревнителей старины стали теснить их, требуя отказа от «порчи» (исправления - Р.С.) древних рукописных книг. Во-вторых, царь обложил земщину колоссальной контрибуцией, в 100 тысяч рублей. Земская казна оказалась пуста, и Печатный двор надолго лишился субсидий.

Со времени издания «Апостола» прошло почти полтора года, прежде чем Иван Федоров получил деньги на издание второй книги - «Часослова», которую ему пришлось публиковать без всякой правки

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[23] См.: Б. В. Сапунов, О прекращении деятельности первых типографий // ТОДРЛ. М.-Л., 1956. Т. 12. С. 434.

[24] *Апостол*. М., 1564. л. 260–261 об.

[25] Там же. л. 170.

рукописного текста, с сохранением всех его ошибок и промахов. Такое издание вполне удовлетворяло тех, кто считал ересью любое отступление от привычного текста, но оно ни в какой мере не могло удовлетворить самого Федорова, тотчас приступившего к подготовке второго, исправленного издания книги.

Третьей книгой московского Печатного двора должна была стать «Псалтирь». В послесловии значилось, что благословение на выход книги печатники получили от митрополита Афанасия. Произошло это, очевидно, до времени пострижения Афанасия в мае 1566 г., когда Иван Федоров еще оставался во главе Печатного двора. Но осуществить план ему не довелось. Федорову пришлось уехать из России в Литву, а продолжатели его дела смогли возобновить работу на Печатном дворе лишь два года спустя, когда они издали заранее задуманную «Псалтирь», по-видимому, не прибегая к сколько-нибудь существенной правке текста. В 1577 г. Печатный двор был переведен в Александровскую слободу, где Андроник Тимофеев подготовил второе издание «Псалтири», обнаружившее черты возврата к стилю и традициям Ивана Федорова.

При каких обстоятельствах Иван Федоров покинул Россию? Источники не дают четкого ответа на этот вопрос. В середине XVIII в. архимандрит одного из белорусских монастырей М. Козачинский записал глухое предание о том, что при короле Сигизмунде II Августе литовский гетман Г. А. Ходкевич «просил наияснейшего благочестивого царя и великого князя Ивана Васильевича, чтобы тот послал ему в Польшу друкарню и друкаря, и по его просьбе вышепоименованный царь московский учинил и прислал к нему целую друкарню и типографа именем Иоанна Федоровича».[26]

В предании, записанном белорусским архимандритом, помимо неточностей, можно обнаружить также любопытные подробности, совпадающие с подлинными фактами биографии Федорова. Давно установлено, что московский печатник трудился в белорусском имении Г. А. Ходкевича с июля 1568 г. по март 1570 г. Недавно найденная грамота Ходкевича от 6 июня 1567 г. свидетельствует, что Федоров обосновался в Заблудове почти сразу после отъезда из России. В названном году гетман устроил в Заблудове православную церковь во имя Богородицы и чудотворца Николы (святой, особо почитаемый в Москве), а священниками в церковь определил двух приезжих - «священником на имя Остафа Григорьевича, а диякона на имя Ивана,

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[26] *Акты, относящиеся к истории Южной и Западной России*. Киев, 1871. Т. 4. Ч. 1. С. 513.

брата его».[27] В Москве Федоров печатал книги, служа дьяконом церкви Николы Гостунского, в Заблудове - дьяконом Богородицкой церкви.

Совершенно очевидно, что печатник мог выехать из Москвы в Литву по приглашению Г. А. Ходкевича лишь в период мира на литовско-русской границе. В 1564 г. и до осени 1565 г. военные действия между Россией и Литвой не прекращались. Таким образом, в указанное время обстановка не благоприятствовала ни обращению гетмана Ходкевича в Москву, ни отъезду Федорова. Все это ставит под сомнение гипотезу Е. Л. Немировского о переселении печатников в Литву в ноябре 1565 г.[28] Королевские послы вели в Москве переговоры о мире в июне-июле 1566 г. По мнению ряда исследовователей, именно в 1566 г. Грозный и отпустил Федорова за рубеж.[29] Великое посольство возглавлял брат гетмана Ю. А. Ходкевич, который, вероятно, и передал просьбу о посылке в Белоруссию печатника ради укрепления там православия. В 1567 г. Г. А. Ходкевич уже не мог бы обратиться в Москву с такой просьбой, поскольку весной в России был пойман лазутчик с гетманскими грамотами. Ходкевич призывал опальных бояр изменить жестокому царю. Под диктовку Грозного бояре написали бранные послания в Литву с упреком гетману, который «из христианина стал отступником и лжехристианином».[30] Печатники выехали из Москвы, скорее всего, вместе с послами, поскольку осенью из-за чумы на границе был установлен карантин, а кроме того, на границе вновь стало неспокойно. Едва печатники прибыли в Литву, вспоминал Федоров, «всприяша нас любезно... король польский... с всеми паны Рады своея».[31] Как люди нечиновные и незнатные, печатники не могли претендовать на аудиенцию у короля и Рады. Оказанная им честь подкрепляет предположение о том, что Федорова привезли в Литву королевские послы. 1 декабря в Городне открылся сейм в присутствии короля и Рады. Послы должны были дать отчет о мирных переговорах с царем, а заодно представили сейму московских печатников, приезд которых служил знаком доброй воли со стороны Ивана IУ.

Традиционная точка зрения сводится к тому, что в России первопечатник подвергался гонениям, из-за чего он и вынужден был

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[27] И. З. Мыцко, К вопросу о пребывании Ивана Федорова в Белоруссии // *Иван Федоров и восточно-славянское книгопечатание*. Минск, 1984. С. 75.

[28] Е. Л. Немировский, *Иван Федоров в Белоруссии*. М., 1979. С. 69.

[29] М. Н. Тихомиров, *Русская культура X–XУIII вв.* М., 1968. С. 317, 409; Г.И. Коляда, *Иван Федоров—первопечатник*. Автореф. дисс. ... доктора исторических наук. М., 1961. С. 253; Р. Г. Скрынников, *Начало опричнины*. Л., 1966. С. 332.

[30] *Послания Ивана Грозного*. М.-Л., 1950. С. 276.

[31] *Апостол*. л. 260 об.

покинуть родину. По мнению Е. Л. Немировского, гонения на Федорова, «конечно, не могли быть предприняты без ведома царя».[32] Однако источники говорят о другом. По словам англичанина Д. Флетчера, посетившего Москву при царе Федоре, первые русские типографии были основаны «с позволения самого царя и к величайшему его удовольствию».[33]

Свидетельство Флетчера заслуживает доверия, поскольку совпадает с показаниями первопечатника. В послесловиях к своим книгам Иван Федоров неоднократно писал, с какой энергией и щедростью царь Иван поддерживал книгопечатание. Федоров составил послесловие к «Апостолу», следуя образцам (послесловиям различных славянских изданий) и используя довольно распространенную тогда фразеологию, типичную для официальных летописей. Однако такая манера вообще характерна для средневековых писателей. Печатника можно было бы заподозрить в лицемерии, если бы не одно обстоятельство. Оказавшись за рубежом Российского государства, Иван Федоров воспользовался возможностью изложить обстоятельства своего вынужденного отъезда с родины без всякой оглядки на московские власти. В послесловии к львовскому «Апостолу» 1574 г. Иван Федоров сделал такое знаменательное признание: «Сия же убо не туне начах поведати вам, но презелнаго ради озлобления, часто случающегося нам, не от самого того государя, но от многих начальник и священноначальник, и оучитель, которые на нас зависти ради многие ереси умышляли... Сия убо нас от земля, и отечества, и от рода нашего изгна и в иные страны незнаемы пресели».[34]

Итак, первопечатник четко и недвусмысленно указал на то, что подвергся гонениям «многих начальник и священноначальник», иначе говоря, со стороны того самого руководства земщины, в ведении которого оставался Печатный двор. Похвальные слова о царе, его полной непричастности к травле печатников не были следствием лицемерия Федорова.

Изобретение И. Гутенберга, сделанное в Германии, было принято соседними западными весьма быстро. Через сто лет это крупнейшее достижение цивилизации было освоено Россией.

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[32] Е. Л. Немировский, *Иван Федоров.* М., 1985. С. 116.

[33] Д. Флетчер, *О государстве Русском*. СПб., 1906. С. 120–21.

[34] *У истоков русского книгопечатания.* М., 1959. С. 237.

The Brilliant Career of Prince Golitsyn

ABBY SMITH

"Some are born great, some achieve greatness, and some have greatness thrust upon 'em." *Twelfth Night,* II.v.155-159

According to Malvolio's enduring theory of secular power, Prince Vasilii Vasil'evich Golitsyn belonged squarely to the first order of greatness, that conferred by birth. The astute and well-informed Patrick Gordon referred to him in his diary simply as "The Boyar," and for at least a decade (1680–1689), he was first among equals in the boyar elite.[1] Golitsyn was the senior member of one of the most prolific and prosperous Gediminovich clans, head of the Foreign Office, Protector of the Great Royal Seal and the State's Great Ambassadorial Affairs, General of the Palace Guard, was well represented by close relatives in the courts of both tsars, Ivan and Peter, and was, in general, "the Chieffe Minister of State."[2]

Among historians, however, the nature of Golitsyn's greatness, as well as the purposes to which he applied that power, have long been misunderstood. He is routinely referred to as the "favorite of Sofia," meaning that he had achieved his greatness through the grace and favor of the regent. Often in the same breath he is characterized as a "Westernizer," that is, one who strove to realize certain reforms, if not a vision of enlightened governance, that made him a leading light of westernization *avant le lettre*. There is no question that Golitsyn's power was associated with the name of the regent, Sofia, and that he was a man with a notable taste for Western things—especially things that came from or through the Polish Catholic "West."[3] But it is anachronistic to identify Golitsyn in terms of concepts that were articulated later to characterize primarily post-Petrine phenomena. Nevertheless, the notion of Golitsyn as favorite and Westernizer took hold among history writers very early and has

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[1] Patrick Gordon, *Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Aucheuchries, A.D. 1635–A.D. 1699* (Aberdeen, 1859), 162.

[2] Ibid.

[3] The latter is well documented in the extensive inventory of his estate, compiled by the government after Golitsyn's arrest in 1689 upon the confiscation of all his goods; see *Rozysknye dela Fedora Shaklovitogo i ego soobshchnikakh*, (St. Petersburg 1884–1893, 4 vols.). The pre-Petrine penetration of Western culture into Muscovy is now widely acknowledged, though much work remains to be done of the subject of the influence of Western *political* models, assumptions, and understanding on the political culture of Muscovy, as opposed to literary and artistic influences on court culture.

seldom been examined. This is due in large part to the sensational (not to say sensationalist) account of Muscovy by the foreign visitor Foy de la Neuville, who among historians and other commentators has tended to supersede the more reliable Gordon in his account of 1689.[4] These views have been subsequently adopted, elaborated, and all but fixed in stone by some historians in a teleological search for "authentic" (i.e., pre-Petrine) progenitors of the post-Petrine political archetypes of "Westernizer," "*intelligent,*" or far-sighted minister who had great reform plans he was on the verge of implementing when his political enemies got the better of him (à la Speranskii and Witte). To this day many historians continue rather uncritically to characterize Golitsyn as either a Westernizer (or, variously, a proto-*intelligent*) too advanced for his own good, and/or the favorite of Sofia, powerful solely due to the influence of the tsarevna.[5]

These views fly in the face of the known facts of the man's life. Fortunately, the prince's activities are, for the period, very well documented. Much work has been done to establish the data of his life, primarily by N. N. Danilov and Lindsey Hughes, and this information is now widely available.[6]

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[4] This is due in part to the piquancy of Foy's tale of intrigue and barbarity among the Muscovites, but also because Foy has been available in print in several languages since 1698, while Gordon's account, never intended for publication, remained unknown until 1849, and is still only partially published. Foy first appeared in French, then in English and Dutch one year later. The first (edited and censored) version in Russian appeared in 1841. See Lindsey Hughes, "Russia in 1689: Court Politics in Foy de la Neuville's *Relation curieuses et nouvelle de Muscovie,*" in Lindsey Hughes, ed., *New Perspectives in Muscovite History* (New York, 1990), 177–87; I. de Madariaga, "Who was Foy de la Neuville?" in *Cahiers du monde russe et sovietique*, 28 (1987): 21–30; and Foy de la Neuville, *A Curious and New Account of Muscovy in the Year 1689,* introd. and ed. L. A. J. Hughes (London, 1994). Patrick Gordon's diary was first published as *Tagebuch des Generals Patrick Gordon* (Moscow and Leipzig, 1849).

[5] Both these stereotypes are traceable directly to Foy. Golitsyn is referred to as favorite by Boris Kurakin, who seems to have had access to Foy's book in French. B. I. Kurakin, *Arkhiv kn. F. A. Kurakina*, vol. 10 St. Petersburg 1890–1902 (on Kurakin's sources, see Abby Smith, "Prince V. V. Golitsyn: The Life of an Aristocrat in Muscovite Russia," Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University 1987, 16–17); and most recently by Paul Bushkovitch in *Religion and Society in Russia* (New York, 1992), 174, 205. The notion that Golitsyn was a "favorite" also transforms Sofia into a prototype of the eighteenth-century female ruler who could not rule on her own and shared the throne with whomever she shared her bed with (cf. the popular images of Anna Ioannovna, Elizabeth, and Catherine II). Among the historians who see Golitsyn as a Westernizing reformer are Tereshchenko, Pogodin, Kliuchevskii, Solov'ev, Aristov, and most recently Buganov and Hughes. Buganov writes of Golitsyn as a prototype of the *intelligent* (V. I. Buganov, "'Kantsler' predpetrovskoi pory," *Voprosy istorii* 1971 (10): 155); and Hughes entitled her monograph on Golitsyn *Russia and the West: The Life of a Seventeenth-Century Westernizer, Prince Vasilii Vasil'evich Golitsyn (1643–1714)* (Newtonville MA, 1984) (but see note 44 below).

[6] See N. N. Danilov, "V. V. Golicyn bis zum Staatsreich vom Mai 1682," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 1 (1936): 1–33; "Vasilij Vasil'evic Golicyn (1682–1714)," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 2 (1937): 539–96; and Hughes, *Russia and the West.*

On close examination of the verifiable facts about his life, what we see is someone who, despite the singular brilliance of his career, in fact is most remarkable for the very unexceptional pattern of his life in service. He neither rose to power nor fell from grace through extraordinary means, behavior, or affiliations. On the contrary, the political career he forged for himself, far from being unique or uniquely significant, was in every way and in every known detail supremely typical of the Muscovite oligarchs who managed the affairs of the realm before, during, and even after Peter's minority. It followed a pattern established at least a hundred years before, one that would have been very familiar to Golitsyn's great namesake of the early seventeenth century.[7]

In fine, Prince Vasilii was biologically destined to have access to power, and he came in to that power and increased it through a series of strategic alliances formalized in marriages, including not only his own but also those of his sisters, cousins, sons, daughters, and in-laws. Furthermore, he buttressed this horizontal clan network through strategic vertical relationships in military, court, and chancery service, becoming patron to a large number of aspiring nobles and important secretaries (*d'iaki*). And, in perhaps the most quintessentially Muscovite fashion imaginable, Golitsyn met his political demise only when the monarch himself, in this case the headstrong Peter, took a personal dislike to him (principally due to the disastrous Crimean campaigns of 1687 and 1689) and, with great encouragement from his Naryshkin uncles, exiled him to the Arctic North.

The present essay attempts to show that Golitsyn's power can be almost wholly accounted for by his successful maneuvering within the clan system, had been attained well before the events of May 1682, and was not contingent on Sofia and her own rise to power in any significant way. Therefore, the present essay focuses on Golitsyn's initial rise to power (1675–1682), rather

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My own research has led me to minor revisions in some of the information they provide, primarily about family matters, but also some significant differences in emphasis and interpretation.

[7] That is, Vasilii Vasil'evich Golitsyn (?–1620). This career pattern is sketched in an extremely useful and far-ranging essay by Edward Keenan, in which he discusses not only the *sui generis* Muscovite clan system and its monopoly on power but also specifically the roles played by it in army, court, and chancery, the arenas in which Golitsyn played out his life. Edward L. Keenan, "Muscovite Political Folkways," *Russian Review* 45 (1986): 115–181. Having been one of the students who benefitted from early, pre-publication exposure to this work, I will here take full advantage of the special privilege of former students to use freely the ideas of their teachers without engaging in a systematic discussion of those ideas. They have been by now widely discussed, critiqued, and integrated into much current scholarship of pre-Petrine history. For the origins of the political power of the clans, see Nancy Shields Kollmann, *Kinship and Politics: The Making of the Muscovite Political System, 1345–1547* (Stanford, 1987).

than the better-known period of his ascendancy during the dual monarchy (1682–1689).[8]

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Vasilii Vasil'evich was born in 1643, the sole surviving son of Vasilii Andreevich, eldest of four brothers, who died when young Vasilii was only nine years old.[9] Vasilii was the direct descendant of four generations of boyars.[10] He was left to be raised by his more than capable mother, Tat'iana Ivanovna (née Romodanovskaia) and three Golitsyn uncles, Ivan (?–1690), Aleksei (1632–1694), and Mikhail (1639–1687).[11] His uncles entered service, made good marriages and, with typical Golitsyn biological elan, produced a number of sons who lived to adulthood.[12] Nevertheless, it was their young nephew who rose to greatest prominence at court, and he did not do so solely because he was the son of the oldest Golitsyn brother and would therefore be expected to assume leadership of the clan and maintain its position at court. In fact by this time the clan system had developed a certain flexibility in its seemingly strict calculation of precedence, which allowed—indeed promoted—those truly gifted and capable members to emerge and gain leadership over those who were perhaps more senior but less qualified to be responsible for the fortunes of an entire clan. It seems clear from documentary evidence that by 1677 Vasilii had already assumed responsibility for the fortunes of the Golitsyn clan, and already wielded greater power in high court circles than his uncles. One must attribute this in part to his own ambition,

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[8] An exploration of the uses to which he put his power, and specifically the issue of whether or not he could be called a Westernizer, a reformer, or the first "*intelligent*," will be addressed in an upcoming article. As stated above, clan politics also explains how and why Golitsyn fell from grace coincidentally with Sofia in 1689. The conventional wisdom follows Foy, according to which it was Golitsyn's "amour" with the tsarevna and his involvement in her "plot" to seize the throne for herself, that condemned him to political death. In his efforts to unravel the confusing court intrigues he heard of second- and third-hand, Foy evidently followed the old adage "*chercher la femme*." Mistaking Moscow for Paris, however, Foy focussed on who was (rumored to be) sleeping with whom, while in reality what mattered in the Kremlin was who was *married* to whom.

[9] The exact year of his birth is not known for sure, but 1643 is the most probable. See Smith, "Golitsyn," 35; and Hughes, *Russia and the West*, 4–6.

[10] On the Golitsyn family, see N. N. Golitsyn, *Rod kniazei Golitsynykh* (St. Petersburg, 1892); and his earlier *Materialy dlia polnoi rodoslovnoi rospisei kniazei Golitsynykh* (Kyiv, 1880).

[11] N. N. Golitsyn and others incorrectly refer to Tat'iana Ivanovna as a Streshnev, but the only contemporary source we have bearing on this matter calls her the daughter of Prince Ivan Romodanovskii. See Smith, "Golitsyn," 36; and *Rozysknye dela Fedora Shaklovitogo* 4:233–1634.

[12] Golitsyn, *Rod*, 119–20; Smith, "Golitsyn," 36–37.

not for personal glory in the Western European sense of aristocratic ambition, but in the characteristically Muscovite ambition to maintain the eminence and honor, the "princeliness" of the great Golitsyns. And Vasilii was nothing if not ambitious for his family.[13]

Expansion and consolidation of the Golitsyn fortunes within this system meant that young Vasilii needed to marry early, marry well, and produce healthy heirs. (This applied to his sisters as well, as we shall see below.) This he did brilliantly, abetted no doubt by his shrewd and energetic mother, even though he had to overcome a series of initial setbacks in the form of premature deaths. The prince married Princess Fedos'ia Vasil'evna Dolgorukaia and had two children, Irina (b. 1663) and Aleksei (b. 1665). Through this marriage he allied himself with another one of the great clans of Muscovy, and, when his wife died soon thereafter, he maintained that tie by quickly betrothing his one remaining unmarried sister to a Dolgorukii. The young prince himself married again within a year or two (1666–1667/7175), this time to Avdot'ia (Evdokiia) Ivanovna Streshneva.[14] He had four more children, two of whom, Avdot'ia (b. 1677) and Mikhail (b. 1689), lived to maturity.

As strategically important as the alliances Golitsyn made through his own marriages were those he made through those of his three sisters. His middle sister Anna was married for money, as it were; her husband was Fedor Petrovich Saltykov, son of one of the richest men in Muscovy.[15] But he appears not to have been active in court circles (he seldom appears in any sources). Anna was left a widow in 1682 when her husband was mistaken for a Naryshkin during the May uprising and hacked to death; she was apparently childless and probably did not remarry.[16] But through the marriages of his two other sisters, Irina and Fedos'ia (Praskov'ia), Golitsyn forged truly powerful political alliances with the Dolgorukii and Trubetskoi clans. The relationship between brothers-in-law (*ziat'ia*) played a unique role in the clan system, for unlike ties of blood, these were "elective affinities," free of the familial

[13] There is more than ample evidence of this ambition from his behavior in the 1680s, when he was among the first of the oligarchs to aggrandize the family name through extravagant domestic building projects, commissioning panegyrics to himself and his wife, and creating new titles and seeking outsized rewards for his government service. He was not alone in this, however. Competitors in this new game of ostentation included Sheremetevs, Cherkasskiis, Naryshkins, and, of course, another Golitsyn, cousin Boris.

[14] On the confusion in various family chronicles over the identity of Vasilii's two wives, see Smith, "Golitsyn," 39–40.

[15] Robert Crummey, *Aristocrats and Servitors: The Boyar Elite in Russia, 1613–1689* (Princeton NJ, 1983), 114; Ia. E. Vodarskii, "Praviashchaia gruppa svetskikh feodalov v Rossii v XVII v.," in N. I. Pavlenko, ed., *Dvorianstvo i krepostnoi stroi Rossii XVI–XVIII vv. Sbornik statei, posviashchennyi pamiati Alekseia Andreevicha Novosel'skogo* (Moscow, 1975), 99.

[16] Smith, "Golitsyn," 43.

rivalries that could spring up between brothers, uncles, cousins, and nephews (Vasilii was only four years younger than his uncle Mikhail, for example). In Prince Iurii Petrovich Trubetskoi and Prince Mikhail Iur'evich Dolgorukii, Golitsyn allied himself with the scions of two of the greatest families in Muscovy, men of power in their own right who actively pursued influence at court.[17]

The extraordinary consolidation through strategic intermarriages of the upper levels of the political elite during the latter half of the seventeenth century is a remarkable though seldom remarked upon phenomenon. The formidable alliance of three clans that controlled the monarchy in the immediate post-Petrine period—the Golitsyns, Trubetskois, and Dolgorukiis—had its origin in the marriages of Vasilii and his sisters.[18] Both Irina, who married Prince Mikhail Iur'evich Trubetskoi in 1657, and Fedos'ia, married to Prince Mikhail Iur'evich Dolgorukii in 1670, were the forebears (*rodonachal'nitsy*) of the dominant branches of the Trubetskoi and Dolgorukii clans of the eighteenth century.

In Trubetskoi, Irina married the sole heir of another branch of the Gediminovichi.[19] Though brought up in Poland, he had returned to Muscovy at the invitation of Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich, whereupon he converted from Catholicism to Orthodoxy and had all of his clan's considerable property restored to him. He was made boyar in 1671, and throughout the reign of Fedor Alekseevich he had a special role of honor and proximity to the tsar, beginning with the tsar's coronation in 1676, at which he stood immediately to the right of Tsar Fedor Alekseevich, and, together with Golitsyn's father-in-law Ivan Fedorovich Streshnev, carried the tsar's scepter.[20]

Golitsyn's other brother-in-law, Mikhail Iur'evich Dolgorukii, had been related to him previously through Golitsyn's first marriage (Dolgorukii was first cousin to Vasilii's first wife).[21] But when the prince lost that tie through

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[17] As Keenan succinctly puts it, "the politics of betrothals and marriages was in fact the politics of power in the Kremlin." Keenan, "Muscovite Political Folkways," 144. Crummey notes a special feature of the aristocracy in the seventeenth century when he remarks that "fine genealogy alone guaranteed nothing. Marriage patterns serve as the best test of a family's acceptance into the aristocracy." Crummey, *Aristocrats*, 81. He points to the special success of the Dolgorukii clan, who married especially well and thereby bolstered its position within the elite.

[18] Indeed, it would be only a slight exaggeration to say that these clans *regained* control of the throne after Peter's death.

[19] On the Trubetskois, see E. E. Trubetskaia, *Skazaniia o rode kniazei Trubetskikh* (Moscow, 1891).

[20] V. N. Berkh, *Tsarstvovanie Tsaria Fedora Alekseevicha i istoriia pervogo streletskago bunta* (St. Petersburg, 1834), 18.

[21] On the Dolgorukiis, see P. V. Dolgorukov, *Skazaniia o rode kniazei Dolgorukovykh* (St. Petersburg, 1840); and V. Dolgorukii, ed., *Dolgorukie, Dolgorukovy i Dolgorukie-*

the death of his wife in 1666/1667, he forged an even stronger and more direct bond to the senior members of that clan through marriage of his youngest sister to Mikhail. He was the son of Iurii Alekseevich Dolgorukii, a renowned military leader and one of the most formidable boyars of the realm. The elder Dolgorukii was exceptionally close to Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich, and had been amply rewarded for his military prowess for, among other things, putting down the Razin rebellion, by being named to innumerable positions through which he enriched himself and his family.[22] Dolgorukii was zealous in the promotion of his son's career, starting him early in the military, keeping him by his side during the Razin campaign, and ensuring that he was duly rewarded for his various services. Mikhail was promoted to privy boyar (*blizhnii boiarin*) in 1677 and appointed *namestnik* of Suzdal' and head of the Chancery of the Kazan' Court (*Prikaz Kazanskogo dvortsa*). Three years later he was also appointed head of the chanceries in charge of military records (*Razriadnyi prikaz*) and the foreign mercenaries (*Inozemskii prikaz*) while simultaneously serving as deputy to his eighty-year-old father in the Musketeer Chancery.

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With the changes in military technology and the growing complexities of the state, there was natural convergence in the seventeenth century between military and bureaucratic careers. Golitsyn's career typifies this development and its remarkable and deliberate acceleration in the latter third of the century. As was traditional for males in boyar clans, Golitsyn started service young, at court, then served his time in the military (though he seemed to lack zest for combat), and eventually was rewarded for his services by being given control over various chanceries. Golitsyn first appeared in court ceremonies at the usual age of thirteen or fourteen, and was soon accompanying the tsar on various pilgrimages around the realm.[23] He climbed the accustomed ladder of rank from *stol'nik* and *chashnik* to *voznitsa* and finally *glavnyi stol'nik* in 1675.[24] The documentary evidence for his career from 1668 to 1675 is rather

Argutinskie (St. Petersburg, 1869).

[22] He was namestnik of Novogorod, Tver', and Suzdal'; and head of the Smolensk, Cannon (*Pushkarskii*), Grain (*Khlebnyi*), Musketeer (*Streletskii*), and Investigative (*Rozysknye dela*) Chanceries. P. V. Dolgorukov, *Rossiiskaia rodoslovnaia kniga* (St. Petersburg, 1854–1857), 1:105; and E. E. Zamyslovskii, *Tsarstvovanie Fedora Alekseevicha* (St. Petersburg, 1871), App., xxx.

[23] Golitsyn, Rod, 121; *Drevniaia Rossiiskaia vivliofika* 18:205 (hereafter, *DRV*); *Dvortsovye razriady* 3:520, 598, 602–607, 625; 4:302, 702 (hereafter *DR*).

[24] *DRV* 17:205

slim, however, and does not prepare us for Golitsyn's sudden rise at court in 1676 when Fedor acceded to the throne.

In 1676, Golitsyn was thirty-three years old and had been in service to the crown for twenty of those years, nearly all at court. Just weeks before the tsar's death he had been appointed *voevoda* of Putivl', to serve under the command (one could almost call it tutelage) of the experienced and much honored general, Prince Konstantin Osipovich Shcherbatov, who, together with the Dolgorukiis *père et fils*, had been responsible for quashing the Razin rebellion.[25] Upon returning to Moscow for the funeral and coronation ceremonies, Vasilii Golitsyn was signally honored by being chosen the head of the cortege of *stol'niki* who carried the sovereign's body. On the occasion of Fedor's accession, he become the first of his cohort to be elevated to boyar.[26] Now was the time to fulfill his military duty in earnest, and he took up his new assignment in Ukraine after the coronation.

Golitsyn spent the next three years at the front, while others close to him consolidated their positions of pre-eminence in the inner circle around Fedor. The new tsar was young and frail (he was only fourteen on his accession). Interested parties at the Kremlin warily began to position themselves for the possibility of a succession crisis should neither he nor his even more feeble brother Ivan produce an heir, leaving their healthy half-brother Peter (born in 1672) and his band of crudely ambitious yet not demonstrably talented uncles Naryshkin to inherit the crown. The tsar's guardian (*opekun*), Aleksei Mikhailovich's favorite Iu. A. Dolgorukii, his "tutors" (*diad'ki*), Ivan Bogdanovich Khitrovo and Fedor Fedorovich Kurakin, and Nikita Ivanovich Odoevksii (all partisans of Golitsyn), were the senior members of the inner circle, together with Ivan Miloslavskii.[27] It was critically important during

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[25] Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov, fond 120, no. 1037, fol. 5r; fond. 120, no. 503, 19r–22r (hereafter RGADA); *DRV* 17:289–90; *DR* 9:13–16; and A. Lentin, ed., *Prince M. M. Shcherbatov: On the Corruption of Morals in Russia* (London, 1969), 16.

[26] *DR* 3:1641; Golitsyn, *Rod*, 121.

[27] As reported by Laurent Rinhuber to his superior back in Saxony. L. Rinhuber, *Relation du voyage en Russie fait en 1684 par Laurent Rinhuber* (Berlin, 1883), 169–70. He also mentions the prominence of Golitsyn's brother-in-law Trubetskoi and his father-in-law Streshnev in the same letter of December 1677. In Rinhuber's list of the names and ranks of the officers who fought in the Crimean campaign that summer, he interrupts himself to describe Vasilii Golitsyn: "Vir juvenis, barba rossa, Jovalis et martialis, prudens, fortus, et accerimus." Two years later Rinhuber adds the name of Vasilii's two uncles, Andrei and Ivan, and Prince Ivan Andreevich Khovanskii to the list of the inner circle (ibid., 139–40). Incidentally, Fedor Kurakin was related to Golitsyn (Smith, "Golitsyn," 68–69), and his cousin Ivan was a close friend of the family, one of Golitsyn's most faithful correspondents in 1677 (see in particular a letter in which he announces to Prince Vasilii the birth of his son, Boris, who would grow up to write an account of the 1670s and 1680s, in *Vremennik imperatorskogo Moskovskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh* 6:46 (4 August 1677). One of Vasilii's cousins was married to the daughter of F. A. Khitrovo, *vospitatel'* to

minorities that the appearance of control and order be maintained. That was done by turning to those who combined experience with honor (bestowed on them by birth). Only men with that combination of qualifications could be trusted to resist factionalism and remain above the fray.

It turns out that Dolgorukii and Khitrovo were more than up to the task, effectively neutralizing the Miloslavskii-Naryshkin rivalry by exiling the only cool head in the Naryshkin camp, A. S. Matveev, and tactfully "reassigning" several Naryshkins to honorable but distant posts. They even managed to keep Miloslavskii, the tsar's uncle, more or less out of the picture, for fear that his open partisanship would upset the precarious balance of power.[28]

During this time Golitsyn was on duty in the south, campaigning against the Turks. A significant cache of letters that document Golitsyn's service in the Crimea in 1677 survives, and they give a fascinating view of life both at the front and back home in the Kremlin.[29] It is self-evident from these sources that Golitsyn was there on a mission to gather intelligence for the court, rather than personally to command a major military effort. He was responsible for gathering all information about the disposition and performance of the troops and reporting it back to Moscow by special couriers. Moreover, he alone had the authority to report directly (*ot sebia*) to the tsar, and all reports had to go through him first. This included the reports of the generals in charge, Prince Grigorii Grigor'evich Romodanovskii, Hetman Ivan Samoilovich, and Prince

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Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich (Golitsyn, *Materialy*, 57). Contrary to what Buganov asserts, however, there is no reason to believe that Miloslavskii was responsible for Golitsyn's swift rise to power at this time. Not only was Miloslavskii's position almost as vulnerable as the Naryshkins' (because of his partisanship for his family), but the extensive correspondence of 1677 (see below) shows Golitsyn had strong ties with Khitrovo, Kurakin, and Dolgorukii but not with Miloslavskii. In addition, Miloslavskii's attempt to increase his power during the troubles of 1682 was not supported by Golitsyn, an indication that the latter felt neither indebted to nor common cause with Miloslavskii (Buganov, "'Kantsler'," 146).

[28] See Smith, "Golitsyn," 52–55; and Lindsey Hughes, *Sophia Regent of Russia: 1657–1704* (New Haven and London, 1990), 47.

[29] The majority of the 264 letters are addressed to Golitsyn, with very few from him surviving. They are in RGADA fond 210. All but thirty have been printed, and are to be found in *Russkaia starina* 1888 (3); 1889 (7); 1892 (5 and 10); *Vremennik* vols. 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13; S. I. Kotkov, ed., *Gramotki XVII–nachala XVIII veka* (Moscow, 1969); S. I. Kotkov, A. S. Oreshnikov, and I. S. Filippova, ed., *Moskovskaia delovaia i bytovaia pis'mennost' XVII veka* (Moscow, 1968); and A. I. Sumkin, ed., *Pamiatniki russkogo narodno-razgovornogo iazyka XVII stoletia (iz fonda A. I. Bezobrazova)* (Moscow, 1965). Danilov (24–25) mistakenly believes that some of these undated letters are from 1676–80, significantly skewing his reading of the court politics of these years. Internal evidence, much of its having to do with the births and deaths of relatives, firmly dates the letters to 1677. These letters are full of such revealing details as, for example, which magnates attended Golitsyn's new daughter's christening. When both Khitrovo and Dolgorukii senior showed up for the family ceremony, it was taken as a sign that they would back Golitsyn's cause at court (*Moskovskaia*, 30; Smith, "Golitsyn," 96).

Ivan Borisovich Troekurov, in addition to his own uncle Aleksei, voevoda of Kyiv, among others. It was a highly unusual situation, due at least in part to the Kremlin's lack of trust in Romodanovskii and Samoilovich, and it placed the young Golitsyn in a very difficult position.[30]

A peevish man, Romodanovskii protested this arrangement and fought his superior "junior" all the way, employing a number of tactics designed to unsettle his younger and less-seasoned peer. There are reports of the general's refusal to greet Golitsyn, of his surreptitiously sending contradictory reports back to court, and other such wiles.[31] The battle of who reported through whom escalated until it began seriously to impede the military operations. The issue needed to be settled once and for all, and could only be decided at the highest levels at court. Stuck in Ukraine far from the real battle of that summer, Golitsyn had to rely on his allies at home to take up arms on his behalf. He was in a state of high anxiety whenever he went without information for even a twenty-four-hour period. Apparently in response to her son's complaints about lack of news, Tat'iana Ivanovna wrote to Prince Vasilii: "You write to me by messenger from Putivl' that without exception I never write in answer to your inquiries, what I hear in town, and which people on which days are granted favor by the Tsar, and [which are received by him] in his chambers; but, my dear, I write directly to you about this and about all things by messenger and send him off with everything, with medicine and a scribe; is it true that my letters do not arrive?"[32]

The letters also reveal that, while Golitsyn had many friends at court, as well as a mother fiercely active on his behalf, it was his two brothers-in-law who provided the surest help in subduing Romodanovskii and insuring that Golitsyn and his men were properly rewarded for services rendered. Unlike his blood relatives—uncles and cousins alike—only Prince Vasilii's two brothers-in-law (and to some extent his father-in-law) were not dependent upon him for the advancement of the clan and their own advancement. These three men, related by marriage, not blood, were able to advise Golitsyn in a more disinterested manner, could think more strategically, and, being powerful in

[30] Danilov, "V. V. Golicyn bis zum Staatsreich," 13–14. It was also part of an ongoing fact-finding mission whose results were used by the military reform commission later in the reign.

[31] Gordon, *Tagebuch*, 1:450; Danilov, "V. V. Golicyn bis zum Staatsreich," 17–21; Hughes, *Russia and the West*, 11; Smith, "Golitsyn," 63. Twenty-five years earlier Romodanovskii had been put in irons when he refused to bow to a precedence ruling that did not subordinate his nephew to him. S. M. Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii s drevneishikh vremen* (Moscow, 1960–1966), 13:64; A. E. Markevich, *O mestnichestve* (Kyiv, 1879), 64; and *Russkii biograficheskii slovar* (St. Petersburg and Petrograd, 1896–1918), 17:84–112.

[32] *Vremennik* 13:31 (29 June). Prince Vasilii had been struck down earlier that summer with a lung ailment, the nature and gravity of which he refused to divulge to his mother or any other of his correspondents.

their own right, supplied him with the best intelligence about what was going on in court. They offered him concrete aid in securing more troops, regularly informed him about who had been reporting what to whom at court, and let him know specifically what Romodanovskii was up to. When the general had demanded that Golitsyn rush to Chyhyryn immediately to provide backup, they advised him to go directly to Belgorod, as Romodanovskii had secretly reported to Moscow that all was under control in Chyhyryn. His uncle, however, confined his letters to inquiring about his health and complaining that Vasilii did not write frequently enough.[33]

Another exchange of letters, this time in reference to Golitsyn's request for more troops, shows that Mikhail Dolgorukii was able to secure resources for him when others had failed. Golitsyn had petitioned the head of the Musketeer Chancery, Iurii Dolgorukii, for men, fearing his army would not be adequate for any engagement with the enemy. His request was refused, presumably because Golitsyn was not expected to see action. Iurii Dolgorukii and his other patron Bogdan Khitrovo had even refused the personal requests of Vasilii's father-in-law Streshnev and his relentless mother.[34] In the midst of this flurry of missives to Golitsyn from his mother, his wife, his uncles, and Streshnev about the hopelessness of his petition, Golitsyn received a short note from Mikhail Dolgorukii, tersely reporting that he too was working on his behalf. The very next day Khitrovo wrote Prince Vasilii, reporting that two battalions of musketeers, over 1,100 men, had been dispatched to join him.[35] As for the tireless efforts of his mother, Vasilii clearly thought her intercession with the likes of Dolgorukii senior were counter-productive (and perhaps inappropriate or dishonorable?), for he had nothing but rebukes for her.[36]

The reason he felt so becomes clear in examination of how the decision on the more critical issue of whether Romodanovskii's friends at court could reverse the order that he report only through Golitsyn was ultimately handled. Golitsyn relied solely on Iurii Trubetskoi to keep him apprised of everything and to champion his cause.[37] As mentioned above, Trubetskoi was especially

[33] *Vremennik* 6:48 (27 July).

[34] *Vremennik* 10:47 (22 June) and *Vremennik* 12:34 (12 July).

[35] *Vremennik* 7:69–70 (28 July), also mentioned by Trubetskoi in his letter to him of 2 August (*Vremennik* 10:35–36).

[36] To which she replied: "But you, my dear, will not be made a fool of by me.... And I, my dear, know myself that your service will be the end of me." *Vremennik* 12:33 (8 July).

[37] In all correspondence to Golitsyn from this year, Trubetskoi regularly opened his letters with greetings that included the information that he was with the tsar. A typical letter reads: "a pozhaluesh' Gosudar' pokhoshesh' vedat' pro menia, i ia pri presvetlykh ochakh Velikago Gosudaria Tsaria i Velikago Kniazia Fedora Alekseevicha vsea velikiia i malyia i belyia Rossii Samoderzhtsa na Moskve s zhenishkoiu svoieiu i s detmi maia v 30 den' milostiou Bozheiu zhiv..." (*Vremennik* 12:47).

trusted among the tsar's inner circle, and he let his brother-in-law know in a letter dated August 2 that Golitsyn had won, but that the decision was being kept secret for the time being. Indeed, Golitsyn's own mother wrote her son ten days later and told him that she surmised, based on hearsay, that Romodanovskii had won the day. Evidently Golitsyn had confided exclusively in Trubetskoi, refusing even to tell his uncles and cousin Boris about his efforts at court. Tat'iana Ivanovna wrote: "Your uncles and brother Prince Boris are annoyed with you because you do not write to them about this."[38] But the stakes were too high, and Prince Vasilii felt he could trust only Trubetskoi in this particularly delicate matter.

A similar battle followed over the level of rewards granted to the generals and their troops. In this instance Golitsyn and his men, who had not seen combat, were rewarded equally with Romodanovskii and his troops, who had engaged the enemy. We learn from Golitsyn's steward, Matvei Boev, that this decision was somewhat controversial, but that Iurii Dolgorukii and Ivan Miloslavskii had spoken on Golitsyn's behalf in council and carried the day.[39] It seems that by now even the great general Iurii Dolgorukii himself, kindly disposed as he was to Golitsyn but generally dubious about the "honor" of non-combat military service, had been won over to the view that the army needed more than good soldiers to win a battle. These developments presage the army reforms begun in 1679, led by Vasilii Golitsyn and his brother-in-law.

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In 1681, following the conclusion of peace negotiations with the Porte, leaders in the Kremlin decided it was a propitious time to address more systematically the outstanding problems with the army, many of which Golitsyn had been reporting on regularly for three years from Ukraine. In November of that year, the prince was appointed by the tsar to head a commission charged with reforming the military; Mikhail Dolgorukii was named as his deputy. Although many details of the workings and indeed even specific purposes of the commission remain unclarified, it is clear enough that Golitsyn and Dolgorukii were inevitable choices to head such a group.[40] They

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[38] *Vremennik* 7:75 (12 August).

[39] Smith, "Golitsyn," 68–69; *Gramotki*, 130–132 (19 September and 22 September); see also Dolgorukii's letter to Golitsyn of 22 September (*Gramotki*, 132).

[40] On the commission, see Markevich, *O mestnichestve*, Chapter 1; V. K. Nikol'skii, "'Boiarskaia popytka' 1681 g.," *Istoricheskie izvestiia, izdavaemye istoricheskim obshchestvom pri Moskovskom universitete* (Moscow, 1917) bk. 2; and M. Ia. Volkov "Ob otmene mestnichestva v Rossii," *Istoriia SSSR*, 1977 (2).

had both served in the field and in the chanceries responsible for military activities and support. In fact, Dolgorukii was de facto head of the entire military apparatus, in his own capacity as head of the Foreign Mercenaries, Cavalry (*Reitarskii*), and Military Records Chanceries, and acting for his superannuated father, who was still officially head of the Musketeer, Smolensk, and Grain Chanceries.

The commission reported out just two months later, in January 1682, and the most famous recommendation, acted upon immediately, was the formal abolition of precedence ranking (*mestnichestvo*) in the military. It had long ago fallen out of practice, and now it was officially banned in a ceremony of book burning in 1682 that bore the marks more of an exorcism than of the rational promulgation of law. The proposed organization that would integrate military and bureaucratic functions in the new hierarchy, one that looked very much like the Table of Ranks later introduced by Peter I, met strong opposition from the Church.[41] The commission, for reasons that are not clear from the few sources available, failed to negotiate an acceptable compromise before the death of Fedor, which drew a sudden close to the proceedings as yet another succession crisis paralyzed the Kremlin.

While the commission might well have had great ambitions that went unfulfilled, what Golitsyn and Dolgorukii were able to accomplish turned out to be extremely practical and, as one might expect, helped to achieve the purposes of the highest court elite: to be able to integrate military and chancery service so that one could be counted as honorable as the other. It would allow the boyars to stay at home in the Kremlin while they left the conduct of war to professionals, whom they were hiring in increasing numbers from abroad. It is important to note that precedence ranking was abolished only in the military. Observance of precedence at court was undisturbed, as one might expect in a reform designed to strengthen the hold of the oligarchs on the stations and prerogatives of power. Indeed the decree that bans precedence in the military is signed by boyars *in order of court precedence*, with Golitsyn signing only seventeenth, after elder statesmen such as Odoevskii, Dolgorukii, and Kurakin.[42] Proximity to the tsar continued to be the key to status, but the oligarchs could make appointments to chanceries that would expand their authority with "honor" and at the same time achieve

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[41] Smith, "Golitsyn," 80–81 on possible origins of the system proposed, including the notion that they came from a group of "polonizers" close to the throne.

[42] *Sobranie gosudarstvennykh gramot i dogovorov, khraniashchikhsia v gosudarstvennoi Kollegi inostrannykh del* (St. Petersburg, 1813–1828): 4, (130). And what was thrown on the pyre that winter day were not muster rolls but records of suits over precedence, that is, records of precisely the kind of litigious activity that Golitsyn's nemesis Romodanovskii had been fond of pursuing.

greater efficiencies in governance. This reform was neither foisted on the boyars by the "absolutist crown" nor forced through by the altruistic boyar Golitsyn in the face of his own "class interests" (as, say, a nineteenth-century reforming *intelligent* would).[43] On the contrary, even though the civilian reform was never enacted, Golitsyn managed to reap certain benefits from the abortive changes. In the proposed administrative reform, for example, the highest court office was to be the Commander of the Palace Guard (*dvorovyi voevoda*). This was among the first of the titles Golitsyn took for himself later that year after the attempted coup.

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The literature on the political troubles of 1682 that led to the innovative dual monarchy of Ivan and Peter is already large and growing larger. Suffice it to say that the sole mention of Golitsyn during the troubles in contemporary sources clearly identifies him as one of a handful of boyars called upon to act as peacemakers.[44] From this we see that Golitsyn had already reached the very highest possible position in Kremlin politics, playing a role exactly analogous to that played by Dolgorukii, Khitrovo, and Odoevskii in the succession of Fedor—a guarantor of peace in the court of an underaged tsar. As one would expect during a succession crisis, the chief magnates of the court moved cautiously and maintained a public image of non-partisanship, of being above the fray, designed to have a calming effect. After some maneuvering, an arrangement was worked out (by whom exactly we do not know) whereby the two families with claims to the throne, the Miloslavskiis and the Naryshkins, were again neutralized, as they had been in 1676. This

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[43] This odd but persistent view that Golitsyn and his co-conspirators were struggling to dismantle a system they benefitted from predates the class analysis of Soviet historians (e.g., A. Tereshchenko, *Opyt obozreniia zhizni sanovnikov, upravliavshikh inostrannymi delami,* St. Petersburg, 1:146–47) and is still widespread among even Western historians. Hughes, for example (*Russia and the West,* 15, 92), calls Prince Vasilii's efforts to abolish *mestnichestvo* proof that he "was fully capable of championing causes detrimental to his own class." Crummey best articulates the more sensible view that the "leading families of the court had apparently discovered that mestnichestvo was a poor weapon in the struggle to defend their honor. The government's commitment to maintain official genealogies of the finest families of the realm gave promise of accomplishing the same end at far less risk to the boyars and far less cost to all concerned." *Aristocrats,* 137–38).

[44] The others were Mikhail Cherkasskii, Nikita Odoevskii, and Ivan Khovanskii. *Dopolnenie k aktam istoricheskim* (St. Petersburg, 1846–1872) 10:23; V. I. Buganov, *Moskovskie vosstaniia kontsa XVII veka* (Moscow, 1969), 149–52; and V. I. Buganov and N. G. Savich, ed., *Vosstanie v Moskve 1682 goda. Sbornik dokumentov* (Moscow, 1976), 276–83.

"arrangement" was the bizarre and unprecedented dual monarchy, which must have been recognized at the time as a temporary solution at best.

There are several reasons to deduce that in the early months of 1682 Golitsyn was already first among equals in that rarefied group of magnates who directed the governance of the realm, magnates who included Cherkasskii, Miloslavskii, Odoevskii, Matveev (at least nominally), and Dolgorukii, because he was the youngest of them. Certainly he had emerged incontestably as first among equals by September of that year, if only because so many of his natural peers had perished in May (such as the Dolgorukiis, father and son, and Matveev) and the contentious contenders had been dealt with (the Naryshkins and Khovanskiis). Prince Vasilii's pre-eminence was marked in the customary way: he received the biggest rewards—titles, offices, properties.[45]

The clan system aimed at sharing power among a small group of men, and nothing upset that balance of power more than a single strong man, be he tsar, like Ivan IV or Peter I, or boyar, like Ivan Khovanskii. As Golitsyn knew better than anyone, he could not survive at the top alone, without a network of boyar allies. Yet just when Golitsyn emerged as the first among equals, the key political allies who had helped to get him there and were surely the men who would share power with him, had disappeared. Within two years of Golitsyn's arrival at the top, his two brothers-in-law died, as well as his father-in-law. So that in the 1680s, when the precarious peace between Miloslavskii and Naryshkin partisans began to unravel and Sofia decided it was time to take on the Naryshkin clan herself, Golitsyn had a hard time staying clear of the messy intrigue that followed and led inevitably to the events of 1689. Even before Fedor's death, Prince Vasilii had ensured that he and his clan's interests were not over-committed to one party or the other. While he played the role of "chief minister" to the senior tsar and his sister (the *de facto* regent), he had both his cousin Boris and his son Aleksei well placed in the junior tsar's court.[46] And though he had so far excelled at the business of keeping his clan "princely" and "above the fray," he found himself by the mid-1680s bereft of his strongest allies, vulnerable to court intrigue. Whatever plans Sofia hatched over the course of the 1680s to ensure the

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[45] In her monograph on Golitsyn, Hughes inclines towards the view that Sofia's favor was instrumental in Golitsyn's rise to power (*Russia and the West*, 22–23). But later, in her in-depth study of the tsarevna and her rule, she concludes decisively that Sofia had nothing to do with the prince's emergence as head of the government (*Sophia*, 99).

[46] In fact, Boris had joined Peter's court already in 1676; he was the boy's *diad'ka*. Vasilii's eldest son Aleksei was attached to Peter's court on April 28, 1682, the day after Fedor's death (*DRV* 17:211; Golitsyn, *Materialy*, 14). At the dual coronation on June 25, Vasilii and Boris held the vestments of the two tsars. DAI 10:38ff; *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* (St. Petersburg, Petrograd, Leningrad, and Moscow, 1841–present), 3:201.

Miloslavskii hold over the throne had inevitably to win the favor and blessing of Golitsyn, *or at least appear that way*. While it is unlikely that Golitsyn was either a prime mover behind her schemes to gain the throne, or even that he was fully informed of them in the final years of the regency, when she made her boldest moves to ensure her family's monopoly of power, he could not protect himself from inferences to that effect. His sole ally, in the critical sense of a male who was allied to him by the bonds of either blood or marriage, was his cousin Boris, beloved of Peter but envied by the Naryshkins. It was, finally, the combination of the wrath of Peter over the disastrous Crimean campaigns, the prince's disdain for raw political intrigue, born of a "presumption of superiority" that appears to have been deeply ingrained in his own sense of princely honor, and the absence of a network of trusted blood allies at court, that were his undoing.[47]

One of the most striking things about the Muscovite court of the 1670s and 1680s is the vigor of the clan system. Not only was it still strong, but it was getting ever stronger, providing the flexible framework within which the great clans could adapt successfully to the changes in military and administrative structures and technologies while maintaining their hegemony over power. It was this system, which finely calibrated "a combination of birth, personal affiliation, and the *ad hoc* balance of the interests of other players," that allowed Golitsyn to rise to the top and stay there for as long as he did.[48] It was this thriving system that Peter, the "overmighty monarch," set out to destroy, and his ruination of its chief exemplar Golitsyn was but the first blow he struck in the lifelong campaign he waged to break the clans. The fact that, as late as 1730, several years after Peter's death, Vasilii Vasil'evich's nephew, Dmitrii Mikhailovich, came close to fixing the political supremacy of certain great clans into law, shows just how vigorous the system was.

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[47] For more on this see Smith, "Golitsyn," 150–224.
[48] Keenan, 157.

"The Buyer and Seller of the Greek Faith": A Pasquinade in the Ruthenian Language against Adam Kysil

FRANK E. SYSYN

The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, with its diffusion of power and sweeping liberties for its numerous nobles, afforded its inhabitants a wide latitude of freedom in expressing opinions. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, political and religious controversies erupted in prose and poetry in Latin, Polish, and various macaronic combinations of the two languages.[1] These works range from learned theological treatises to clumsily constructed doggerel. Although printing advanced rapidly in the sixteenth century and presses operated under rather light political controls, the shorter and more slanderous pieces were often disseminated in manuscript copies. In many cases, the original medium is not known because printed leaflets were often copied into manuscript *silvae rerum* and these thick manuscript books were more likely than the small brochures to be preserved. Discretion and tactics ensured that, despite the relative freedom of expression, many works appeared anonymously, making their authors and the patrons or groups who inspired them difficult to determine.[2]

The Ukrainian lands shared, albeit somewhat belatedly, in this effusion of debates and discussions. The linguistic, religious, and political character of these territories influenced their inhabitants' participation in all-Commonwealth debates and engendered discussions about special regional issues. Church Slavonic and Ruthenian had an important place in literary production, even though Ukrainian and Belarusian writers came to use Polish and Latin more frequently in the seventeenth century. In addition to the general debates over issues of the Commonwealth's constitution and politics and the relations of religious groups, the inhabitants of the Ukrainian territories focused on three issues essential to their region: the defense of the

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[1] See works such as Julíusz Nowak-Dłużewski, *Okolicznościowa poezja polityczna w Polsce. Dwaj młodsi Wazowie* (Warsaw, 1972), Jan Czubek, *Pisma polityczne z czasów rokoszu Zebrzydowskiego 1606–1608,* 3 vols. (Cracow, 1916–1918) and Stefania Ochmann-Staniszewska, ed., *Pisma polityczne z czasów panowania Jana Kazimierza Wazy 1648–1668. Publicystyka-eksorbitancje-projekty-memoriały,* vol. 1, *1648–1660* (Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow-Gdańsk, 1989), vol. 2, *1661–1664* (Wrocław-Warsaw, 1990), vol. 3, *1665–1668* (Wrocław-Warsaw, 1991).

[2] For example, in the three volumes of political writings in the time of Jan Kazimierz published by Ochmann, 130 out of 165 items are anonymous.

frontier, the position of the cossacks, and the situation of the Eastern Church. Each of these issues affected the entire Commonwealth and each developed within the context of discussions throughout the realm, but the three issues occupied a more prominent position in the debates and literary production of Ukraine than they did in other regions.[3]

Of the three issues, the religious question occasioned the greatest production. The debates about the situation of the Eastern Church, primarily about the legitimacy of the Union of Brest, have traditionally been labelled polemical literature. Polemical literature is only loosely a thematic unity and has no unity in language or form. Written in Church Slavonic, Ruthenian, Polish, and Latin, the polemical literature includes works as diverse as expositions of theology and scurrilous attacks on opponents' morals. Occupying a dominant position in Ukrainian and Belarusian literary and intellectual activity of the early modern period, polemical literature is an elastic category that can be easily expanded to encompass the many Ukrainian writings that dealt with religious issues. Diet speeches on religious affairs and chronicle accounts on the conversion of Rus' and the Union of Brest can be considered polemical literature. Elegiac and panegyric poetry that extols proper religious behaviour can be seen as related since, in its praises, it propagates the true faith. Certainly a more rigorous examination of the complex of polemical literature is in order, just as a more careful examination of the languages, genres, and styles of Middle Ukrainian literature should be undertaken.[4]

Within early modern Ukrainian and Belarusian literature, the pasquinade, lampoon, or pasquil is relatively poorly represented. In the political and even the religious struggles of the Commonwealth, biting verses or squibs were frequently distributed or posted to bring an enemy into scorn or ridicule. A number of such pasquinades from the period of the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising ridicule the hetman, Maksym Kryvonis, Adam Kysil, and other Ukrainian political leaders.[5] In the discussions over religion fewer instances exist. In

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[3] Writing in Ukraine in this period is best approached through L. E. Makhnovets', comp., *Ukraïns'ki pys'mennyky: Bio-bibliohrafichnyi slovnyk* 1 (Kyiv, 1960). On linguistic and cultural matters, see Antoine Martel, *La langue polonaise dans les pays Ruthènes: Ukraine et Russie Blanche, 1569–1667* (Lille, 1993)(=Travaux et Mémoires de l'Université de Lille, nouvelle série: Droit et Lettres, 20).

[4] On polemical literature, see Ihor Ševčenko, "Religious Polemical Literature in the Ukrainian and Belarusian Lands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 17, nos. 1–2 (Summer-Winter 1992): 45–58, which includes a bibliography of basic literature. The article is printed with additional bibliography in idem, *Ukraine between East and West* (Edmonton-Toronto, 1996), 149–63.

[5] See Ivan Franko, "Khmel'nychchyna 1648–1649 rokiv v suchasnykh virshakh," *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, 23 (1898): 1–114, and the review of this

particular, literature in Ruthenian and Church Slavonic has few examples of pasquinades.[6]

The rarity of the genre gives the "Paszkwil Ruskim językiem" published here a certain significance that is enhanced by the importance of the issue discussed. Few seventeenth-century controversies rocked Ukrainian society for as long and involved so many people as the struggle for the Peremyshl' eparchy. From the royal appointment of Atanasii Krupets'kyi in 1610 to the eparch's death in 1657, the Uniate bishop faced resistance from his clergy and faithful and a changing relation between Church and state that prevented him from exercising real authority over the faithful and properties of his eparchy.[7]

The Peremyshl' [Przemyśl] eparchy proved to be especially resistant to the Union.[8] This might seem paradoxical because the eparchy was the westernmost in Ukraine, had longest been exposed to Latin culture, and had early lost its great nobles to the Western Church. Yet its hierarch Mykhailo Kopystens'kyi, along with the ordinary of L'viv, the other western Ukrainian eparchy, Gedeon Balaban, had refused to adhere to the Union of Brest. The decision of the bishops partially explains the resistance in western Ukraine, but its roots should also be seen as deriving from the area's longer relationship with Poland and the very penetration of the Roman Catholic Church into the territory. In western Ukraine, the political dominance of the Lachs and their Church and the greater suspicion that a change accepting Rome would only be the first step in the disintegration of Rus' engendered resistance to the Union. This suspicion of Latin Christian intentions had deep historical roots. The ancient cathedral of Peremyshl' had been seized by the Latins in the early fifteenth century and used later as a quarry to build the

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work by Aleksander Brückner in *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 13 (1899): 582–92; Viacheslav Lypyns'kyi (Wacław Lipiński), *Z dziejów Ukrainy* (Kyiv-Cracow, 1912), 385; Jakub Michałowski, *Księga pamiętnicza* (Cracow, 1864), 612–613; and Ludwik Kubala, *Jerzy Ossoliński*, 2nd ed. (Cracow-L'viv, 1923), 369.

[6] See L. Ie. Makhnovets', comp. *Davnii ukrains'kyi humor i satyra* (Kyiv, 1959), especially 25–26. Interestingly, one of the oldest examples of Ukrainian verse is the pasquinade, "Khto idesh mymo, stan' hodynu," written by Ian Zhoravnyts'kyi in 1575, which is published in the anthology (229–30).

[7] On Bishop Atanasii Krupets'kyi, see Antoni Prochaska, "Władyka Krupecki w walce z Dyzunią," *Przewodnik Powszechny*, vol. 139–40 (1918): 731–52, vol. 141–42 (1919): 38–47, 283–94, 359–65, and Antonii Dobrians'kyi (Dobrianskii), *Istoriia episkopov trekh soedinennikh eparkhii, Peremyshl'skoi, Samborskoi i Sanotskoi, ot naidavneishikh vremen do 1794 g.* 3 vols. (L'viv, 1893) 2:12–40.

[8] On the Peremyshl' eparchy, in addition to Dobrians'kyi's book, see Petro Isaiv, *Istoriia Peremys'koho iepyskopstva* (Philadelphia, 1970), L. Sonevyts'kyi, "Ukrains'kyi iepyskopat Peremys'koi i Kholms'koi ieparkhii v XV–XVI st." *Studii z istorii Ukrainy* (Paris-New York-Sydney-Toronto, 1982), 13–110, and M. Bendza, *Prawosławna Diecezja Przemyska w latach 1596–1681* (Warsaw, 1982).

Latin cathedral after its stones had been washed in the San to remove heresy. The Orthodox of L'viv had only been able to establish their eparchy in the city in 1539, and the Latin metropolitan claimed the right to appoint its holder. Although the western Ukrainian eparchies might have had the most to gain by the Union's guarantee of rights and privileges to the Eastern Church, their faithful also had a historical experience that would make them question whether the Latins would ever accept them as equals and whether the Orthodox might not be preparing their own ruin by removing the barrier of differing religious confession that divided them from the Lachs.

The two eparchies, especially the Peremyshl', also had some strengths. Relatively densely settled, the western Ukrainian lands had numerous parishes that afforded a strong institutional base. Although Latin Christian institutions were increasing in the cities and in the lowlands, they were still few in the highlands of the Carpathians. The area had a large group of petty Orthodox nobles, who in law were entitled to the privileges of the Nobles' Commonwealth. Western Ukraine also contained an active group of Orthodox burghers, discriminated against in comparison to the Catholic burghers, but nevertheless possessing communal institutions. These two groups, who often produced candidates for clerical offices, could offer leadership to resistance to the Union of Brest. Indeed, because they harbored resentment against the Catholic great lords and urban patriciates, they could provide leadership for social and religious discontent that flourished in the upland areas, where the peasantry had not been bound fully to serfdom, where brigandage flourished, and where petty noble, priest, peasant, and small town dweller still belonged to a relatively homogeneous Rus' society.

In obtaining the Peremyshl' eparchy, the former royal secretary Aleksander Krupets'kyi, who chose the monastic name Atanasii, inevitably faced widespread opposition. This was not only because he was a Uniate. Zygmunt III bypassed four local Orthodox candidates to appoint his secretary, who had accepted the Greek rite on the promise that he would receive the eparchy on the death of Kopystens'kyi.[9] Resistance centred on Krupets'kyi's Latin-rite Catholic antecedents, on his origin from outside the Ruthenian palatinate, and on his failure to be elected properly. Although Krupets'kyi's initial tactic not to manifest his Uniate adherence too publicly strengthened his position, he had to turn to the courts and to the starosta of Peremyshl', Adam Stadnicki, to force the Orthodox clergy and laity to recognize his authority. Krupets'kyi had begun a pattern of accusations, court decisions, and demands for the execution of verdicts as well as resorts to force that reflected the widespread opposition

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[9] On the accession of Krupets'kyi, see Dobrians'kyi, *Istoriia*, 13–14 and Bendza, *Prawosławna Diecezja*, 120–26.

to him and the Union and the readiness of many to take advantage of the situation to appropriate property. The restoration of the Orthodox hierarchy in 1620 and the consecration of Isaia Kopyns'kyi as bishop of Peremyshl' further complicated Krupets'kyi's situation, even though the king did not recognize the new hierarchy as legal.

The Orthodox of the eparchy had appeared to win their long struggle during the compromise negotiated at the election of Władysław IV in 1632. The eparchy was assigned to them, though special provisions were to be made during Krupets'kyi's life.[10] Initially Ivan Khlopets'kyi was elected to the see, but he died soon after.[11] Ivan Popel' was elected bishop next and received a royal charter. The king granted him the three monasteries of Spas, St. Onuphrius (Lavriv), and Smil'nytsia as well as an annuity to make up for revenue lost until Krupets'kyi's death. The new Orthodox metropolitan, Peter Mohyla, refused to consecrate him on grounds that he had been married twice.[12] Popel''s death soon after resulted in the election of Semen (monastic name Syl'vester) Hulevych, a noble of the Volhynian palatinate.[13] This turn to a middle ranking noble of the lands incorporated by Poland at the Union of Lublin exemplified both the Church's greater dependence on the nobles of those territories and the declining number of candidates among the nobles in western Ukraine who had the power and resources sufficient to engage in the struggles that inevitably accompanied the holding of an Eastern Church office. Thus, while Hulevych was at least an inhabitant of the Kingdom of Poland, in contrast to Krupets'kyi, who was from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, he did not belong to the nobility of the Peremyshl' land. He was, however, of unquestionable Ruthenian Orthodox descent. His lack of clerical background

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[10] On the compromise, see Frank E. Sysyn, *Between Poland and the Ukraine: The Dilemma of Adam Kysil 1600–1653* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 89–95 and 288–92 and Janusz Dzięgielewski, *O tolerancje dla zdominowanych: Polityka wyznaniowa Rzeczypospolitej w latach panowania Władysława IV* (Warsaw, 1986).

[11] On Khlopets'kyi, see Mykola Andrusiak, "Ivan Khlopets'kyi, Peremys'kyi pravoslavnyi epyskop-nominat v 1632–1633 rr." *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Shevchenka* 147 (1927): 131–40.

[12] Popel' received a charter dated March 18, 1633, published in S. Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila i ego spodvizhniki (Opyt tserkovno-istoricheskogo issledovaniia)* 2 vols. (Kyiv, 1883–1898) 2, pt. 2, pp. 14–15. On Mohyla's refusal, see Bendza, *Prawosławna Diecezja*, 146–47.

[13] For the royal confirmation, see S. Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit*, 2, pt. 2, pp. 79–81 (March 14, 1635). Władysław Łoziński, whose monograph contains a detailed account of the struggle for the eparchy on the basis of the court records of the Peremyshl' land, maintains that Popel' sold his rights. *Prawem i lewem: Obyczaje na Czerwonej Rusi w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, 2 vols., 4th ed. (L'viv, 1931) 1:302. For Hulevych in addition to the histories of the Peremyshl' eparchy, see Nataliia M. Iakovenko, *Ukrains'ka shliakhta z kintsia XIV do seredyny XVII st. (Volyn' i Tsentral'na Ukraina)* (Kyiv, 1993), 137–40.

did not constitute an obstacle at a time when vigorous and even warlike action was a sine qua non of the Church's existence.

Despite the attempt to bring concord to the Eastern Church controversy in 1632–1633, the new king Władysław IV and the Polish-Lithuanian Diet had in reality merely strengthened the position of the Orthodox Church in inevitable conflicts over parishes and properties. The Catholic Church and numerous Catholic nobles protested the compromise, and the Orthodox little expected to receive fair treatment from the courts, the great nobles, and the urban patriciates. They could not assume that the tenacious Krupets'kyi would hand over his eparchy willingly.

Although Władysław had granted the Orthodox bishop the monasteries at Spas, Lavriv, and Smil'nytsia as well as numerous other Church properties, Hulevych could only take possession of them by force.[14] He assembled a military staff led by his brothers, who recruited petty nobles, priests, burghers, and peasants to seize what was his by right. The seventeenth-century churchman Iakiv Susha estimated the size of the host that Hulevych assembled in 1636 as he moved toward the monastery at Spas at 20,000.[15] During the storming of the monastery, Krupets'kyi's brother was killed and a number of his supporters were wounded. Bishop Krupets'kyi, who locked himself in the church, was subjected to abuse and imprisonment. The Orthodox also took possession of the monasteries of Lavriv and Smil'nytsia and of the properties belonging to them.[16]

Krupets'kyi, who had documents granting him these benefices for life, turned to the courts to condemn the perpetrators of the attack and obtained dozens of decrees of *infamia* (dishonor) against those involved in the attack.[17] The vice-starosta of Peremyshl', Franciszek Dąbrowski, attempted to carry out these decrees and to expel Hulevych from the Spas monastery in 1638, but facing threats of armed resistance and the protests of the Orthodox nobles and clergy that they had the right to these benefices, he withdrew.[18]

While the Orthodox had retained their properties, the bishop and the nobles still remained under the verdicts of *infamia*. Unless they could have them

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[14] For the Lavriv monastery, see Mykola Holubets', "Lavriv (Istorychno-arkheologichna studiia)," *Zapysky ChSVV* 2 (1927), no. 1–2, pp. 30–69, no. 3–4, pp. 317–35. See pp. 52–53 on this period.

[15] See Dobrians'kyi, *Istoriia*, 18. Łoziński reports the number as 10,000, *Prawem i lewem* 1:303.

[16] On the storming of the monastery see the account in Dobrians'kyi, *Istoriia*, 18–19, with the considerable documentation in the notes, and Łoziński, *Prawem i lewem* 1: 303–306.

[17] See the *infamia* decrees in S. Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit* 2, pt. 2, pp. 124–27.

[18] Łoziński, *Prawem i lewem* 1:305.

removed, their persons and possessions were always in danger if Krupets'kyi or the officials of the Peremyshl' land ever attained sufficient strength and will to execute them. Therefore the Orthodox began a campaign to have the verdicts voided, but they could do so only if they could win over a Diet in which Catholics dominated.

By the late 1630s, Orthodox representation in the Diet was limited chiefly to the palatinates of Volhynia, Kyiv, Bratslav, and Chernihiv.[19] Using the threat that they would agree to no legislation until their grievances were met, even a few Orthodox noble delegates could embroil the short Diet sessions (six weeks) in bitter debates. Nevertheless, these very same Orthodox delegates also wished that offices and lands would be dispensed at the close of a successful Diet and that measures needed for defense of the frontier would be taken. If they blocked all actions of the Diet, this could not be done. The Orthodox nobles realized that if they went too far, they would arouse the wrath of the Catholic majority. All sides had a reason to compromise. In addition, the deeply held conviction that nobles' rights and actions were virtually inviolable benefited the Orthodox.

In this period, Adam Kysil, *subcamerus* (*pidkomorii*) of Chernihiv and an architect of the compromise of 1632–1633, had taken a leading role in the defense of the Orthodox Church's interests. He spoke out frequently on issues such as the possession of the Eastern Christian church in Lublin, the failure to enforce decisions in favor of the Orthodox in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and the controversy over the Peremyshl' eparchy. At the Diet of 1641, he delivered a major address on the problems of the eastern lands, in which the religious issue occupied a prominent place.[20] A commission of the Diet met to deal with the Orthodox grievances and to reaffirm the charters granted to the Church. It abrogated the decrees against Hulevych and the nobles of the Peremyshl' land, but it did so for a high price. After Hulevych's demise, no Orthodox was to be appointed to the see, and after Krupets'kyi's death a Uniate was to receive it. Krupets'kyi was to be given numerous churches and monasteries.[21] In effect, the accommodation would mark the defeat of the Orthodox cause in the eparchy. Since the delegates to the Diet from the Peremyshl' land had even opposed granting an amnesty, the decree was probably the best that could be obtained for a territory where the Catholic elite

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[19] See Sysyn, *Between Poland and the Ukraine,* 89–105.

[20] See Frank E. Sysyn, "Regionalism and Political Thought in Seventeenth-Century Ukraine: The Nobility's Grievances at the Diet of 1641," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 6, no. 2 (June 1982): 167–90, including a publication of the speech.

[21] See the *Volumina Legum. Prawa, konstytucye y przywileie Królewstwa Polskiego,y Wielkiego Xięstwa Litewskiego...*comp. Stanisław Konarski, 8 vols. (1732–1782) 4:6–7.

had full control of local nobiliary offices.[22] The individuals under the ban of *infamia* had obtained personal amelioration of their situation, but they had lost face in seeing their relief come as a result of the loss of their cause.[23] It was a situation that called for a scapegoat.

The "Paszkwil Ruskim językiem" found in the seventeenth-century MS 25 among the items for 1642–1643 makes Kysil that scapegoat.[24] It is ostensibly issued by Ihumen Nykyfor of the monasteries of Lavriv (St. Onuphrius) and Smil'nytsia at the request of Fedir Monastyrs'kyi, Fedir Vynnyts'kyi, Marko Vysochans'kyi (Kurolova), and Fedir Kopystens'kyi, citizens of the Peremyshl' land.[25] In abusive terms, it charges that Kysil took funds to defend the Orthodox claim to the bishopric, but instead sold it to the Catholics for a thousand gold pieces. It accuses him of having bought estates in Warsaw. It warns the Poles that they should beware of such a treacherous person. It expresses delight that at least the king understood Kysil well enough to bypass him for the office of sword-bearer. Throughout, it laments the despair of Rus'.

Although the despair in the pasquinade would seem to represent the views of the nobles and clergy of the Peremyshl' region, the vulgarity of the text, the dangerous sentiments expressed, and the obvious element of primitive buffoonery call its supposed authorship into question. One could hardly imagine the purported "Ihumen Nykyfor" issuing a text in which the prayer evocations "Amin" and "Haliluia" were placed among profanities. It might be assumed that the diatribe had come from the ranks of the enraged petty nobles of Peremyshl', who were not likely to be highly educated, and who might not

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[22] See Biblioteka Czartoryskich, MS 390, pp. 301–304 and S. Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit* 2, pt. 2, p. 146, in which Jakub Fedro opposed the settlement.

[23] It appears that Hulevych did not accept this resolution. Dobrians'kyi asserts on the basis of a Peremyshl' Capitula Chronicle that he carried on a subsequent attack on the Spas monastery in 1643. *Istoriia*, 71–73.

[24] On the manuscript see the description in the catalogue of the Raczyński Library, *Katalog der Raczynskischen Bibliothek in Posen*, comp. M. Sosnowski and L. Kurtzmann (Poznań, 1885). The seventeenth-century manuscript of 136 folios is described in an older catalogue as "Rozmaitości obejmujące listy, relacye, wiersze i t. p. akta urzędowe od r. 1609–1641." In fact, material as late as 1643 is included. A notation with the manuscript number says that it is "Ex Libris Mich. Comitis Vandalini Mniszech," and an additional notice states that it is "z Wiszinowca Przepisana." Many of the documents in the manuscript are about Ukrainian affairs and about the Polish intervention in Muscovy during the Time of Troubles, as might be expected of a *silva rerum* in the Mniszek family's library. The text is mentioned and a translation of a fragment is published in Sysyn, *Between Poland and the Ukraine,* 102–103, and is mentioned in Dzięgielewski, *O tolerancje*, 93.

[25] Marko Vysochans'kyi and Fedir Vynnyts'kyi are mentioned in the *infamia* decree of March 13, 1637. S. Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit* 2, pt. 2, p. 124.

have found the low style and parody of Church texts so offensive.[26] Still, it is improbable that Fedir Vynnyts'kyi and his fellows would wish to be associated with such dangerous expressions as "death to all Poles."

It is likely that the text was composed to compromise the Orthodox and Kysil. There are other printed examples of texts that Catholic clergymen published in the Ruthenian language in order to satirize the Orthodox community.[27] It seems that the pasquinade should be placed in the context of the urban *sowizdrzalska* literature, which abounded in satire, as well as in the context of the offensive tactics of the Jesuit Counter-Reformation.[28] Unless additional material is found that will reveal the authorship of the text, only the content and the circumstances point to the antagonists of the Orthodox as the probable authors.

If the hypothesis on authorship outlined above is correct, the pasquinade was intended to drive a wedge between the Orthodox masses and their leadership and to bring the entire Ruthenian community into ridicule and derision. Considering its two potential audiences, the Orthodox of the Peremyshl' region and the wider public of the Commonwealth, affords a better understanding of the political and religious situation reflected in the pasquinade. However contrived the denigration of the Orthodox in the text, there are elements that seem to reflect widespread feelings among the Orthodox Ruthenians of the Commonwealth. The document could only have had an impact on the Orthodox if it expressed concern over the loss of the eparchy. The lament that its people would now be neither Ruthenians nor Lachs rings true to the sentiment of the Orthodox Rus' after the Diet decisions of 1641.

The text also illustrates how difficult the position of the Orthodox leadership was in the 1640s because any compromise could elicit charges of betrayal. Catholic activists had identified Kysil as their most dangerous opponent in the deliberations in the Diet, and the author of the pasquinade was intent on undermining Kysil's authority in the community. For Kysil, the decision of 1641 rectified the consequences of the miscalculation of the

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[26] Dzięgielewski ascribes the pasquinade to Orthodox enemies of the higher clergy and the policy of cooperation with the government. *O tolerancje*, 93.

[27] See Paulina Lewin, "Problematyka społeczna intermedium polskiego," *Pamiętnik Literacki* 52, no. 1 (1961), 18 and "O intermediach tak zwanych białoruskich," *Slavia Orientalis* 12 (1963) no. 3, 299–314; Aloida Kawecka Gryczowa, "*Tragedia ruska*: Zabytek z początku XVII wieku," *Pamiętnik Teatralny*, 1973, no. 2, pp. 273–89; A. Croiset (A. A. Krauze-van-der-Kop), "Zabytyi epizod iz bor'by Katolitsizma protiv Reformatsii v Zapadnoi Rossii," *Izvestiia Otdeleniia russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk* 17, no. 1 (1912): 78–86.

[28] See Aleksander Brückner, "Z literatury sowizdrzalskiej," *Pamiętnik Literacki*, 12 (1913): 99–102, dealing with a 1642 Jesuit publication using a Belarusian text.

Orthodox in using too much force in 1636, thereby placing their leaders in jeopardy and creating a situation that could only be resolved in the Catholic-controlled Diet by concessions. Thus, when Kysil acted to save the position of Hulevych and the very nobles mentioned as his accusers in the document, he also acted to correct a situation that had gone beyond even the latitude for use of force and disobedience that prevailed in the Commonwealth. In so doing he inevitably opened himself up to a charge of betrayal. Indeed, even those who had benefitted were little likely to wish to approve publicly of a compromise that had cost the Orthodox so dearly.

The pasquinade abounds in vulgarity and blasphemy. These elements reflect both the goal of ridiculing the Ruthenian Orthodox and the perception that the Ruthenians were a coarse and primitive lot. The image of Rus′ and the Greek faith portrayed in the pasquinade could hardly put either in good repute. Other than the pasquinade, there is no evidence that Kysil was a buyer or seller of the Greek faith. The author of the pasquinade intended through ridicule and rumor to devaluate the Greek faith and its defender throughout the Commonwealth.

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APPENDIX

Written in Ukrainian with Polish transcription and a considerable admixture of Polish words, the text in the manuscript also occasionally includes interlineal Polish translations of Ukrainian words ('teper-teraz,' 'kniha-ksiąska' and even the notation 'po Rusku' over 'k pieniu' and 'po Polsku' over 'k spiewaniu'). In the case of 'czerlenych,' the supralinear addition may merely be a corrected reading of the original text. The copyist made errors in transcription such as the distorted 'Holoskiyska,' apparently for 'Hrestytela,' and by dropping a line. He seems to have transcribed a Cyrillic original text. Evidence for this may be found in the mechanical transcription 'hały' for 'gały,' because Ukrainian Cyrillic of that time did not distinguish 'g' from 'h.' I wish to thank Dr. Bohdan Strumiński for these linguistic commentaries.

Transcription

Paszkwil Ruskim językiem

Albo pozałowanie płaczliwe butto takoie wzdychanie wsiey Prawosławney Rusi Powiatu Przemyskoho, k podaniu, k czytaniu, y k pieniu prawednym Chrestianom starozakonney wiry Hreczkoiey a wydane z welikoiu pieczęnciu czeresz Oscza Nikiphora Humena Onofroyskoho y Smolnickoho w horach w pułmili od Swiatoiey Beskiedy za prozboiu usilnoiu IchMci Pana Fedora Monastyrskoho y P. Fedora Winnickoho y P. Marka Wysoczanskoho Kurołowa, y P. Fedora Kopystynskoho Obywatelow Ziemli Premyskoiey, a to iakim sposobem Swiatoią Przedostoynoiu Cerkiew Bozą da Holoskiyska (sic)[1] Swiatoho Cathedralnaia w Premyslu odkinula się k Pietru Swiatomu Rymskomu w Warszawie na Seymie w Roku tysiąc szescet czterdziestym pierszym.

Oycze nasz iuzesz da Budet wola twoia
Haliluia. Haliluia. Haliluia.
Wsim Lachom na pohybil
A swiatoiey Rusi na szubienicu Amin.
Tak się inne poczynaiet, a to k pieniu takim spiewaniem bywaiet
Na to y Psalm Dawidow

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[1] Presumably a corruption of 'Hrestytela,' the Baptist, part of the name of the Peremyshl' cathedral of St. John the Baptist.

po Rusku po Polsku
Piesn k pieniu albo k spiewaniu

Ach przisła do nas wist zacneie Panowie
Czuyte proboh szlachta, da y wy muzowie
Sczo z wami wszemi poczynaiet się diaty
Ach timi ni ktomu treba wam dbaty
Czołom wąm biiet Spas, a Huznem Iwanko
Wszeho wąm narobił, wasz weliki Panko
Kisiel mnohowircza Hreczyskoiey wiary
Nabrawszy u Chrestian hroszy az bez miary
Czerlenych
Za tysiąc Cze[r]wonych prodal nam Wladyctwo
Stratylismy iusz wiecznemi czasy didictwo
K prawu prywernuł Sylvestra Wladyku
Nie obaczmo Panowie Władyctwa do wiku
ksiąskę
W mudruiu toie knihu napisał P. Kisiel
Premudry czołowiek bogdayze on wisiał
Blahoczestywoie Wladyctwo dał k Pietru Swiatomu
Iuzesz licho u naszych, nie miec nic nikomu
Wolał Hrabczyki Oycza Hulewicza
Nizeli w prawosławiu Wladyku Dydycza
Zarewitesz Panowie załosnie zawyite
A toho Kisiela iak mohuczy biite
Okpił Petra swatoho zhudył y Iwana
Nabył sobie wiroiu Czerwonych dwa dzbana
Teraz
Teper iako go Wielmoznoiu wiara uczyniła
Nasza to Hreczyskoia wiara nabawiła
y w tym złodziey zorkuiący naszeie sumlenie
W Warszawie, często pokupił imienie
Naszasz wira nie powstala da hroszy propadły
Urywaty za toie szalbierzowi Hały
Teper ni my Rus, da ni my Lachy
Da powernet czołowiek wsiudy w oczach strachy
Onofryia Błahoczestyia Karczma we Smolnicy
Iuze znaią czysteie tam bywały piwnicy
Ach tysz nam Panowie na toho Iadamca
Sczo on stazinny machler, y werutny zdrayca.
Iuzcy opiet myslil, k Lachom pristawaty
y tam iako poznaiut iebu ieho maty

Poznaiut Lachy sczo Wołk, sczo Sobaka stary[2]
y Korol poznał takoho Kisielnika
Niechotył ieho miaty za Miecznika
y tak z Warszawy iachał bez uriadu
Biednoiey Rusi uczyniwszy zdradu
Płaczmosz Chrestiane Spasonka Switoho
Płaczmosz y Iwana Christytela ioho
A Onofryia dzierzmy proboh za borodu
Sczoby bolszego z nami nieczynił zawodu
Lachy z Kisielom boday ze zwitrzyły
Boday oni do toho wiecznymi niebyli,
Kupiecz y prodawca Hreczyskoiey wiry
Budet kołys w Piekle, Smolu pit bez miry
Amin Amin
Sława tobie Boze Halilulia
a ze wszystkiemi Didkami do piekła
Pan Theodor Kopystynski protestuie się za
Hreczyczkoią wirą
Na tym wieku nikto niesczery
y ia nie idu sczerze bo mnoiu
zawsze ztykaią dyru.

[2] Dr. Bohdan Strumiński suggests that the lack of a rhyming line after the one ending in 'stary' indicates that a line was dropped by the copyist.

Translation by Dr. Bohdan Strumiński

Pasquinade in the Ruthenian Language

or a Tearful complaint, as if a sigh of some sort, by the entire Orthodox Rus′ of the county of Peremyshl′, for passing around, reading, and singing by the righteous Christians of the old-rule Greek faith: issued under the great seal by Father Nykyfor, hegumen of St. Onuphrius and Smil′nytsia Monasteries in the mountains, half a mile from the Holy Cliff, at the insistent request of Their Graces Mr. Fedir Monastyrs′kyi, Mr. Fedir Vynnyts′kyi, Mr. Marko Vysochans′kyi Kuryliv, and Mr. Fedir Kopystyns′kyi, noble citizens of the land of Peremyshl′; concerning the manner in which the Holy and the Most Worthy Cathedral Church of God and the Holy Baptist at Peremyshl′ apostatized to St. Peter of Rome at the Diet of Warsaw in the year 1641.

Our Father, Thy will be done now, hallelujah, hallelujah, hallelujah!
Death to all Poles and gallows for the holy Rus′! Amen.
This is how some of such things begin
and this is how this chant is sung
(to the tune of that psalm of David):

A song for chanting or singing[3]

O distinguished lords, what news has come to us:
listen, by God, noblemen and you, [common] men,
to what is starting to happen to all of you.
O my, you should not be upset!
The Savior[4] bows His head to you and little Ivan his ass to you.
Your great little lord has done all that to you,
Kysil, the multi-believer of the Greek faith.
He collected a countless sum of money from the Christians,
selling the bishopric on us for a thousand gold ducats.
We have now lost our hereditary see for ever,
when he reinstated Bishop Syl′vester in his rights.
We shall never see the bishopric in our lives, gentlemen.
That is what Kysil in[ADS1]scribed in the clever legal record.

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[3] 'Chanting' is glossed as 'in Ruthenian' and 'singing' as 'in Polish.'
[4] The Savior Monastery at the village of Spas ('savior' in Ukrainian).

A very clever man, we wished he were hanged.
He gave the Orthodox bishopric to St. Peter.
What a calamity for our people: none of us possesses anything now.
He preferred Father Hulevych's little rakes
to a hereditary Orthodox bishop.
Cry, gentlemen, howl in lament
and beat up this Kysil as much as you can.
He cheated St. Peter and condemned Ivan,[5]
by trading in faith he acquired two jugs of golden ducats.
Now the faith has made him a great lord;
it is our Greek faith that has given this to him.
While seeing to our conscience's matters, the thief
was often buying properties in Warsaw.
Now, our faith has not been restored and the money is lost.
One should tear out the trickster's eyes for that.
Now we are neither Rus′ nor are we Poles.
Wherever one turns, one sees fear in the eyes.
There is St. Onuphrius's Orthodoxy—and a tavern in Smil′nytsia;
it is well known that the cellars used to be empty there.
O damned little Adam, gentlemen!
He is an old machinator and a notorious betrayer.
He probably planned to join the Poles again.
They will see through him, fuckin' bastard.
The Poles will see that he is a wolf and an old dog.
The king too has seen through this Kysil man
and has refused to have him as a sword-bearer,
so the man had to leave Warsaw without the office,
after he had betrayed the poor Rus′,
Let us, Christians, lament for the dear Holy Savior,
and let us lament for John, His Baptist,
but, by God, let us keep Onuphrius[6] by his beard
so that he would not bring us another disappointment.
May the Poles spoil with Kysil,[7]
and may they not live for ever.
The buyer and seller of the Greek faith
will one day drink pitch with no end in hell.

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[5] Presumably the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist.

[6] The monastery of St. Onuphrius.

[7] This line is a play on the meaning of Adam Kysil's surname. 'Kysil,' a fermented gruel, spoiled.

Amen, amen.
Glory to Thee, o God, hallelujah,
and may all the devils go to hell.
Mr. Fedir Kopystens'kyi is presenting a protestation in defense of the Greek faith.
No one is open in this life, nor do I act openly
because I am the one with whom one always fills the hole.

The "Poem on the Soul" in the *Laodicean Epistle* and the Literature of the Judaizers[1]

MOSHE TAUBE

Of all the texts related to the late fifteenth-century ideological movement traditionally called "Heresy of the Judaizers" active in Novgorod and Moscow, it is the *Laodicean Epistle* and in particular its introductory "Poem on the Soul" that has drawn the attention of scholars. The "Poem" has become the subject of an extended debate concerning its exact wording, its meaning, its sources, and its historical significance for the understanding of the ideology of the heretics. The reason for this particular attention was the name of Fedor Kuricyn, senior diplomat to Ivan III and leader of the Moscow branch of the heretics, numerically encrypted at the end of the *Epistle* as its presumed "translator."

Of all the contributions made towards the elucidation of the form and the meaning of the text, the most important is undoubtedly that by Jakov Solomonovich Lur'e, who published the various texts and arranged them into groups, thus enabling other scholars access to most of the sources. Lur'e (1960:172ff.) assigns great importance to the *Epistle* as a source for the interpretation of the ideology advanced by Kuricyn. For him (1960:176) the sources of the "Poem" (except for one line with a possible patristic parallel) remain unknown[2] so that it "по видимому, представляет собой оригинальное построение Курицына." Yet Lur'e's evaluation of the *Epistle* is inextricably anchored in his overall understanding of the Novgorod-Moscow heresy. He argues (e.g., 1984: 152ff) that there is no direct, positive evidence linking the "heretics" to the "Literature of the Judaizers"—a term customary since Sobolevskij (1903) for the corpus of texts translated from the Hebrew in the Great Duchy of Lithuania in the second half of the fifteenth century, and that

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[1] This paper is the result of a question from the audience during my lecture *Literature of the Judaizers or Jewish Literature? A Reexamination of the 15th-c. Ruthenian Translations from Hebrew* presented in March 1993 at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute during my stay there as Visiting Research Fellow, while on Sabbatical leave from the Hebrew University. I am most grateful to the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute and to its staff for their hospitality, cordiality and support.

I wish to thank Dr. Yoash Meisler of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, for his helpful comments. I am grateful to Prof. Francis Thomson of the University of Antwerp for his criticism and suggestions. I am also grateful to an anonymous reader for *HUS* for some helpful remarks.

[2] In 1982:677 Lur'e states this about the whole *Epistle*: Памятник, аналогичный "Лаодикийскому посланию", в греческой и иной письменности, доступной русскому переводщику, не обнаруживается.

the heresy, to judge by contemporary sources, betrayed no signs of Judaization. The accusations of Judaizing, as well as the story of the Heresiarch Zacharia, the Jew from Kiev (whose historicity he doubts, e.g., 1984:162), are in the view of Lur'e (e.g., 1966:59–61, 1984: 154) but calumniatory *post-factum* inventions by Iosif Volotskij.[3] Some objections notwithstanding (Ettinger 1961 and Fine 1965, see also Zubov 1962:239, n.1, and Juszczyk 1969:142), most scholars accepted *en gros* Lur'e's view.[4]

The major consequence of the general agreement with Lur'e is that little attention was paid to the "Literature of the Judaizers" in considering the heresy, and in particular in the context of the interpretations given to the *Epistle.* In his 1970 summarizing paper the present editor of *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas,* E. Hösch (298) formally discourages any such investigation: "Along with these compelling conclusions of Lur'e's about the allegedly Mosaic nature of the 'Judaizers' one should also abandon all the attempts to arrive at more specific information on the Novgorod and Moscow heresy by means of a systematic evaluation of the literature translated from the Hebrew, which spread in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, mainly on West-Russian soil" [translation is mine].

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[3] Lur'e, in all his writings about the heresy, makes a distinction of principle between sources contemporary to the heresy, which have to polemicize with and argue against living and kicking opponents, and sources posterior to the downfall of the heretics, which, to his mind, are but of a denigrating nature. Yet, as he himself shows (e.g., 1995: 213), Iosif started accusing the heretics of Judaization not after their demise (1502–1504), but in 1492–1494, in his letter to Nifont: отступиша убо мнози отъ православныа и непорочныа христовы вѣры и жидовствуютъ втаинѣ.

[4] There are arguments that can be raised against Lur'e's approach by pointing both to evidence coming from sources other than Iosif, and to testimonies that could not possibly have been fabricated by Iosif. Thus, for example, one has to agree with Lur'e himself when he ascribes particular significance to Iosif's 1502/3 letter to Mitrofan, in which Ivan confesses his knowledge about the heresy. Lur'e emphasizes the credibility of this account of Iosif's (whom he usually discredits as a falsifier) in order to corroborate the view that there were two different heresies, one in Novgorod and one in Moscow. Yet Ivan's words quoted by Iosif do not necessarily support this view. Thus the words, Да и сказалъ ми которую дръжалъ Алексеи протопопъ ересь. и которую ересь дръжалъ Феодоръ Курицинъ (Kazakova and Lur'e 1955, hereafter AFED 436) do not state whether the two are different, similar or identical.

Lur'e 1960:129: Ценность этого свидетельства усугубляется тем обстоятельством, что слова Ивана III были процитированы Иосифом при жизни великого князя,—приписывать Ивану III то, чего он не говорил, или искажать его слова, было бы в этом случае даже небезопасно. Let us stress, in complete agreement with Ettinger 1994:429, that this assessment of Lur'e's is at least as valid for the words that directly follow this confession, also quoted *verbatim* by Iosif, and for some reason glossed over by Lur'e: А Иван дей Максимов и сноху у мене мою *в жидовство* свелъ (AFED:436, emphasis supplied). The Judaizing nature of the trap into which the victims of the heresy were being led is thus apparently confirmed by Ivan himself.

Lur'e came back to this sentence only forty years later, in his 1995 paper published in the same volume as my 1995 paper on Zacharia. In this paper (169) I raised the question of why he should have accorded different credibility to two different sentences in the same account, thus explaining away the difficulty by the same excercise that he usually (e.g. 1966a:35, 1968: 7, 1984: 151) discards as "the consumer's approach," selective consumer utilization, or "pick and choose" approach to sources. Yet his treatment only makes things worse. In contradistinction to the reliablility that he assigns to the first sentence on "two heresies," he discredits (1995: 213) the authenticity of the second sentence, about Ivan's daughter-in-law having been led into Judaism, as something that Iosif "put into Ivan's mouth."

Lur'e himself attacked every new publication in which evidence from the "Literature of the Judaizers" was being considered in the context of the Heresy. Thus, in his 1984 paper (152–53) he first takes to task R. Zguta for considering the *Secretum Secretorum* as reflecting the ideology of the heretics. He then (162) points his criticism at F. von Lilienfeld:

> Based on her study of the L[aodikijskoe] P[oslanie] Lilienfeld is prompted to raise anew the question of the connection between the Novgorod-Moscow heretics (the Judaizers) and those translations from the Hebrew that had currency in Russian literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. But as I have already noted, there is no evidence that the heretics used this literature. *A reexamination of this question seems premature at the present time* [emphasis supplied].

In this specific case, however, the question is far from being closed. I propose therefore to reexamine the "Muscovite" text of the *Epistle* and to show some of its affinities with the Ruthenian texts traditionally called "Literature of the Judaizers."

This last term is indeed ambiguous, for it may denote texts written *by*, written *for*, used by, known to, or simply connected in some way to the Judaizers, and for lack of more detailed knowledge for the time being we have to choose the weakest interpretation, namely, texts assumedly known to the heretics. This assumption in no way precludes any of the overall interpretations of the "heresy" or "heresies" proposed for the Novgorodian and Muscovite movement(s), nor does it in itself exclude any of the proposed characterizations of their ideology, whether "humanist," "reformatory," "anti-trinitarian," "non-possessor," "Hussite," or "Waldensian."

To begin with, it is not the case that we do not have *any* positive evidence linking these texts with the Novgorod-Moscow heretics. At least for one of them,[5] namely the *Logika* mentioned by Gennadij in his 1489 letter to Ioasaf (AFED 1955:320), we *do* have direct evidence. This title can refer to nothing else but to the text entitled Логика сиречь Словесница containing Maimonides' *Logical Vocabulary* followed by the section on Metaphysics (Theology) from Algazel's *Intentions of the Philosophers.*[6] Lur'e (1984:154, n.12), it is true, expresses doubts, stating that "even this identification is controversial, since it is based solely on the name of the work mentioned by Gennadij," but he does not commit himself to any alternative identification.[7]

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[5] The other work expressedly cited in the context of the Heresy is the *Шестокрыл* mentioned twice by Gennadij. I show in another study (Taube 1995) that this text, as well the other astronomical work translated from the Hebrew (Sacrobosco's *De Sphaera Mundi*), are relevant to the heresy, namely through the person of the Kievan Jew Zacharia.

[6] The Maimonidean text surely replaced in Slavic the section on Logic from Algazel's *Intentions*, extant in a separate Ruthenian manuscript dated to 1483, now lost, but fortunately published in 1909 by Neverov. Lur'e (1960:194, n. 411) mistakenly states that the *Logika,* containing a section on logic and a section on metaphysics, is the one ascribed to Maimonides.

[7] Grigorenko's suggestions (1990: 326) that a *Nikanorova Logika* or John of Damascus' Logical works (named in Kurbskij's 16th–c. translation *Dialektika abo Logika*) are the *Logika* inquired about by Gennadij remain hypothetical. Especially problematical is the second suggestion,

The *Epistle*, in most manuscripts (cf. survey in Lur'e 1969), is made up of three parts: (1) the "Poem"; (2) a "Table in squares," being a treatise on the letters of the Alphabet; and (3) a colophon, presenting the name of the "translator"[8] of the *Epistle* in encrypted form, deciphered as к(нязь). Өеωдор курицин диак. A few later manuscripts also carry an additional part (4), the title "Laodicean Epistle" for the whole text. As Kämpfer (1968) argued, the fact that the earliest manuscript only contains (1) puts in question whether all the parts originally belonged together. The fact that neither (1) nor (2) betrays in its content anything "laodicean" or "epistolary" prompted scholars like Klibanov (1960:65), Stichel (1991:220ff.) and de Michelis (1993a: and 1993b:44ff., following a suggestion by Golubinskij 1871:165) to look for another "Laodicean Epistle" to which the signature and the title would thus allude. In my reexamination I will refer only to the first part of the *Epistle*, namely the "Poem on the Soul," which has been the subject of many studies.

The text of the "Poem" is attested in many manuscripts, which were grouped by Lur'e into "types." Having encountered no compelling reason (*pace* Lur'e 1969: 168–69) for preferring one of the later types, I will make the philologist's natural choice and opt for that of the earliest manuscript (BAN 4.3.15 early sixteenth century), as printed in AFED 265.

As we shall see, this choice yields some new results. The text reads thus:

1 Душа самовластна, заграда ей вера.

2 Вера ставится пророк наказанием.

3 Пророк наказание исправляется чюдотворением.

4 Чюдотворения дар усиляет мудростию.

5 Мудрости сила житие фарисейску.

6 Пророк [I] его наука.

7 Наука преблажена есть.

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since (as De Michelis 1993b:34 justly observes) this is a widespread text, beside being perfectly orthodox.

[8] Lur'e seemed to oscillate about what precisely this colophon says about Fedor's link to the *Epistle*. Thus, in AFED (1955:270, 276) Lur'e brings, for the sentence carrying Kuricyn's encrypted name, only the form преведшего, presumably "having translated": Аще кто хощет уведати (поведати) имя преведшаго Лаодикийское послание. In 1982:538, however, he quotes this sentence from the early 16th-c. RNB Q.I.1468 as приведшего, rendering it (539) as доставившего "having delivered". In the commentary (677) Lur'e flatly states: слово «приведший» могло означать и «доставивший» («привести, приведу») и «переведший» («преводити, превожу», в частности, с одного языка на другой). In 1969:161 he speaks of the *Epistle* containing the name of the "Verfasser" (=author). In 1984:157 he speaks of the "*Laodicean Epistle*, written by the prominent Moscow heretic Fedor Kuricyn," but since this is a paper translated from the Russian (not by Lur'e himself), it remains unclear whether he meant "composed" or "written down." On the same page, when speaking of the signature, he repeats the form преведший with the gloss "translated." In his 1988 book Lur'e (105) states that: Зашифрована цифровой тайнописью приписка к этому памятнику называет имя лица, «приведшего» (обретшего или привезшего) его: «Федор Курицын Диак». Now this interpretation, if well founded, is of great interest (cf. for example H.G.Lunt's [1988:258] rendering of the verb прекладаше in the famous 1037 entry of the Повесть временных лет on the "Translation of Books" as "transported" instead of the traditional "translated").

8 Сею приходим в страх божий начало добродетелем.

9 Сим съоружается душа.

The translations proposed for this passage differ from one another, for various reasons. Some of them differ because of a different interpretation, while others do so because of the choice of a different version of the text. Thus, Haney 1971 uses the oldest manuscript, whereas Fine 1966b, Freydank 1966, Lilienfeld 1976, 1978, Lur'e 1982 and Stichel 1991 prefer the secondary, "Paschal" type of text attested in later manuscripts. Kämpfer 1968, after discussing the variants, reconstructs an "original" text, Maier 1969 discusses the variants without reconstructing a text, while De Michelis 1993a tries a reconstruction of his own, without discussing the variants, but in 1993b: 219–20 he supplies both a reconstruction and a discussion of variants.

Our own translation, then, (with major differences from previous translations in bold characters) is as follows:

1 The soul is an **autonomous substance**, its constraint is faith
2 Faith is established on the commandment of the prophets
3 The commandment of the prophets is confirmed by [their capacity to] work miracles
4 The gift of working miracles is strengthened by wisdom
5 The potency of wisdom is in an abstinent way of life
6 **Its goal** is learning
7 Learning is most blessed
8 By it we arrive at the fear of God – the incipiency of virtue
9 By this is the soul **defined**.

Remarks: Our interpretation follows in general Fine, Kämpfer and Maier, who have pointed out the various Jewish sources of the ideas reflected in the poem, as well as the Jewish origin of its concatenative form. Remarks are therefore limited to phrases where our interpretation differs from theirs.

1 Душа самовластна. Contrary to the tradional interpretation, this line presumably did not *originally* speak of the sovereignty of the soul, nor of "free-will."

In the *Secretum Secretorum*, Gaster 1908 page ב"י of the Hebrew text, we read:[9]

[9] We agree with Ryan (1978:244) when he says:
"the linguistic evidence (philosophical and scientific terminology, one or two Hebrew words, and the treatment of certain names) certainly does link the translation [sc. of *SS*, and we may add, of some other texts, e.g., the Biblical books in ms. Vilnius # 10(262)] *prima facie* with the Russian translations of fragments of Algazali and Maimonides (the so-called *Logika*), the Six Wings of Emmanuel Bonfils of Tarascon (*Shestokryl* in Russian), and a translation of the Hebrew version of Sacrobosco's *De Spera*, all of which are associated with the Judaizers on rather firmer evidence—they are mentioned as being books belonging to the Judaizers in a letter by Archbishop Gennady of Novgorod in 1489. One might also point to certain similarities of terminology and sentiment with the *Laodikiyskoye poslaniye* of Fyodor Kuritsyn."

אכסנדר דע שתחילת כל דבר שהמציאו האל יתברך הוא עצם פשוט רוחני שמהו בתכלית
השלימות והתמימות והחסד וצייר בו כל הדברים וקרא אותו שכל. ומאותו העצם נאצל עצם
אחר בלעדיו פחות ממנו במשמרה נקרא נפש הכללית. ואחר כן קשר אותה בחכמתו ובמחשבתו
בגוף הנראה המורגש. ושמה הגוף כמו המדינה והשכל מלכה והנפש משנה...

Gaster's translation (1908:1211, 21):

Alexander, know that the very first thing which the Lord, blessed be He, has caused to exist, is a simple spiritual substance, which He has made with extreme perfection and excellence and grace, and shaped all the things according to it, and He called it intellect. And from this substance emanated another substance <separate from it>,[10] inferior to it in its station, and this is called the Universal Soul. And then afterwards in His wisdom and His plan He bound it up with the visible and sensitive body. Thus He made the body to be like a country and the intellect its king, and the soul the lieutenant....

The Slavic translation, Speranskij 1908: 154 (the emendations are mine):

Александръ ведаи иже преже всего сотвори б‹о›гъ (1) само[вла]сть д‹оу›ховноую и наполнеишоую и напр‹епо›добнеишоую. и воѡбразова в ню все естество и нарек еѧ оум. и с тое же (2) само{с}ти создал (3) само[вла]ст‹ь и›ноую подданноую еи нарицаемаѧ д‹оу›ша. а привѧза еѧ м‹оу›дростію своею во плотъ чювственоу. и постави плотъ аки землю и оумъ ꙗко ц‹а›рѧ. а д‹оу›ша аки правитель....

The manuscript printed by Speranskij in his main text is certainly not one of the best, as is evident from his own variants, which, in most cases, are superior. In the two seventeeth-century MSS. (A and Q) of the Slavic *Tajnaja tajnykh* (hereafter *TT*) at our disposal at present[11] we do indeed have the wrong (1) самовласть for самость, but we have the correct (2) самости and the relatively more correct (3) самостноую (Q) and самѡчестноую (A) instead of самовластноую for the expected самость иноую. The word самость is the regular rendering of עצם[12] "substance" (and sometimes also "essence") in the *Logika,* yet this "West Russian" word is unknown to Sreznevskij. No wonder the Muscovite scribes copying the *Secret of Secrets* corrupted it or tried to rationalize the unfamiliar word by replacing it with самовласт-. There is an obvious affinity between the Душа самовластна of our *Poem* and the corrupted самовласть духовная for the correct самость духовная of *TT*, though the nature of that affinity[13] lends itself to various interpretations.

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[10] The added words render the Hebrew word בלעדיו, which remained untranslated by Gaster.

[11] These are MS. Q. XVII. 56 (=Q), and Arx. kon. 97 (=A), both from the Academy Library, Saint Petersburg. I am extremely grateful to A. A. Alekseev for putting at my disposal these MSS. of *TT* as well as MSS. of the *Logika.*

[12] The word самость is also attested once in the Biblical text pertaining to our Corpus, Vilnius #10(262) (Altbauer 1992:209) Lamentations 3:33, rendering לב "heart" in the figurative sense. Although Altbauer speaks of it as of "a 16th century translation," this is clearly an early sixteenth-century *copy* of a translation made somewhat previously.

[13] This affinity is discussed in Speranskij p. 123 and subsequently in Klibanov p. 348 and n. 43, both discussions however being based on the erroneous reading самовласть for самость. Especially revealing is Klibanov's wording in n. 43: Наш вариант текста *освобожден* (emphasis supplied) от Элементов западнорусского языка, отличающих Аристотелевы врата, и тем самым приближен к пониманию его русскими читателями.

One may argue that the copyist of *TT* was familiar with the *LP*, and that is why he corrupted his text in the way he did. Alternatively, one may argue that, even without such familiarity, the corruption can be viewed as the general result of a Ruthenian, heavily Polonized text being copied by a Muscovite scribe. In this framework, we propose the following emendation: in agreement with the perspective exposed in the *Secret of Secrets,* the soul is not a sovereign (king), but a viceroy or lieutenant, that is a separate, autonomous substance, subject to restraint by something superior.[14] Thus the Ruthenian text of the first line presumably sounded: Душа самость властна.[15] "The soul is an autonomous substance," (or perhaps "a separate substance," or "a substance *sui generis"*). In disproportion to the great semantic difference entailed by the proposed emendation, all that is required paleographically is that a superscript *c* (or dot) covered with a *titlo* be dropped (either by oversight or on purpose as means of rationalization), a current practice with copyists and editors.[16] The form самовластна and its understanding as "sovereign" or "free-willed," would thus be a misinterpretation having occurred in Muscovy, as the result of the replacement of an unfamiliar Ruthenian word-combination with a Muscovite term[17] much *en vogue* at the time (see Klibanov 1960: 333–350, Lur'e 1960:174ff).

заграда ей вера. The Hebrew word here would be גדר literally "fence", but figuratively also "something demarcating the limits" (as well as "definition" see below). This word is attested three times in *TT*:

Speranskij 1908: 151, in a passage representing an addition in the Slavic, without Hebrew correspondent: занже еси божїи даръ народж и пастырь телесныи и заграда свѣтскаѧ "for you are God's gift to the people, their worldly leader and political shield"; twice it appears in the "Final Chapter" of *TT,* without Hebrew correspondent (Speranskij 1908:239): заграда

[14] This perspective is not isolated in Jewish Medieval thought. Cf., e.g., the 11th-c. Solomon Ibn Gabirol (Abicebron) in his *Fons Vitae* 3:54.

[15] Cf. Polish *własny* and Ukrainian власний "own," "proper." The substantivized adjective властное is attested in the *Logika* (in Maimonides' "Logical Vocabulary"), with the meaning "pertaining to."

[16] That this remained a common practice with Russian editors is shown by Lur'e himself (AFED 318, fn. 4), when he arbitrarily changes the text in Gennadij's 1489 letter to Ioasaf a животом еще пробавит бог мир "and God will extend the life of the Universe" to прибавит.

[17] Following the presentation of this paper at the Seminar of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, Professor Ihor Ševčenko was kind enough to send me a whole collection of examples from Byzantine Patristic literature containing the combination θυχή αὐτεξούσιος, which in Slavic would yield дȣша самовластна, "the inference being that at least the opening line of the *Poslanie* had Greek-Byzantine [Neoplatonic-Christian] rather than Semitic roots" thus rendering, in his view, my conjectural reading unnecessary. Now, the adjective самовластныи is indeed well attested in early Russian (see Sreznevskij's Dictionary). This means that from the point of view of a Muscovite reader the emendation is in any case superfluous, for to him the text made fine sense as it stands. However, our attempt here is to reconstruct the perspective of the writer or the translator of the Poem. So, since in a comparable Ruthenian text of the same period (TT), and, in our view, of the same origin, the same kind of "emendation" was carried out by Muscovite scribes from the fifteenth century (see Klibanov 1960: 348 and n. 43) onward in their attempts to Russify the text, we consider our emendation justifiable.

премудрости молчанїе, reflecting the Talmudic saying סייג לחכמה שתיקה "a fence to wisdom is silence" (cf. Fine 1966b:501 and n. 12); and on the same page of Speranskij's edition, last line, we read: и исполни ти заграду свѣтскую "and he accomplished you as a political shield."[18]

Thus, both meanings proposed for this word, преграда and ограда, of which Lur'e (1960:173) prefers the second, are possible. The context here, in our view, favors the first meaning. In any case, the choice of the first over the second certainly does not entail that Fedor Kuricyn says anything "against faith," as Lur'e (ibid.) would have it.

The word вѣра is to be intepreted, as Kämpfer 1968:62 suggested, in the sense of "institutional faith," "religion" rather than "personal belief" or "conviction." This usage is attested twice in the Epilogue to Maimonides' *Logical Vocabulary* in Slavic, without parallel in Hebrew, and consequently to be ascribed to the translator into Ruthenian: каждыя вѣры человѣкъ "a man of any religion"; во всѣхъ вѣрахъ "in all religions."

5 Мудрости сила житие фарисейску. Whether we add the preposition по[19] in order to accommodate the dative case, or simply emend the final -ску (-скѹ in the manuscript?) to -ско, the reading is still superior to that of the later manuscripts. The unexpectedly positive picturing of the Pharisee way of life, an interpretation accepted by most scholars (cf. nevertheless Klibanov 1960:68), served as a major point of argumentation for those seeing Jewish influence in this text. Already Ettinger 1961:233 and n. 27 noted the link between this expression and the Jewish term חיי פרישות, distancing it from Christian ascetism and monasticism. This term is to be understood as "temperate life," that is a life of abstinence from worldly pleasures, dedicated to study, in order to understand, according to one's capacity, God's greatness as manifest in His creation of the World.

Lur'e (1984:161) expresses his reservation towards this linkage: "But it is Maier who noted that the term фарисейство, used in the New Testament and in Josephus Flavius, was almost unknown to Jews of the Middle Ages." Lur'e's objection that medieval Jews would rather use נזירות and not פרישות (as Maier 1969:7–8 noted), whether true or not, is immaterial, for in fact we do find נזיר rendered фарисей. Maier (1969:12) thought that this rendering (sc. of פרישות or נזירות by фарисейску) was faulty ("ein irrenführender Fehler"). In the *Secret of Secrets* the term фарисей is attested rendering of נזיר in the sense of "learned monk," "wise man." Sobolevskij (1903:423) pointed out the use of фарисей as ученый, мудрец, giving the example: якоже рекуть *фарисеи*

[18] With pleophony загорода is attested, rendering גדר, in Vilnius 10 (262) (Altbauer 1992:145), Ecclesiastes 10:8 а хто розломѹеть загороду "and whoso breaketh an hedge."

[19] Lur'e (1969:169 and fn. 23) is reserved, on the ground that according to Sreznevskij this is a rarity in Old Russian. Once again, if one thinks of Polonized Ruthenian, the picture is altogether different.

арапьскiи. Ryan (1978:244),[20] too, noted this use in *TT* and pointed, without elaborating, "to certain similarities of terminology and sentiment with the *Laodikiyskoe Poslaniye* of Fyodor Kuritsyn."

In the Slavic version of the *Secret of Secrets* we find фарисеи three times: twice rendering נזיר and once without overt Hebrew correspondent, but clearly in the same sense.

Gaster 1908, Hebrew text ב and his English translation, (3–4 emphasis supplied):

לא עזבתי היכל מן ההיכלים אשר הפקידו בהם הפילוסופים סודותם שלא נכנסתי בו ולא הנחתי אדם מגדולי הנזירים אשר נתחכמו לדעת אותם ועלה בלבי כי שאילתי מצויה אותו שלא שמתי מגמתי אליו. עד שהגעתי להיכל עובד<י> השמש אשר בנה אותו הרמס הגדול לעצמו. ומצאתי בו נזיר אחד בעל חכמה גדולה ובינה יקרה...

I left no temple among the temples where the philosophers deposited their hidden wisdom unsought, nor have I neglected any of the great *Nazarites* (or, *recluses*) who had tried to fathom that wisdom, and of whom I thought that the object of my search could be found with him, that I did not with all industry enquire after him, until I came to the temple of the worshippers of the sun which the great Hermes had built for himself. And I found there a *priest*, a man of great wisdom and great knowledge...

Speranskij 1908:

не ѡставих жадного храмоу философѳьского не расмотревъ его. ани жадного *ѳарисеѧ* не говоривши с ними ѡ неведомых своих. по семже прïидох ко храму слонечному. оустроенъ великим ромасом в немже ѡбретох *ѳарисеѧ* м‹у›драго ...

The third example: Gaster 1908, Hebrew text (on ח and English translation 14): ויש בספר ההנדיים "And in the book of the Indians it is written." To which the Slavic responds with: (Speranskij 1908:147) ꙗкоже рекоуть фарисеи арапьскïи. "As the Arab wise men say." The seventeeth-century MS. BAN Q.XVII. 56 has here философи while seventeeth century MS. BAN Arx. kon. 79 has учители instead of фарисеи.

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[20] Stichel (1991:230), while taking notice of Bulanin's (1984:536) observation disregards his conclusion that this usage is considered one of the features that demonstrate the Jewish nature of the translation. In his 1978 two-page *Vorbericht* Stichel points out the similitude between the Poem and *TT*, but interprets the whole Poem, including the "Pharisee way of Life" in a Paleo-Christian context, which takes the term Pharisee into an "oriental monastic milieu of strong Judeo-Christian flavor," thus making the positive presentation of Pharisee acceptable to Christians, but excludes "medieval Jewish influence." In the terminology of a fifteenth-century Russian reader such presentation is of course unthinkable and Stichel (1991 229–30 and n. 47) proposes that фарисеи was understood to mean "Persian" as embodying Wisdom in a medieval Russian perspective. For this purpose he brings several parallels from the *Slovesa svjatyx prorok*, the Slavic *Book of Esther* and *TT*, which, he claims, support such interpretation.

There are, however, several remarks to be made about this attempt. First, the Pharisees mentioned in the *Slovesa svjatyx prorok* (Evseev 1907:178) are indeed the New Testament Jewish Pharisees and not Wise Men, Philosophers, or Recluses. Second, the form силѣ фарисеистѣи for חיל פרס "Persian army" is indeed attested in some of the manuscripts of Esther, but this is a translation made from the Greek (albeit Judeo-Greek), not from the Hebrew, and, as some other MSS. suggest, the original reading there was фарсистѣи. And third, the examples from the *Secretum Secretorum* we brought here surely exclude the sense "Persian," especially фарисеи арапьскïи "Arab wise men" and certainly not "Arab Persians."

Lur'e 1984:159, when discussing Lilienfeld's works on *LP*, observes: "in the author's view the introduction as a whole does not diverge from the Orthodox Christian world view.... It is just this positive mention of the Pharisees that prompts her to admit that the introductory portion of the *LP* ...was translated from a Hebrew original." Lur'e thinks that this, if true, is very unusual, for the translations from the Hebrew (with some apparent exceptions, which he names, for example, the *Academy Chronograph*) were made in "Western Russia." "But [goes on Lur'e, 160] the *LP* is of an entirely different nature: there are no West Russian traits in it whatsoever, and if we are actually dealing with a translation from the Hebrew, then we must assume that it is a unique case of a translation done by a Muscovite." In view of the obvious "West-Russian" features in the "Poem" so far, we can dismiss Lur'e's last phrase as unfounded.

6 Пророк[I] его наука. This line, contrary to the traditional interpretation, does not speak of the prophet. In the earliest manuscript, after the word *пророк* in line 6, Lur'e (1955:265) puts note I, which at the bottom of the page carries the legend: *Испр; ркп* прок. Lur'e gives no motivation for this emendation, but one may assume that it is based on the fact that later manuscripts have the emended form. I find this motive insufficient, and will therefore refer to the text as it appears in the earliest manuscript, namely: Прок его наука.

The word прок "end," "goal" is attested in the Maimonidean interpolations found in the Slavic *TT*. Thus in the *Book of Asthma* (Speranskij 1908:218) we read: прокъ сих не ходить за делы их rendering the Hebrew (Muntner 1965:107): אין תכליתם הולך אחר פעולתם "their aim does not follow (i.e., result from) their action." As a rendering of another Hebrew synonym, אחרית, in the *Book of Asthma* (Speranskij 1908:221) we find: размышлѧа собѣ ω прокѫ дѣла сего, rendering the Hebrew (Muntner 1965:109): שאתבונן ביני ובין עצמי תחילה באחרית הסעד ההוא "that I should first deliberate with myself the aim of that treatment." Further, in the *Logika,* in Algazel's "Metaphysics," прокъ renders תכלית "goal,"[21] e.g., занєж прокъ знамєнїѧ повѣданїє. "Since the goal of description is explication." In the conclusion of the same part we read: бж҃єствєнаѧ наричєͭся философїя прєднаѧ занєжє вси єѧ ради. а она прокъ всѣͫ и столпъ ихъ "Theology is called Prime Philosophy. For all (exist) for her sake, and she is the goal of them all and their zenith."

The notion of Learning (תורה) being the aim of Man's life is central to Jewish thought. In medieval, especially Maimonidean, thinking, the Jewish notion of studying God's Law was combined with the notion of contemplative life deriving from the Aristotelian βίος θεωρητικός. Thus Maimonides' *Logical Vocabulary* has: ꙗкоже речемъ о человѣцѣ, иже... дѣлатель его душедавець. а статокъ его доставати разумомъ истинны "We say, e.g., of Man that...his agent is the Giver of life, and his purpose is the attainment of

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[21] In addition, прокъ is attested rendering סוף meaning "end" in the Vilnius version (Altbauer 1992:355) of Ecclesiastes 7:2: то есть прокъ каждого человѣка "that is the end of all men."

truth by means of the intellect." Thus, also in the final chapter of his *Guide of the Perplexed* (Pines 1963:635, emphasis supplied) Maimonides, speaking of the four species of perfection: "The fourth species is the true human perfection; it consists in the acquisition of the rational virtues—I refer to *the conception of intelligibles*, which teach true opinions concerning the divine things. This is in true reality *the ultimate end*; this is what gives the individual true perfection, a perfection belonging to him alone; and it gives him permanent perdurance; through it man is man."

9 Сим съоружается душа. The term съоружанїе / съоруженїе is the regular term for "definition", rendering of the same Hebrew word גדר (literally "fence," cf. *supra* line 1) in the *Logika*, (both in the theological ["Metaphysics"] and in the logical part[22] of Algazel's *Intentions*, cf. Neverov 1909:42, 45 *et passim*). The corresponding verb съоружаемъ "we define" is also attested in the "Cosmography" published by Sobolevskij[23] (1903:409), mistakenly (as Zubov 1962:223 noted) appearing as съо[к]ружаемъ.

We thus obtain a poem of a perfect[24] cyclical concatenation, in which the last and the first line both speak of the "fence" of the soul, playing upon the two meanings of the Hebrew גדר — "constraint" and "definition."

We believe we have furnished here some good reasons for questioning the accepted view of the "Poem on the Soul." It now seems legitimate to ask whether this "Poem," so full of "West-Russian" traits, some of which are found *only* in the "Literature of the Judaizers," can reasonably be called a "Muscovite text." If we start from the assumption that *we are dealing with a Ruthenian text*, translated from the Hebrew in the same area as the other texts enumerated by Sobolevskij, and *copied* in Muscovy, then many of the questions and the emendations proposed by Klibanov (e.g., 66 ограда for заграда) and by others fall off by themselves. Following this assumption, we should also reconsider the question of the relevance to the Heresy of the other "West-Russian" translations from Hebrew that, like the "Poem," ended up being copied, read, (mis)glossed, and (mis)interpreted in Muscovy.[25]

Further, the question whether the three parts of the *Laodicean Epistle* originally belonged together, which for Lur'e is inseparably linked with the question of Fedor's authorship, and through it with that of the link between the

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[22] In Maimonides' *Logical Vocabulary* גדר "definition" is rendered by ограда.

[23] The "Cosmography," i.e., Sacrobosco's *De Sphaera Mundi*, belongs to our Corpus. We treat it in our 1995 paper on Zacharia and the Astronomical Works of the Judaizers.

[24] For the sake of perfection, one might consider emendations based on later manuscripts, which fill the missing half-lines 6 and 7. A possible hypothetical reconstruction would be:

1 Душа самость властна, заграда ей вера.
2 Вера ставится пророк наказанiием.
3 Пророк наказанiе исправляется чюдотворением.
4 Чюдотворения дар усилѣет мудростiю.
5 Мудрости сила житие фарисейско.
6 Фарисейско жительство – прок его наука.
7 Наука преблажена есть – сею приходим в страх божiи
8 Страх божiи - начало добродетелем.
9 Сим съоружается душа

text of the *Laodicean Epistle* (especially the "Poem") and the Heresy, has to be put in a more lucid and nuanced form. Kämpfer, Stichel, and de Michelis assert (for different motives, though), against Lur'e, that the three parts did not originally belong together. We judge plausible the conclusion reached (e.g., by Stichel 1991:229 and de Michelis 1993b:58) that *LP* in its composite form as found in later manuscripts is but a "casual" assembly of three originally individual, perhaps unrelated sources. Be that as it may, the question of Fedor Kuricyn's link to the various parts of the *Epistle* should not, *pace* Lur'e,[26] be automatically settled by either answer. Suggesting diverse sources for the parts of the *Epistle* need not necessarily sever Kuricyn's affinity to them.[27] However, if it can be independently proven that Kuricyn had nothing to do with the "Poem" or the "Table," then so be it.

Finally, and most importantly, there seems to remain no escape now from the challenge of reopening the question of the Jewish influence on the Novgorodian and Muscovite clergymen and intellectuals, some of them probably humanists,[28] accused of heresy.

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[25] Speculations about the translations having been carried out for internal Jewish or "Synagogal" purposes (by Florovskij, Tschiżewskij, Stankevič, see review in Altbauer 1992: 19–24), are totally baseless. Lur'e (1995: 218) seems to accept them without his usual skepticism. His statement that Altbauer has convincingly corroborated this hypothesis by citing "direct contemporary testimonies" to the effect that in Lithuania "it is the habit of our co-religionists to speak mostly Russian" is unfounded.

First, Jews in all their places of dispersion acquired the local tongue and spoke it. There is a great distance however, between speaking and writing. Altbauer himself (1992: 20) says: "it is highly unlikely that Jews in Belorussia in that period generally were able to read texts not in Hebrew characters." The only text from among the "West-Russian" translations that, by its contents, would be a likely candidate for translation for internal purposes among Jews would be the Biblical texts. But even here the characteristics of the translation vitiate this possibility. Unlike other known examples of translations prepared by Jews for less educated men and for women in the local tongue, which are always written down in Hebrew characters, this one is in Cyrillic, in a single copy coming from an Orthodox milieu. The use (with corrections) of the Church Slavonic text for some of the books (e.g., Psalms, Daniel) shows rather that it was intended for a non-Jewish reader. The rest of the texts, whether on Astronomy, Logic, Theology, or Medicine, was not the kind of literature translated for under-educated Jewish men and women. This type of literature was known to and read by a few highly cultivated Jewish scholars, fluent in Hebrew. The addition, in the translation, of glosses explaining some rudimentary terms (see Taube 1995:177 on the *Six Wings*), shows that these were done for readers unfamiliar with the basics of Jewish tradition.

[26] Lur'e (1969: 164 and 1984: 157ff) threatens us with a take-it-all-or-leave-it-all ultimatum. Thus, in 1984:157 "If we accept it [i.e., Kämpfer's hypothesis] (and admit that the oldest manuscript represents the original tradition of the work, without heading, without the cryptogram in squares, without Kuricyn's signature), then not only do we have no basis for calling the philosophical part *Laodicean Epistle*, we also have no right to use it as a source for the history of the fifteenth-century Novgorod-Moscow heresy."

[27] Thus, one might imagine a primary text with four components of different origin: (1) the "Poem" of Jewish provenance; (2) the "Litoreja," possibly of Byzantine provenance; (3) one of the various candidates proposed (e.g., by Klibanov, Stichel, de Michelis) for the "Laodicean Epistle" itself (no longer part of the transmitted text) and finally (4) the encrypted signature originally referring to (3), all in a single памятник assembled by Kuricyn.

[28] The texts translated from Hebrew that the heretics obtained (or at least could have obtained) naturally came from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, for this, not Muscovy, was the place where a Jewish settlement with Jewish scholars was to be found. The Kievan Zacharia ben Aharon, probably linked to the translations (see Taube 1995) was the closest thing to a humanist that they could find in a Jewish community in eastern Europe, namely a Jewish rationalist, a rare and endangered species at that time and place.

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Литургический статус царя в русской церкви: приобщение св. Тайнам
(Историко-литургический этюд)

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После венчания на царство Ивана IV (16 января 1547 г.) в России формируется представление о харизматической природе царской власти (см.: Успенский, 1982; Успенский, 1996; Живов и Успенский, 1987). Такое представление определяет особый литургический статус царя; последний находит выражение прежде всего в характере приобщения св. Тайнам, который фиксируется в ритуале поставления на царство. Это выражается, в частности, во в р е м е н и причащения царя (т.е. в том, когда - в какой момент литургии - он получал причастие) и в ме с т е его причащения (т.е. в том, где - в какой части храма - он причащался). При этом царь явно уподобляется священнослужителям, и на определенном этапе это уподобление становится все более и более заметным. Поскольку причащению царя в ритуале возведения на престол непосредственно предшествует помазание на царство, особый характер его причащения естественно связывается именно со статусом помазанника.

Возведение на царский престол Ивана IV еще не предусматривало помазания на царство, однако вскоре после того, как он становится царем - по всей видимости, в середине 1550-х гг., - составляется так называемая Формулярная редакция чина венчания на царство, куда входит особая статья "Чин и устав о еже како подобает помазати царя или великаго князя великим миром на венчание царскаго их венца на божественей литургии"[1]. Этот новый чин венчания на царство определил порядок возведения на престол Федора Ивановича (31 мая 1584 г.) и последующих царей. Именно Федор Иванович и был впервые помазан на царство.

Начиная с поставления Федора Ивановича, царь причащается в т о в р е м я, к о г д а п р и н я т о п р и ч а щ а т ь с в я щ е н н о с л у ж и т е л е й (но не тогда, когда причащаются миряне!). Именно такой порядок и устанавливается в упомянутой сейчас статье Формулярной редакции чина венчания на царство Ивана IV. Здесь читаем: "Внегда речет диакон «Вонмем», святитель же «Святая святым», причастився святитель божественым таинам телу и крови Господа нашего Исуса Христа и повелевает отврьсти царския двери. И постилают ковер чист нов пред царскими дверми, и на него възлагают покров нов от бархата червьчата, и от него постилают бархаты и камки и до самаго царя. И потом святитель посылает архидиакона и протодиакона призвати царя

на помазание святаго и великаго мира, и к причастию святых и животворящих Христовых таин"; после этого царь "во всем своем царском сану" идет по приготовленному для него пути к царским дверям, где святитель совершает помазание и затем причащает царя (см.: Барсов, 1883, с. 61-62, 86; Идея Рима..., с. 91; Доп. АИ, I, № 39, с. 51; ДРВ, VII, с. 29-31)[2]. Итак, согласно данному чинопоследованию помазание и причащение царя происходит с р а з у ж е после того, как причастится "святитель", т.е. митрополит или патриарх, совершающий обряд венчания на царство. Эта же статья фигурирует затем в чинах венчания на царство Федора Ивановича 31 мая 1584 г. (Идея Рима..., с. 117-118; СГГД, II, № 51, с. 83; Шпаков, 1912, прилож. II, с. 120-122; ср.: ПСРЛ, XXXIV, 1978, с. 230-232), Михаила Федоровича 11 июля 1613 г. (СГГД, III, № 16, с. 84-85), а также в одной из редакций чина венчания Алексея Михайловича 28 сентября 1645 г. (Леонид, 1882, с. 31-33). Тот же порядок фиксируется и в чине венчания Бориса Годунова 1 сентября 1598 г. (Доп. АИ, I, № 145, с. 247-248)[3].

Более подробное описание мы находим в другой редакции чина венчания на царство Алексея Михайловича - в статье под названием "Чин и устав, како помазася Богом венчанный великий государь, царь и великий князь Алексей Михайлович, всеа Росии самодержец, святым великим многоценным миром, како причастися святых и животворящих таин тела и крови Господа Бога и Спаса нашего Иисуса Христа святейшим Иосифом патриархом Московским и всеа Росии". Здесь читаем: "На той же святей божественной литоргии егда диаки певчие начаша пети кенаник, и святейший Иосиф патриарх причастися святым божественным таинам телу и крови Господа Бога и Спаса нашего Иисуса Христа, и повеле отверсти царския двери"; далее описывается приготовление "царского пути" от "царского места", где пребывает царь, к "царским дверям", где должно произойти помазание и причащение, после чего патриарх посылает "протодиакона Григорья да большого диакона призвати государя, царя и великого князя к помазанию ... и ко причастию"; царь идет по уготованному пути "во всем своем царском чину" и останавливается "близь царских дверей"; здесь патриарх совершает помазание и затем причащает царя из "потира со святым причастием тела и крови Господа Бога и Спаса нашего Иисуса Христа", иначе говоря, со лжицы - так, как принято причащать мирян. После этого царь возвращается на "царское место", а патриарх возвращается в алтарь и причащает там всех священнослужителей, сослуживших ему на литургии, ср.: "А святейший Иосиф патриарх возвратися во святый олтарь, и двери царские затвори, причащая святых божественных таин митрополитов, и архиепископов, и епископов, и архимандритов, и игуменов, и весь священнический и

дияконский чин, которые с ним служили святую литоргию" (см.: ДРВ, VII, с. 287-293). Как видим, царь причащается после патриарха, но перед всеми остальными священнослужителями (в том числе перед митрополитами и другими архиереями!). При этом он причащается как мирянин: причастие дается ему у царских дверей, а не в алтаре, и он получает тело и кровь Христову вместе (со лжицы), а не отдельно, как принято при причащении священнослужителей.

Итак, царь причащается как мирянин, однако его причащение (как и помазание) происходит не после причащения духовенства (когда принято вообще причащать мирян), но между причащением патриарха и причащением остальных священнослужителей: оно как бы вклинивается в причащение духовенства.

В дальнейшем причащение царей перестает отличаться от причащения священнослужителей: со второй половины XVII в. цари начинают причащаться в алтаре - куда они вводятся царскими дверями - по чину священнослужителей (т.е. отдельно телу и крови Христовой), как это делали в свое время и византийские императоры[4]. Такой порядок фиксируется в чине поставления Федора Алексеевича (18 июня 1676 г.), и это отвечает общей тенденции к византинизации, характерной для второй половины XVII в. (см.: Живов и Успенский, 1987, с. 63; Успенский, 1987, § 16.2, с. 277-279; ср. также: Попов, 1896, с. 191; Савва, 1901, с. 147). Так, в чине венчания на царство Федора Алексеевича читаем: "И егда диаки певчие начали петь кеноник, и святейший Иоаким патриарх причастися святых божественных таин тела и крови Господа и Бога и Спаса нашего Иисуса Христа, таже причащал митрополитов, и архиепископов, и епископа, архимандритов и игуменов, протопопа и священниц, и по том повеле отверсти царские двери"; затем описывается помазание царя, которое происходит перед царскими дверями, после чего царя под руки вводят царскими дверями в алтарь, и ставят там, "не доступая святаго престола". Далее при закрытых царских дверях патриарх причащает его как священнослужителя, т.е. отдельно телу Христову с дискоса (когда причастие дается прямо в руки) и отдельно крови Христовой из потира: "И царския двери затвориша, и святейший патриарх, взем часть святаго тела и положи на дискос ... такожде положи и крови Христовы в потирий ... И взем даде от дискоса часть животворящаго тела в руки, и благочестивый государь причастися телу Христову, такожде подаде от потира и крови Христовы". После того, как царь покидает алтарь, "святейший патриарх повеле двери царские затворити, и двум

митрополитом повеле причастити диаконов, которые с ним служили божественную литургию" (см.: ДРВ, VII, с. 356-361; ПСЗ, II, № 648, с. 62-64; то же и в формулярной редакции чина: РНБ, собр. Духовной академии № 27, л. 60об. - 65; ср. также описания данной церемонии: ДРВ, XI, с. 191; Барсов, 1883, с. 105)[5]. Ср. затем аналогичный ритуал в чине венчания на царство Ивана и Петра Алексеевичей 25 июня 1682 г. (ДРВ, VII, с. 461-466; ПСЗ, II, № 931, с. 433-435).

Указание, что царь причащается "не доступая святаго престола", по всей видимости, означает, что царь, в отличие от священника, не может сам себя причащать - подобно тому, как не может себя причащать и дьякон, перед которым причащается царь. Это отвечает литургическому статусу византийского императора, который, как известно, приравнивался к дьякону[6]. Вместе с тем, в отличие от дьякона царя причащает патриарх, и в этом смысле он получает преимущество перед дьяконом[7]. Именно поэтому, надо полагать, царь причащался перед дьяконами.

Показательно, что царь причащается при закрытых царских дверях, как это принято при причащении священнослужителей.

Чин поставления на царство Федора Алексеевича был, по всей видимости, составлен при Алексее Михайловиче - подобно тому, как чин поставления на царство Федора Ивановича был в свое время составлен при Иване IV (см. выше); именно при Алексее Михайловиче наблюдается вообще та тенденция к византинизации, о которой мы уже упоминали.

Во всяком случае уже Алексей Михайлович начинает причащаться в алтаре по чину священнослужителей, явно уподобляясь при этом византийскому императору. Ср. сообщение А.Мейерберга, относящееся к 1661-1663 гг.: "Если царь изволит приобщаться, то, сняв с себя венец, подходит к жертвеннику (престолу), чего не дозволяется никому из прочих. Они [все прочие] подходят только к порогу средних дверей [т.е. к царским дверям], где встречает их священник и приобщает" (Мейерберг, 1874, с. 95); хотя Мейерберг и не отмечает, что Алексей Михайлович приобщался по чину священнослужителей, по-видимому, это уже имело место.

Подробное описание того, как именно причащался Алексей Михайлович, мы находим в описании патриарших выходов за 1667 г.: "Апреля в 4 день, в великий четверток, божественную литургию в соборной церкви служили все три патриарха [Паисий Александрийский, Макарий Антиохийский и Иоасаф Московский]; в то время великий государь причащался пречистаго тела и пречистыя крове Христа Бога нашего во олтаре, по прежнему обычаю, у престола от рук вселенских патриархов: пречистое тело подал ему святейший Паисий папа и патриарх

Александрейский, пречистую кровь Христа Бога нашего подал Макарий патриарх Антиохийский, дору святейший Иоасаф патриарх Московский. И потом великий государь из олтаря вышел и стал на месте, а в олтаре причащалися по обычаю архиереи и архимандриты, и игумены, и протопопы, и священницы, и диаконы, отверзеном бывшим дверем" (Доп. АИ, V, № 26, с. 105). Как видим, Алексей Михайлович причащается отдельно телу и крови Христовой - подобно тому, как это делают священники и дьяконы.

В целом порядок причащения Алексея Михайловича соответствует византийской практике причащения императора (василевса), как она описана, например, у Псевдо-Кодина (1966, с. 267-268), а отчасти и у других авторов: согласно этим описаниям, византийский император также причащался в алтаре по чину священнослужителей. Нет никакого сомнения в том, что Алексей Михайлович непосредственно ориентировался в данном случае на византийский ритуал; прямое указание на этот счет содержится в цитированном описании причащения царя в Великий четверг 4 апреля 1667 г.: "в то время великий государь причащался пречистаго тела и пречистыя крове Христа Бога нашего во олтаре, по прежнему обычаю" - под "прежним обычаем" имеется в виду не что иное, как византийская традиция[8].

Скорее всего, Алексей Михайлович (или те русские духовные лица, которые были ответственны за составление соответствующего чина) узнал о том, что византийский император причащался по чину священнослужителей, от бывших в Москве греков, т.е. реконструкция византийской традиции основывалась, надо думать, главным образом на устной информации; менее вероятно использование каких-либо документальных источников. Новый порядок причащения царя, несомненно, определился после разрыва с Никоном, когда последний оставил патриарший престол, - следовательно, не ранее 1658 г. Вместе с тем, судя по сообщению Мейерберга, это случилось очень скоро после падения Никона - еще до собора 1666 г., когда в Москву стали съезжаться представители греческого духовенства. Это дает возможность определить источник сведений русского царя о византийском ритуале.

Мы едва ли ошибемся, предположив, что Алексей Михайлович основывался на информации, полученной от Паисия Лигарида, который имел вообще очень большое влияние на царя[9]; Паисий появился в Москве в 1662 г. - как раз в то время, которое описывает Мейерберг[10]. Показательно в этой связи, что вопрос о причащении царя в алтаре является предметом полемики Никона с Паисием Лигаридом в 1664 г.; так, возражая Паисию, Никон писал: "А еже ты глаголеш, для того царь ходил во олтарь, что

помазан от Бога, и то ты солгал. Помазан есть чрез архиереа на царство ... " (Никон, 1982, с. 621-622)[11].

В этой ситуации трудно ожидать, чтобы причащение русского царя совпадало с причащением византийского императора во всех деталях; оно совпадало, однако, в главном - оба монарха причащались в алтаре по чину священнослужителей. И напротив, совпадение в деталях не обязательно объясняется в данном случае знакомством с византийской традицией.

Так, Алексей Михайлович причащается в данном случае после патриархов, но до архиереев - подобно тому, как это происходило и ранее, до того, как царь начал причащаться в алтаре (и как это зафиксировано в чинопоследовании его венчания на царство); между тем, в чине венчания Федора Алексеевича, как мы упоминали, причащение царя следует после причащения архиереев, архимандритов, игуменов и священников, но предшествует причащению дьяконов. Причащение Алексея Михайловича происходит уже в алтаре, однако сохраняется еще старая последовательность причащающихся лиц. Эта последовательность отвечает византийской традиции, описанной у Псевдо-Кодина (1966, с. 267-268), но, вообще говоря, она может объясняться и безотносительно к этой традиции - уже установившейся практикой причащения Алексея Михайловича.

Таким образом, рассматриваемый сейчас обряд - порядок приобщения св. Тайнам Алексея Михайловича после его возведения на престол - оказывается промежуточным между соответствующими обрядами более раннего и более позднего времени; он может рассматриваться как своеобразная контаминация обряда причащения священнослужителей и обряда царского причащения, принятого до середины XVII в.

Что касается изменения в последовательности причащения, отразившегося в чине венчания Федора Алексеевича, то оно, как кажется, объясняется внутренней логикой обряда. Пока царь причащался как мирянин, он в принципе не мог приравниваться к священнослужителям. Между тем, после того, как царь начинает причащаться как священнослужитель, встает вопрос о его иерархическом месте среди священнослужителей; при этом в соответствии с византийской традицией царь оказывается уподобленным дьякону.

В описании причащения Алексея Михайловича в Великий четверг 1667 г. обращает на себя внимание еще одна деталь: причащение священнослужителей, следующее за причащением царя, происходит в данном случае при открытых царских дверях (причащение патриархов, предшествующее причащению царя, происходило, надо полагать, при

закрытых царских дверях); по всей вероятности, двери были открыты и при причащении царя, хотя это прямо и не сказано. Алексей Михайлович, по-видимому, приглашался к причастию после причащения патриархов (как это происходило и во время его венчания на царство): при этом открывались царские двери. Царь входил в алтарь, причем царские двери не закрывались и после его причащения; в результате оставшиеся священнослужители вопреки обычной литургической практике должны были причащаться при открытых дверях.

В чинопоследовании венчания на царство Алексея Михайловича причащение всех священнослужителей происходит при закрытых царских дверях, однако двери открываются после причащения патриарха и перед причащением остальных священнослужителей, когда происходит помазание и причащение царя. В чинопоследовании венчания на царство Федора Алексеевича царские двери закрываются как при причащении священнослужителей, так и при причащении царя; при этом двери открываются после причащения всех священнослужителей кроме дьяконов и до причащения царя, когда происходит помазание царя (после чего царь вводится в алтарь для причащения).

Итак, уже Алексей Михайлович причащается в алтаре по чину священнослужителей. Тем не менее, именно с поставления Федора Алексеевича причащение царя в алтаре эксплицитно связывается с его помазанием на царство: будучи фиксировано в чине поставления на царство, причащение царя начинает восприниматься в связи с особым статусом царя как помазанника[12].

Вопрос о причащении монарха был подвергнут специальному обсуждению в связи с коронацией Петра II (которая имела место 25 февраля 1728 г.). При подготовке к коронации была составлена справка о том, каким образом возводились на трон предшествующие монархи, начиная с Алексея Михайловича: "Краткая опись: что и каковым порядком деялось от духовнаго чина в последовании венчания Российских Государей. Выписана из пространных описей венчания, блаженныя и вечнодостойныя памяти, Государей Царей: Их Величества, Алексиа Михайловича, и по Нем Феодора, и по Нем Иоанна и Петра Алексеевичев" (Полн. собр. пост. и распоряж., VII, прилож., с. 1-4; ср.: Георгиевский, 1895-1896, XXXVIII, с. 277, ср. с. 279, 281). Необходимость такой справки была, по всей видимости, обусловлена тем обстоятельством, что это была первая в России коронация *императора как правящего монарха*.

Действительно, Петр I был коронован как царь и лишь позднее (22 октября 1721 г.) принял императорский титул. Принятие

императорского титула было культурным, а не религиозным актом (см.: Успенский, 1976, с. 287; Лотман и Успенский, 1982, с. 237), и поэтому оно не было ознаменовано специальной религиозной церемонией; оно означало не расширение власти, а культурную переориентацию, и Петр не нуждался в новой коронации. Итак, Петр не был коронован как император.

Затем (7 мая 1724 г.) последовала коронация Екатерины I. Екатерина была коронована как императрица, однако не в качестве правящего монарха, а в качестве супруги императора; соответственно, короновал ее не архиерей, а сам император, т.е. Петр I (который возложил на главу Екатерины вместо так называемой шапки Мономаха императорскую корону). Коронация Екатерины I явилась прямым следствием принятия Петром императорского титула: и то, и другое отвечает культурной ориентации на Западную Европу. Впервые в России монарх короновал свою супругу, подобно тому как это было принято на Западе[13]. Культурное значение коронации Екатерины I подчеркивалось тем обстоятельством, что описание коронации было опубликовано гражданской печатью - типографией Сената в Санкт-Петербурге в 1724 г., - т.е. как светская книга (см.: Описание коронации 1724 г.). Впервые при этом коронация описывалась не только как церковное, но и как светское событие: описание церковного ритуала представало в общем контексте описания коронационных торжеств[14].

Особый статус Екатерины определил, между прочим, специфические особенности ее помазания на царство[15]. Следует отметить вообще, что русский обряд помазания на царство - в отличие от византийского или западного обряда - был тождественен обряду миропомазания, т.е. тому обряду, который совершается после крещения (см.: Успенский, 1996, с. 184-88; ср. также ниже). Так, в частности, помазание на царство сопровождалось словами "Печать дара Духа Святаго" (или в более ранней редакции "Печать и дар Святаго Духа"), т.е. при этом произносились именно те слова, которые произносятся всегда при совершении таинства миропомазания. Между тем, при помазании Екатерины произносились слова "Во имя Отца и Сына и Святаго Духа" (см.: Описание коронации 1724 г., с. 14); иначе говоря, в данном случае не имело места п о в т о р е н и е м и р о п о м а з а н и я, которое выделяет вообще русского монарха (царя или императора)[16].

Вместе с тем, после смерти Петра I (28 января 1725 г.) коронация Екатерины в 1724 г. получает принципиально иной смысл. Эта коронация явилась основанием для ее возведения на престол; таким образом, задним числом ее коронация была переосмыслена как коронация правящего монарха. Такого рода переосмысление находит семиотическое выражение

в переиздании описания коронации 1724 г.: уже 30 января 1725 г. это описание выходит вторым изданием, причем на этот раз оно публикуется типографией Синода в Москве (при этом также гражданской печатью).

В любом случае коронация Екатерины I была первой императорской коронацией. Важно отметить, что Екатерина во время своей коронации, как женщина, причащалась не в алтаре, а у царских врат (поскольку женщины в алтарь не допускаются); естественно при этом, что она причащалась со лжицы - так, как причащаются миряне, но не так, как причащаются священнослужители[17].

Тем самым при возведении на престол Петра II являлись две возможности: следовать чину императорской коронации Екатерины I (в этом случае Петр II должен был бы причащаться у царских врат) или же следовать чину возведения на престол предшествующих царей (в этом случае причащение императора должно было состояться в алтаре). С этой целью в 1728 г. и была составлена справка о чинах венчания на царство Алексея Михайловича и Федора, Петра и Ивана Алексеевичей; справка эта была представлена в Верховный тайный совет на рассмотрение, с тем, чтобы Совет дал свое заключение: "быть ли, по сему или отменится нечто? А наипаче, - каковым образом причащать Его Величество?" (Полн. собр. пост. и распоряж., VII, прилож., с. 3). Как видим, вопрос о месте причащения императора оказывается ключевым вопросом при определении церемониала его поставления.

Первоначально в справке значилось: "Прочая, яже о миропомазании и причастии, тем же чином действовано, который был и недавно при коронации Государыни Императрицы, кроме того единаго, что помазуемый Государь не на коленах, но прост стоял". Вместо этого, рукой Феофана Прокоповича было написано следующее: "Миропомазуется Государь у царских дверей: на челе, на руках, на ноздрях, на ланитах, на устех, и на плечи. А по том входит Государь во святый олтарь и, стоя пред престолом (затворенным сущим тогда царским дверем), причащается от патриарха образом причащения священскаго, толко не на самом престоле, но не доходя до престола. - И тако причащены Их Величество, Государи Цари: Феодор, и по Нем Иоанн и Петр Алексиевичи; а Его Величество Царь Алексий Михайлович причащался у царских дверей по чину причащения общаго" (Полн. собр. пост. и распоряж., VII, прилож., с. 3).

Именно так и причащался Петр II: в "Записи о совершении священноцарскаго миропомазания и о принятии Святых Таин Государем Императором Петром II-м, при короновании Его Императорскаго Величества, в 25-й день Февраля 1728 года" читаем: "Потом Его Императорское Величество два архиерея ввели царскими дверми во олтарь... И из первых архиепископ новгородской Его Величество причастил Святых Тайн во

святом олтаре пред престолом, по чину святаго причащения священнослужителей" (Полн. собр пост. и распоряж., VII, прилож., с. 5; ср. также: Барсов, 1883, с. 110)[18].

Церемониал возведения на престол Петра II в основных чертах определил порядок причащения всех последующих русских императоров[19] - за исключением, видимо, Ивана VI (Ивана Антоновича) и Петра III, поскольку последние не были коронованы[20]. Он отразился, между прочим, в "Чине причащения святых таин благочестивейшаго, Богом венчаннаго и помазаннаго Государя Императора", составленном митрополитом Филаретом (Дроздовым) в связи с коронацией Александра II, которая имела место 26 августа 1856 г. (Филарет, IV, с. 122-123); этот чин, в свою очередь, лег в основу ритуала причащения двух последних императоров - Александра III и Николая II. Разумеется, каждый раз - при каждой новой коронации - в чин причащения императора могли вноситься те или иные изменения, однако они, как правило, касались деталей[21]. Одним из основных вопросов, который мог решаться по-разному, был вопрос о том, должен ли император причащаться при закрытых или же при открытых царских дверях; о том, как решался этот вопрос, будет сказано ниже.

Итак, первым из русских государей начинает причащаться в алтаре и по чину священнослужителей Алексей Михайлович, после чего - начиная с его сына, Федора Алексеевича, - такого рода причащение вводится в коронационный обряд. При этом, судя по указаниям позднейших источников, монарх причащается таким образом т о л ь к о п р и к о р о н а ц и и[22]. Это отличается от того, как причащался Алексей Михайлович - последний, как мы видели, в о о б щ е причащался таким образом[23]. Мы не знаем, когда произошло это изменение, однако есть основания думать, что это могло случиться в конце XVII в.

Как кажется, интересующее нас изменение было обусловлено знакомством с трактатом Симеона Солунского "О святом храме". Действительно, Симеон, в отличие от других византийских авторов, эксплицитно ограничивает причащение императора в алтаре именно коронационным обрядом: по его словам, император "причащается внутри алтаря только во время помазания и торжественного венчания своего..." (Минь, CLV, гл. 143, стлб. 352; Писания..., II, гл. 111, с. 196; Беляев, II, с. 176, примеч.).

Показания других византийских авторов не вполне ясны в этом отношении. Правда, все известные нам авторы, упоминающие о причащении императора в алтаре, говорят об этом в связи с описанием коронации[24]; из этого не следует, однако, что император не мог причащаться таким

образом в других случаях - в частности, тогда, когда он прислуживал при литургии[25]. При этом Псевдо-Кодин (1966, с. 267) и Иоанн Кантакузин (I, с. 202) предусматривают возможность того, что император при коронации вообще не приобщается св. Тайнам. Таким образом, согласно этим авторам причащение императора не входило в коронационный обряд (по крайней мере в качестве обязательного элемента). Между тем, Симеон Солунский описывает причащение императора в алтаре именно как часть коронационного ритуала[26].

В целом вопрос о том, когда именно византийский император причащался в алтаре - только ли при коронации или также и в некоторых других случах, - остается нерешенным. В зависимости от того или другого ответа на этот вопрос можно по-разному объяснять причащение Алексея Михайловича. Если бы оказалось, что причащение византийского императора в алтаре не было ограничено коронационным обрядом, это означало бы, что поведение Алексея Михайловича ближайшим образом соответствует византийской модели. Мы можем предположить, вместе с тем, что византийский император причащался в алтаре только при коронации (как об этом и говорит Симеон Солунский), но при Алексее Михайловиче было усвоена главная особенность причащения императора, определяющая его особый статус, - то, что монарх может причащаться в алтаре[27]; лишь позднее было обращено внимание на то, что это происходило только при коронации. В любом случае очень вероятно, что именно перевод сочинения Симеона Солунского способствовал пересмотру существующей практики.

Следует при этом подчеркнуть, что вопрос о том, как причащался византийский император, имеет лишь косвенное отношение к нашей теме: нас интересует вообще не столько то, как обстояло дело в Византии, сколько то, как византийская традиция была воспринята в России.

Итак, знакомство с трактатом Симеона Солунского могло оказать влияние на практику причащения царя. Трактат этот был впервые переведен на церковнославянский язык в 1686-1688 гг. иноком Чудова монастыря Евфимием - известным книжником и переводчиком, - по благословению патриарха Иоакима (см.: Соболевский, 1903, с. 315-318; Горский и Невоструев, II/2, № 179-181, с. 486 сл.; Писания..., II, с. 7-9). Появление данного перевода было непосредственно связано с предшествующей публикацией греческого текста сочинения Симеона Солунского: в 1683 г. Досифей, патриарх иерусалимский, издал трактат Симеона в Яссах (по-гречески) и прислал эту книгу московскому патриарху Иоакиму; по поручению Иоакима Евфимий и перевел эту книгу, причем, как сообщает он в своем предисловии, он сверялся также с принадлежащей братьям Лихудам рукописью, написанной в Солуни в 1433 г. (т.е. вскоре после

смерти Симеона, который скончался в 1429 г.). При патриархе Адриане (в 1693 г.), книгу эту предполагалось издать (см.: Горский и Невоструев, II/2, № 179, с. 486-489, ср. № 181, с. 497), однако издание осуществлено не было - возможно, потому, что переводческая деятельность Евфимия в 1690 г. была подвергнута критике (см. в этой связи: Успенский, 1987, § 17.3.7, с. 311). Перевод Евфимия был пересмотрен и исправлен по оригиналу митрополитом сочавским Досифеем, проживавшим в Москве, а в 1697 г. данная книга была заново переведена Николаем Спафарием, переводчиком московского Посольского приказа (см.: Соболевский, 1903, с. 319-321; Горский и Невоструев, II/2, № 184, с. 500 сл.). Как видим, в конце XVII в. трактат Симеона Солунского получает в Москве достаточно широкую известность[28].

Важно отметить, что трактат Симеона был переведен Евфимием во время регентства Софьи Алексеевны (1682-1689). Политическая ситуация в это время способствовала внесению изменений в практику причащения: власть царей (Ивана и Петра Алексеевичей) была лишь номинальной, и, вместе с тем, соответствующее изменение в принципе отвечало интересам регентши. Действительно, Софья, вообще говоря, могла быть заинтересована в том, чтобы цари Иван и Петр Алексеевичи, которые, как мы уже знаем, во время коронации причащались как священнослужители, в дальнейшем причащались как миряне, - причащение в алтаре по чину священнослужителей демонстрировало особый статус царей, что Софье было, конечно, не на руку. При этом Софья сама намеревалась венчаться на царство (см.: Соловьев, VII, с. 450-452)[29], однако даже и в этом случае она не могла рассчитывать на то, что ее будут причащать в алтаре: как женщина, она должна была причащаться у царских врат.

Как будет видно из нижеследующего, это не единственный случай, когда можно предполагать влияние Симеона Солунского на русский коронационный обряд - или, говоря точнее, на процедуру причащения монарха при коронации.

В императорский период причащение в алтаре распространяется и на императриц - несмотря на общепринятые правила, запрещающие женщинам входить в алтарь[30]. Как мы уже упоминали, Екатерина I, которая была коронована в качестве супруги императора (7 мая 1724 г.), после миропомазания причащалась еще у царских врат - так, как причащаются миряне. Между тем, Анна после венчания и помазания на царство (28 апреля 1730 г.) была введена в алтарь и приобщалась там по чину священнослужителей[31]; так же затем причащалась Елизавета во время своей коронации 26 апреля 1742 г.[32] и, наконец, Екатерина II во

время коронации 22 сентября 1762 г. (см.: Георгиевский, 1895-1896, XXXVII, с. 333, 344, XXXVIII, с. 291, 697, 704; Жмакин, 1883, с. 505, 517, 522; Карнович, 1990, с. 54, 56; Попов, 1896, с. 193-194)[33]. Характерно, что для коронации Екатерины II были составлены специальные справки о том, как были помазаны и причащались предшествующие императрицы: Екатерина I, Анна и Елизавета (см.: Описание коронации 1762 г., дополн. № VIII-IX, с. 194-200). На основании этих справок была создана "Всеподданейшая записка относительно порядка, предположенного при совершении Высочайшаго Коронования", где определялось, что причащение императрицы должно происходить именно в алтаре (там же, дополн. № X, с. 205-206).

Необходимо подчеркнуть, что русские императрицы причащались в алтаре только в том случае, если они возводились на престол в качестве самодержавных правительниц. Этого не происходило тогда, когда они короновались как супруги императора: в этом случае причащение происходило у царских врат. Это относится, как мы видели, уже к коронации Екатерины I; начиная с Павла I, имеет место одновременная коронация императора и его супруги, причем император причащается в алтаре, а императрица - у царских врат: так причащались Павел I и Мария Федоровна 5 апреля 1797 г., затем Александр I и Елизавета Алексеевна 15 сентября 1801 г., Николай I и Александра Федоровна 22 августа 1826 г., Александр II и Мария Александровна 26 августа 1856 г., Александр III и Мария Федоровна 15 мая 1883 г. и, наконец, Николай II и Александра Федоровна 14 мая 1896 г. (см.: Церемониал коронации 1797 г., л. 14об.; Описание коронации 1797 г., л. 14об.-15; Церемониал коронации 1801 г., л. 14об.; Макаров, 1871, с. 69; Снегирев, II, с. 9[34]; Описание коронации 1826 г., с. 56-57; Граф, 1828, с. 6; Ист. описание, 1827, с. 207-208; Дмнтриев, 1989, с. 82; Описание коронации 1856 г., с. 31-32; Восп. корон. 1856, с. 20-21; Описание иллюстрир. коронации 1856 г., с. 59-60; Описание коронации 1883 г., с. 24 и иллюстрация между с. 22 и 23; Церемониал коронации 1896 г., с. 45-46; Кривенко, I, с. 266 и иллюстрация между с. 268 и 269; Альбом коронации 1896 г., с. 52-53; Георгиевский, 1895-1896, XXXVIII, с. 709, 717, XXXIX, с. 188-189, 208; Шпаковский, 1896, с. 16). В то время, как императоры в алтаре причащались по чину священнослужителей, их супруги причащались как миряне, т.е. со лжицы (см.: Мальцев, 1896, с. 181, примеч.)[35].

Итак, царь причащается вместе со священнослужителями, и это может выражаться как во времени, так и в месте его причащения. Любопытно отметить, что после того, как царь вводится в алтарь для причащения, время его причащения постепенно отодвигается к концу: таким образом

локальные и временные условия царского причащения как бы уравновешивают друг друга. Так, если вначале царь причащался после митрополита или патриарха, венчающего его на царство, и до архиереев (так причащается еще Алексей Михайлович, хотя после своего возведения на престол он уже начинает причащаться в алтаре), то Федор Алексеевич, как мы видели, причащается после священников - перед дьяконами. Так же, по всей вероятности, причащались Иван и Петр Алексеевичи; правда, в описании поставления на царство Ивана и Петра Алексеевичей не упоминается о причащении дьяконов, но чин их поставления очень близок вообще к чину поставления Федора Алексеевича.

Между тем, в описании коронации Анны говорится, что миропомазание и причащение императрицы происходит после причащения "священнослужащих Архиереов, Архимандритов и прочих" (см.: Описание коронации 1730 г., с. 23-24). Более или менее аналогичную формулировку мы встречаем и в описаниях последующих коронаций (см., например: Церемониал коронации 1742 г., л. 9; Описание коронации 1742 г., с. 68; Церемониал коронации 1762 г., л. 9; Описание коронации 1762 г., с. 97; Церемониал коронации 1797 г., л. 13об.; Описание коронации 1797 г., л. 13об.; Церемониал коронации 1801 г., л. 13об.; Описание коронации 1826 г., с. 52; Описание коронации 1856 г., с. 30; Церемониал коронации 1896 г., с. 41; Кривенко, I, с. 265). На основании такого рода формулировок кажется возможным предположить, что с определенного времени монархи причащались после всего духовенства - следовательно, не перед дьяконами, а после них.

По всей вероятности, это изменение также обусловлено знакомством с трактатом Симеона Солунского: согласно Симеону, византийский император при коронации причащался именно после дьяконов (Минь, CLV, гл. 143, стлб. 352; Писания..., II, гл. 111, с. 196)[36]. Если наше предположение верно, соответствующее изменение - изменение в относительной последовательности причащения - следует относить к концу XVII в., когда сочинение Симеона Солунского стало известным на Руси (см. выше).

Так или иначе - вне зависимости от времени причащения в рамках церковной службы (т.е. относительной последовательности причащения монарха по отношению к священнослужителям) - причащение царя в алтаре оказывается чрезвычайно значимым. Особое значение имеет, в частности, то обстоятельство, что царь входит в алтарь царскими дверями, называемыми так (согласно русской традиции) потому, что на литургии чрез них исходит Царь славы, т.е. Христос (см.: Алексеев, V, с. 114; Никольский, 1907, с. 21)[37]; как известно, в царские двери могут входить вообще лишь священнослужители и только в определенные моменты богослужения[38].

Здесь следует отметить, что русский обряд помазания на царство - в отличие от византийского или западного обряда - уподоблял царя Христу: если в Византии и на Западе помазание монарха сопровождалось возгласом "Свят, Свят, Свят", что отсылало к ветхозаветной традиции (см.: Исаия, VI, 3) - в частности, к ветхозаветной традиции помазания на царство, - то на Руси, где, как мы уже отмечали, обряд помазания на царство ничем не отличался от обряда миропомазания, совершаемого после крещения, произносились слова "Печать дара Духа Святаго" (или ранее "Печать и дар Святаго Духа"); провозглашение сакраментальных слов, произносимых при миропомазании, уподобляет царя Христу, которого "помазал ... Бог Духом Святым" (Деян. X, 38). Таким образом, в Византии, как и на Западе, монарх при помазании уподоблялся царям Израиля; в России же царь уподоблялся самому Христу (см.: Успенский, 1996, с. 187).

Итак, царь, уподобившийся через помазание Христу, подобно Христу проходит царскими дверями. Все сказанное определяет особый статус монарха в русской церкви[39].

Осознание этого статуса проявилось, по-видимому, при коронации Елизаветы Петровны (26 апреля 1742 г.), которая впервые в России сама возложила на себя корону: до этого корона или же соответствующий по функции головной убор - в свое время эту функцию выполняла так называемая шапка Мономаха - возлагалась на коронуемого монарха патриархом, митрополитом или первенствующим архиереем[40]. В дальнейшем Павел вместе с короной сам возлагает на себя далматик и порфиру[41].

Особенно наглядно такого рода восприятие проявилось именно при коронации Павла I (5 апреля 1797 г.). После возведения на престол император Павел, стоя, во всеуслышание прочитал в храме акт о престолонаследии, в котором российские государи объявлялись главой церкви (ср.: ПСЗ, XXIV, № 17910, с. 588); по прочтении акта император ц а р с к и м и в р а т а м и вошел в алтарь и положил его на престол (см.: Шильдер, 1901, с. 343)[42]. Соответственно, Павел мог, по-видимому, воспринимать себя как священнослужителя[43]. Кажется, что представления Павла о прерогативах царской власти были в какой-то мере обусловлены именно ритуалом возведения на престол[44].

Знаменательным образом при этом коронация Павла была совершена на Пасху, т.е. в Светлое воскресенье, тогда как его торжественное вшествие в Москву было приурочено к Вербному воскресенью, 29 марта 1797 г. (см.: Журналы камер-фурьерские на 1797 г., с. 547-548; Георгиевский, 1895-1896, XXXVIII, с. 706)[45].

Необходимо отметить, что после коронации Павла распространились слухи о том, что при возведении на престол он сам себя причастил, а не принял причастие из рук священнослужителя. Так, в записках Е.Ф. Комаровского читаем: "Коронация происходила обыкновенным порядком: император короновал императрицу Марию Феодоровну, но было достойно примечания, что император, во время причастия, вошел в алтарь, взял сосуд и, как глава церкви, сам причастился св. тайн" (Комаровский, 1914, с. 62). Комаровский не был свидетелем происходящего, и его рассказ не соответствует тому, что мы знаем о причащении Павла во время коронации (см.: Церемониал коронации 1797 г., л. 14об.; Описание коронации 1797 г., л. 14об.-15). Надо полагать, таким образом, что это не более, чем слухи (ср.: Шумигорский, 1907, с. 121-122; Карнович, 1990, с. 39), однако слухи эти достаточно показательны: как видим, они явным образом связаны с тем, что Павел объявил себя главой церкви. На чем именно основаны такого рода слухи, станет ясно из нижеследующего изложения.

Нечто подобное говорили затем и о коронации Александра I. По словам М.И. Богдановича, "когда Александр подошел к митрополиту [Платону] для принятия Святых Даров, святитель вручил ему чашу, чтобы *он, по уставу церкви* [sic!], *причастился сам, как помазанник Божий*, в день венчания на царство. Но Государь смиренно возвратил ему чашу, пожелав принять тело и кровь Христовы наравне со всеми верующими" (Богданович, I, с. 63). Богданович не ссылается на источник своих сведений, и мы могли бы предположить, опять-таки, что и он основывается на каких-то слухах (ср.: Шильдер, II, с. 275, примеч. 113; Белозерская, 1896, с. 67, примеч. 1; Воздвиженский, 1896, с. 61)[46]. Не исключено, однако, что подобный эпизод и в самом деле имел место (см. ниже): во всяком случае, как будет видно из дальнейшего, такого рода сведения имеют под собой определенные основания - даже, если они и не соответствуют действительности, они не являются вовсе беспочвенными.

Как бы то ни было, цитированные сообщения красноречиво говорят об особом статусе монарха в русской церкви; характерно, что самостоятельное причащение императора вполне однозначно связывается в них с тем, что он является "главой церкви" и "помазанником Божиим".

Претензии Павла на особое положение в церкви нашли отражение и в том, как он причащался после возведения на престол (т.е. уже в качестве коронованного и помазанного монарха и главы церкви) : если причащение Павла при коронации в принципе не отличалось от того, как причащались в этом случае другие императоры, - то в дальнейшем он причащается

особым образом, отличающимся как от причащения мирян, так и от причащения священнослужителей: он причащается из чаши, т.е. приобщается телу и крови Христовой вместе, и в этом смысле его причащение соответствует тому, как причащаются миряне[47]; вместе с тем, он причащает себя сам, что соответствует тому, как причащается священнослужитель, - причем это происходит в алтаре, куда император входит через царские двери. Вслед за причащением император в алтаре же принимал антидор и теплоту и выходил из алтаря. По окончании литургии священнослужители целовали руку императора. Знаменательным образом при этом перед причащением Павел снимал с себя орденские ленты и шпагу и облачался в далматик, - который, как мы видели, фигурировал при венчании на царство[48]. До нас дошло несколько описаний этого обряда, более или менее однотипных; процитируем одно из них, наиболее полное.

Вот, как причащался Павел 14 августа 1798 г.: "...по поставлении Святых даров на престол, Его Императорское Величество, изволив Себя к тому приуготовить, шествовал в Святыя Царския двери к престолу Божию, с котораго потом приняв с причастием чашу изволил из оной сам приобщаться Святых Христовых Таин, после чего приуготовленною Духовником пеленою обтер уста и потом, не выходя из алтаря, изволил принимать от священника той церкви Антидор, а теплоту, взял от Обер-Шенка Загряжского, умывальницу с водою, поставленную вместе с полотенцем, подавал Гофмаршал Нарышкин" (Журналы камер-фурьерские на 1798 г., с. 1005-1006)[49].

Можно сказать, что причащение Павла объединяет элементы причащения священнослужителя и мирянина: в самом деле, император сам себя причащает подобно тому, как это делает священнослужитель; при этом, как это ни парадоксально, причащает он как священнослужитель, но причащается - как мирянин!

Обыкновенно литургию служил священник придворной церкви - духовник императора и императрицы[50], - но тот же порядок причащения имел место и при архиерейском служении. Ср. описание причащения Павла 19 ноября 1799 г.: "...и по возложении оных [Святых Даров] паки на Престол Божий, Его Императорское Величество изволил к оному взойти и Сам Высочайшею Своею особою приобщился Святых Христовых Таин, а после сего, обтерев приуготовленную Преосвященным Амвросием [архиепископом Санкт-Петербургским, Выборгским и Эстляндским] пеленою уста и не выходя из алтаря, изволил принимать антидор от Преосвященнаго Иринея Архиепископа Псковскаго, а теплоту от Преосвященнаго Павла Архиепископа Тверскаго, умывальницу же с водою золо-

ченую на золоченом же блюде и положенное на оном полотенцо подавал духовник Их Императорских Величеств" (Журналы камер-фурьерские на 1799 г., с. 1797-1798). Самостоятельное причащение в этом случае особенно отчетливо демонстрирует иерархический статус монарха как главы церкви. Действительно, сам себя причастить может только священник, когда нет епископа, или же епископ, если нет митрополита, и т.п.; при наличии нескольких сослужащих священнослужителей, сам себя причащает лишь первенствующий по рангу иерарх[51]. То, что Павел сам себя причащает в присутствии архиереев, означает, по-видимому, претензию на высший иерархический статус, что и отвечает положению главы церкви.

По всей вероятности, рассматриваемый обряд причащения императора и явился основанием упоминавшихся выше слухов о том, что Павел сам себя причастил во время возведения на престол. Что же касается слухов о том, что митрополит Платон предложил Александру самому причаститься в день коронации (о которых мы также говорили выше), то они, вообще говоря, могли соответствовать действительности: митрополит действительно мог предложить Александру причаститься самому, ввиду того, что таким образом причащался Павел.

Так причащался Павел в 1797, 1798 и 1799 гг. Достойно внимания, что он причащался несколько раз в году (что было необычно для того времени), и при этом день причащения в ряде случаев совпадал с церковными праздниками. Так, после своей коронации, которая происходила в Пасхальное воскресенье 5 апреля 1797 г., он причащался 24 июня (Рождество Иоанна Предтечи), 15 августа (Успение Богородицы) и 25 декабря (Рождество Христово) 1797 г., 25 марта (Благовещение), 26 июня, 14 августа и 19 декабря 1798 г., 5 марта и 19 ноября 1799 г. - каждый раз по описанному выше чину (см.: Журналы камер-фурьерские на 1797 г., с. 458, 725, 1404-1405; Журналы камер-фурьерские на 1798 г., с. 353-354, 755-756, 1005, 1615-1616, и прилож., с. 45; Журналы камер-фурьерские на 1799 г., с. 353-354, 1797-1798)[52].

Следует указать, вместе с тем, что в рамках описанного обряда может быть усмотрена определенная эволюция. Так, первоначально император причащается только по церковным праздникам, в дальнейшем же этого не происходит; постепенно он причащается все реже и реже; наконец, меняется и порядок выхода из алтаря после причащения: если первоначально император выходит через царские двери, то в дальнейшем он выходит через северные двери[53]. Можно констатировать, таким образом, что причащение императора со временем становится относительно менее торжественным. Не исключено, что Павел постепенно

стал осознавать неуместность своего поведения. Во всяком случае после 1799 г. - т.е. в 1800 и 1801 гг. - он причащается обычным образом, причем делает это один раз в год (как это и было обычно для мирян) - в субботу на первой неделе Великого поста; отметим, что в этом случае он не снимает с себя ордена и не облачается в далматик.

Вот описание того, как причащался Павел 25 февраля 1800 г.: "А по вынесении из алтаря Святых Таин, сошед все с стоявшаго Высочайшими Их Особами места изволили за духовником произносить причастную молитву, после которой Его Императорское Величество, быв в Ордене Святаго Андрея Первозванна, но без далматика и не входя в алтарь, а в самых онаго Царских дверях изволил от духовника Своего приобщаться Святых Христовых Таин, что также потом уподобились сего и Ея Императорское Величество, а за Ея Высочайшею Особою и все Их Императорские Высочества. И как после причащения Государь Император, так и Высочайшая Его Фамилия изволили принимать Антидор от придворнаго по старшинству духовенства, теплоту от господина Обер-Гофмаршала Нарышкина, а умывальницу с водою и лежащее на одном блюде полотенцо от дежурнаго Камергера Васильчикова" (Журналы камер-фурьерские на 1800 г., с. 188). Таким же образом он причащался и в следующем, 1801-м г. - за месяц до своей насильственной смерти[54].

Как видим, причащение Павла перестает отличаться от причащения всех остальных мирян. Так же, по-видимому, причащаются в дальнейшем и другие императоры - вне коронационного обряда.

Остается отметить, что в императорский период причащение монарха в алтаре могло происходить как при закрытых царских дверях - как причащаются священнослужители и как причащались цари, начиная во всяком случае с Федора Алексеевича, - так и при открытых царских дверях.

Как мы уже видели, Петр II - первый монарх, коронованный в качестве правящего императора, - причащался при закрытых царских дверях (так же, как причащались Федор Алексеевич в 1676 г. и затем Иван и Петр Алексеевичи в 1682 г.): согласно инструкции Феофана Прокоповича, которую мы цитировали выше, император должен был причащаться "стоя пред престолом (затворенным сущим тогда царским дверем)" (Полн. собр пост. и распоряж., VII, прилож., с. 3).

Тем не менее, Екатерина II причащалась в алтаре при открытых царских дверях, как об этом можно судить по дошедшему до нас изображению, предназначавшемуся, видимо, для коронационного альбома (см.: Казинец и Вортман, 1992, с. 89). Так же причащался и Александр III (см.: Описание коронации 1883 г., иллюстрация между с. 22 и 23). К сожалению, мы не располагаем сведениями, о том, как причащались

монархи между 1762 и 1883 гг. (т.е. в промежуток времени между коронацией Екатерины II и Александра III), но можно предположить, что они причащались таким же образом, т.е. именно при открытых царских дверях.

Между тем, Николай II, судя по иллюстрации в коронационном альбоме, причащался при закрытых царских дверях, что в большей степени уподобляло его священнослужителю (см.: Кривенко, I, иллюстрация между с. 268 и 269). Это изменение в порядке причащения находит косвенное подтверждение в известном описании устава русской церкви Константина Никольского; книга эта многократно переиздавалась при жизни автора, причем каждый раз в нее вносились исправления и дополнения, и таким образом она может отражать эволюцию интересующего нас обряда. Начиная с шестого издания своей книги (1900 г.), вышедшего при Николае II, Никольский указывает: "Митрополит вводит Государя Императора чрез царския двери в алтарь и царския двери закрываются" (Никольский, 1900, с. 692; см. также: Никольский, 1907, с. 691); такое указание отсутствует, однако, в предшествующих изданиях, появившихся при Александре II и Александре III, что, надо полагать, не случайно: по всей видимости, причащение императора при закрытых царских дверях было нововведением для XIX в.

Такого рода флюктуации в общем и целом отражают колебания представлений о характере императорской власти.

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[1]Существуют две основные редакции чина венчания Ивана IV на царство: Формулярная редакция (Барсов, 1883, с. 42-90; Идея Рима..., с. 78-95; Доп. АИ, I, № 39, с. 41-53) и Летописная редакция; в составе последней иногда выделяются Никоновская редакция, представленная в Никоновской и Львовской летописях, в Летописце начала царства и в Пискаревском летописце (ПСРЛ, XIII/1, 1904, с. 150-151; ПСРЛ, XX/2, 1914, с. 468-469; ПСРЛ, XXIX, 1965, с. 49-50; ПСРЛ, XXXIV, 1978, с. 180-181; ср.: СГГД, II, № 33, с. 41-43), и Лицевая редакция, представленная в Царственной книге (ПСРЛ, XIII/2, 1906, с. 452-453) (см: Щапов, 1995, с. 214сл.); особая разновидность Формулярной редакции представлена в чинопоследовании, опубликованном Н.И.Новиковым (ДРВ, VII, с. 4-35) (см.: Шахматов, 1930, с. 251-252).

Формулярная редакция в принципе имеет общий характер и была, несомненно, составлена после венчания на царство Ивана IV. Так, здесь упоминается отец царя, которого давно уже не было в живых ("аще есть отец...", "аще нет отца..."), царица Анастасия и дети царские (при том, что Иван женился через месяц после своего венчания на царство), а также патриарх ("призывает тя святый патриарх или пресвященный митрополит, отец твой..."). Как видим, здесь предполагаются различные возможности (участие в венчании на царство как одного великого князя, так и его отца; участие в венчании как митрополита, так и патриарха), и это явно связано с формулярным характером данного документа, который должен был стать нормативом для будущих царских венчаний. Это дает основание выделить в тексте Формулярной редакции два пласта - повествовательный, связанный с актом венчания на царство 1547 г., и собственно формулярный, предусматривающий потенциально возможные ситуации.

Мы можем более или менее точно определить время составления Формулярной редакции. Есть все основания утверждать, что она была составлена не ранее 1547 г. и не позднее 1560 г. "Terminus post quem" определяется датой венчания на царство Ивана IV (1547 г.); "terminus ante quem" определяется смертью царицы Анастасии (1560 г.), которая упоминается в поздравлении митрополита. Вместе с тем, представляется возможным уточнить эту датировку, исходя из общих соображений. Можно предположить, что данная редакция была составлена перед отправлением в Константинополь Феодорита Кольского в 1557 г. за благословением уже состоявшегося царского венчания Ивана IV (см.: РИБ, XXXI, стлб. 340; Савва, 1901, с. 150). Итак, составление Формулярной редакции чина венчания на царство Ивана IV можно с большой долей вероятности отнести к середине 1550-х гг.

Следует полагать, таким образом, что венчание на царство Ивана IV в 1547 г. происходило в соответствии с тем чином, который описан в Летописной редакции. В свою очередь, последующие венчания на царство происходили в соответствии с тем чином, который представлен в Формулярной редакции.

[2]Между помазанием и причащением святитель отходит в алтарь, чтобы сжечь там "в месте сокровенне" губку ("вамбак"), которой отираются помазанные места. Затем он возвращается к царским дверям для причащения царя.

[3]В чинах венчания на царство Марины Мнишек 8 мая 1606 г. (СГГД, II, № 138, с. 292) и Василия Шуйского 1 июня 1606 г. (ААЭ, II, № 47, с. 106) сообщается лишь, что приготовление к помазанию и причащению царя начинается во время причастного стиха ("как учнут пети кенаники"), т.е. тогда, когда причащается патриарх или митрополит. Такое же указание находим и позднейших описаниях.

[4]Порядок причащения византийского императора детально исследован Р. Тафтом, который любезно познакомил нас со своей неопубликованной еще работой (см.: Тафт, в печати); пользуемся случаем, чтобы поблагодарить проф. Тафта, материалы и выводы которого были нами отчасти использованы.

Первоначально император в продолжении всей литургии находился в алтаре, где и получал причастие. Этот порядок был изменен при Феодосии I (379-395) по настоянию св. Амвросия Медиоланского, после чего император входил в алтарь для того, чтобы принести дары Творцу, однако не оставался там во время литургии; ср. 69-е правило Трулльского

собора (691 г.), фиксирующее этот обычай (см.: Книга правил, 1839, с. 112; Правила св. апостол, III, с. 505-506; относительно того, что представляли собой императорские дары, см.: Тафт, 1978, с. 29). Константин VII Багрянородный (945-959) указывает, что император причащается на солее перед алтарем на специальном престоле-"антиминсе" (ἀντιμίσιον), причем отдельно телу и крови Христовой (см.: Константин Багрянородный, I, с. 134-135, ср. с. 17-18, 66-67, 78, 166-167, а также с. 88; ср.: Иоанн, 1895, с. 147; Беляев, II, с. 173сл.); это отдельное причащение уподобляло императора священнослужителям и отличало его от мирян, которые в это время, как и сейчас, причащались со лжицы, т.е. получали тело и кровь вместе (в древнейший период как священнослужители, так и миряне приобщались телу и крови отдельно, см.: Мейендорф, 1989, с. 74; Мэтьюс, 1971, с. 172; Папроцкий, 1993, с. 361; Тафт, 1996); вместе с тем, в отличие от священнослужителей император причащался вне алтаря. (Равным образом и на Западе монарх уподоблялся священнослужителю в способе причащения: в отличие от мирян, которые причащались здесь только телу Христову, монарх, как и священнослужители, причащался под обоими видами, т.е. телу и крови, см.: Брове, 1932, с. 167-168.)

В дальнейшем уподобление императора священнослужителям в литургической практике становится еще более явным и приводит к тому, что император для причащения приглашается в алтарь, где он попрежнему причащается отдельно телу и крови Христовой; описание причащения такого рода мы находим у авторов XIV в. - в частности, у Псевдо-Кодина (1966, с. 267-268) и Иоанна Кантакузина (I, с. 202), причем оба они подчеркивают, что император причащается подобно с в я щ е н н и к а м. Понятно, что именно позднейшая практика скорее всего и могла быть известна - в той или иной мере - на Руси (память о ней, может быть, сохранялась на территории бывшей Византийской империи).

Особняком стоит описание Симеона Солунского первой трети XV в. (Минь, CLV, гл. 143, стлб. 352; Писания..., II, гл. 111, с. 196-197), указания которого в ряде случаев расходятся с указаниями других источников. Р.Тафт видит в этих отличиях не столько отражение действительного положения вещей, сколько продукт литургического творчества: Симеон, по-видимому, попытался реконструировать обряд причащения императора на основании материалов, имевшихся в его распоряжении (он ссылается на какие-то древние описания этого обряда), - иначе говоря, Симеон, возможно, основывается не столько на реальной практике причащения, сколько на своих представлениях о том, как оно должно осуществляться. Так, по сообщению Симеона Солунского, император причащается в алтаре по чину священнослужителей (подобно д ь я к о н а м), однако не у престола, а в стороне на особом столе, на котором положен был антиминс; надо полагать, что здесь имеет место контаминация древнего обряда причащения, когда император причащался перед алтарем (описанного, например, у Константина Багрянородного), и позднейшего обряда, когда причащение происходило в алтаре (см.: Тафт, в печати; ср. также: Маджеска, 1984, с. 433, примеч. 114). Таким образом, указания Симеона Солунского относительно причащения императора, по-видимому, не всегда достоверны; тем не менее, как мы увидим, они имеют особое значение для нашей темы.

Сообщения, что император причащается подобно священнику, и что он причащается подобно дьякону, которые находим в разных источниках, не обязательно противоречат друг другу, поскольку причащение священника при архиерейском богослужении (которое имелось в виду в данном случае) могло совпадать с причащением дьякона - подобно тому, как это имеет место и сегодня (ср. ниже, примеч. 21).

[5]Описание венчания на царство Федора Алексеевича дошло до нас также в составе разрядных записок (см. публикацию: Бычков, 1882), однако здесь ничего не говорится о помазании и причащении. Краткое описание его поставления представлено и в так называемых Выходных книгах (см. публикацию: Строев, 1844, с. 623); здесь упоминается как о помазании, так и о причащении Федора Алексеевича, но при этом не сообщаются детали.

[6]Об этом статусе см., в частности, у Симеона Солунского (Минь, CLV, гл. 143, стлб. 352; Писания..., II, гл. 111, с. 196). Аналогичное уподобление прослеживается и в западных

обрядах императорской коронации: после помазания (до коронации) поставляемый монарх целует папу "как один из дьяконов" (см.: Эльце, 1960, № XVII.18, XVIII.19, XIX.19, XX.21, XXI.20, XXIII.19, XXIIIa.24, XXIV.21, с. 65, 76, 93, 110, 126, 136, 143, 148), а после коронации во время мессы император действует "more subdiaconi", т.е. прислуживает как иподьякон (там же, № XVII.30, XVIII.42, XIX.39, XX. 39, XXI.41, XXIII.47, XXIV.39, с. 68, 83, 98, 117, 128, 138, 150, ср. № XXV/XXVI, с. 156); см. еще: Брове, 1932, с.166-167.

Характерно в этом смысле, что Петр I во "Всешутейшем соборе" играл шутовскую роль дьякона (см.: Зызыкин, I, с. 191).

[7]По каноническим установлениям, приобщение священнослужителей происходит в иерархическом порядке: "Диаконы приобщаются от священников, священники от епископов, епископы в восточных церквах от патриархов, и приступают к приобщению сперва высшие, потом низшие. Правила соборные запрещают нарушать этот порядок". См.: Никольский, 1907, с. 445, примеч. 4; ср. 18-е правило I-го Никейского собора 325 г. (см.: Книга правил, 1839, с. 41; Правила св. апостол, II, с. 62-68). См. еще в этой связи: РИБ, VI, № 6, стлб. 96-97; Булгаков, 1913, с. 793-794.

[8]Ср. в этой связи слова митрополита (Макария), обращенные к Ивану IV, в описании венчания на царство. Согласно Формулярной редакции чина (которая, как мы уже упоминали, была составлена после того, как Иван стал царем), митрополит говорит: "...отец твой князь великии Василей Ивановичь, всеа Русии самодрьжец, ... велел тобе, сыну своему Ивану, на то на великое княжьство стати и помазатися и венчатися боговенчанным царским венцем, по древнему вашему царскому чину" (Барсов, 1883, с. 49, 74; Идея Рима..., с. 82). Заявление о помазании по "древнему ... царскому чину" не может относиться, конечно, к русской традиции поставления, но относится к традиции византийской (и опосредствованно - к библейской традиции). Соответственно, в Казанской истории говорится, что Иван IV "воцарися и поставися на царство великим поставлением царским ... И помазан бысть святым миром и венчан святыми бармами и венцем Манамаховым по древнему закону царскому, яко же и римстии, и гречестии, и прочии православнии царие поставляхуся" (Каз. история, с. 360).

[9]Менее вероятно, что русские узнали о византийской традиции от греческих архиереев, принимавших участие в соборе 1660 г., созванном для избрания преемника Никону и решения вопроса о том, как быть с самим Никоном (об этом соборе см: Каптерев, II, с. 261).

[10]Паисий Лигарид приехал в Москву 12 февраля 1662 г. (см: Каптерев, II, с. 270), тогда как Мейерберг оставался здесь до 3 мая 1662 г. (см.: Мейерберг, 1874, с. 191). Если наше предположение верно, это означает, что Мейерберг описывает новый - только что введенный - обряд причащения царя. Сам Мейерберг, разумеется, не мог быть свидетелем этого обряда и описывает его со слов своих русских информантов - последние, можно думать, рассказывали о нем как о новшестве.

[11]Ссылаясь на 69-е правило Трулльского собора (691 г.), а также на толкование к этому правилу, Никон заявляет здесь, что царь может входить в алтарь лишь для того, чтобы принести дары Творцу, "по нѣкоему преданию древних отец" (ср. выше, примеч. 4). Паисий же, ссылаясь на Властаря, имеет в виду причащение царя в алтаре, ср. у Никона: "Паки, отвѣтотворче, пишеш: «Матфей Властарин, толкуючи для чево ходил царь во олтарь к тайным таинством, глаголи: ... и сия для того, что есть помазан от Бога...». О Матфее от закон святыя соборныя церкве не вѣдаем, кто он есть... Тако же ты толкуеш государю приходити во олтарь во время причастия..." (Никон, 1982, с. 621-623). Здесь уместно отметить, что Паисию Лигариду принадлежит предисловие к "Синтагме" Властаря, которое было переведено в Москве на церковнославянский язык (см.: Соболевский, 1903, с. 345-346).

Что касается правила Трулльского собора, то оно стало предметом специального обсуждения между Алексеем Михайловичем и Паисием Лигаридом. Так, 26 ноября 1662 г. царь спрашивал Паисия: входил ли византийский император в алтарь (βῆμα) для того, чтобы

принести дары Творцу (см.: Шевченко, в печати); вопросы царя и ответы Паисия Лигарида (на греческом языке) дошли до нас в позднейшей копии (второй половины 1660-х гг.) собрания монастыря св. Екатерины на Синае (Sinaiticus gr. 1915, л. 29-60). Этот вопрос отчетливо демонстрирует интерес Алексея Михайловича к реконструкции литургического статуса византийского императора.

[12]Ср. позднейшее описание: "Государь Император, сделав поклонение у престола, приобщается от Митрополита Св. Таин тела и крови Христовой, «по чину царскому», как помазанник Божий и верховный покровитель церкви, приобщается таким образом, как причащаются священнослужители: особь тела и особь крове Христовы" (Никольский, 1907, с. 691). Равным образом и Симеон Солунский, говоря о причащении византийского императора (василевса) по чину священнослужителей - отдельно телу и отдельно крови Христовой - при коронации, говорит: "такая честь усвояется царю ради царственного помазания..." (Минь, CLV, гл. 143, стлб. 352; Писания..., II, гл. 111, с. 197).

[13]Коронация супруги была вообще беспрецедентным явлением на Руси. Единственный прецедент такого рода представляет лишь коронация Марины Мнишек в 1606 г., которая также в принципе может объясняться западной культурной ориентацией. Однако Марину короновал не ее супруг (Лжедмитрий), а патриарх, и она была коронована не как супруга монарха, а как самостоятельная монархиня (ср. чин поставления Марины Мнишек на царство: СГГД, II, № 138, с. 289-293).

[14]Ср.: "The *Opisanie* that Peter the Great issued in 1724 for the coronation of the Empress Catherine represented as much of an innovation as the crowning of an empress and the new European-style regalia introduced at the ceremony. It was a secular publication, printed at the Senate press in St. Petersburg..., that commemorated what until this time had been a purely religious event. Previously, the account of each coronation was given in a *Chin venchania* (Ceremony of Crowning) and included descriptions of the religious ceremonies and the processions to and from the cathedrals. Peter's volume, the first to describe a coronation that included both secular and religious elements, encompassed the total event: the arrival of the emperor, the promulgation of the event of the ceremony, the parades and celebrations after the religious services. It made the religious ritual an event of secular import, justifying and glorifying the power of the all-Russian tsar" (Казинец и Вортман, 1992, с. 78-79). О западных элементах в церемонии коронования Екатерины I см.: Кривенко, I, с. 51сл.

[15]Сообщение Ф.-В.Берхгольца о том, что Екатерина сначала причастилась и затем была помазана (см.: Берхгольц, IV, с. 39), представляет собой недоразумение.

[16]В дальнейшем при помазании супруги императора повторяются те же слова, что и при помазании императора (т.е. "Печать дара Духа Святаго"). Это объясняется тем, что следующий случай коронования императрицы в качестве супруги императора (а не в качестве правящей императрицы) имел место лишь в 1797 г. - при коронации Павла I и Марии Федоровны. После столь долгого перерыва коронация Екатерины I уже не могла служить, видимо, непосредственным образцом при определении того, каким образом должна быть помазана супруга императора; поэтому помазание императрицы (супруги императора) было уподоблено помазанию самого императора как правящего монарха. Отметим, что коронация Павла I и Марии Федоровны была первой совместной коронацией императора и его супруги в России.

О некоторых специальных отличиях помазания супруги императора от помазания императора в конце XVIII-XIX вв. будет сказано ниже (см. примеч. 35).

[17]Ср.: "Тогда изволила паки стать на прежнем близ святых двереи месте, и причастилась обыкновенно Пречистых Таин от первого из служащих Литургию Архиерея" (Описание коронации 1724 г., с. 14).

[18]Некоторые авторы утверждают, что коронация Петра II была совершена в том же порядке, в каком происходила коронация Екатерины I, и что он, как и Екатерина, не был введен в алтарь для причащения (см.: Жмакин, 1883, с. 512; Бычков, 1883, с. 9; Дедов,

1911, с. 5; Корольков, 1896, с. 19; Соколов и Корольков, 1896, с. 39). Это явное недоразумение.

[19]Вообще коронация Петра II явилась важной вехой в эволюции обряда возведения монарха на престол. Ср.: "Для коронации Петра II сделан свод всех прежних чиновников и составлен чин действия в том виде, в каком употребляется доселе" (Скворцов, 1871, с. 152-153, примеч. 3).

[20]Замечательно, однако, что после смерти Екатерины II и воцарения Павла I (1796 г.), когда по распоряжению последнего была произведена эксгумация останков Петра III - первоначально он был похоронен в Александро-Невском монастыре, но Павел распорядился похоронить его вместе с Екатериной в Петропавловской крепости, - Павел возложил на гроб Петра III императорскую корону, после чего императрица Мария Федоровна (жена Павла) возложила на голову мертвой Екатерины маленькую корону, которой короновали супругу императора (ту самую, которой в свое время Петр I короновал Екатерину I). Есть все основания усматривать здесь ритуал посмертной коронации Петра III, при которой Екатерине II отводилась роль не правящей императрицы, а супруги императора; в дальнейшем во время похоронной процессии на гробе Петра III покоилась императорская корона, тогда как на гробе Екатерины II вообще не было никакой короны (см.: Вортман, 1995, с. 173; Бартенев, 1876, с. 6; Шильдер, 1901, с. 301; Массон, I, с. 169; Журналы камер-фурьерские за 1796 г., с. 820-824, 860-861). Тем самым коронация Екатерины 22 сентября 1762 г. в качестве самодержавной правительницы как бы признавалась недействительной.

Именно в виду того, что Петр III не был коронован, он не был похоронен в Петропавловской крепости вместе с другими императорами (см.: Массон, I, с. 240, примеч. 19).

[21]Так, в "Чине причащения..." митрополита Филарета указывается, что при причащении императора причащающий (архиерей) держит чашу в своих руках, тогда как причастник (император) касается чаши и приклоняет ее к устам (ср.: Восп. корон. 1856 г., с. 21). Тем самым, согласно данному чину, монарх причащается так, как причащается дьякон (ср. о причащении дьякона: Красносельцев, 1889, с. 75; Дьяченко, 1899, с. 504) или же священник при архиерейском богослужении (ср. описание архиерейского богослужения: Булгаков, 1913, с. 934 и с. 943, примеч. 66); заметим, что в точности так же причащался и византийский император, согласно описанию Псевдо-Кодина (1966, с. 268).

Между тем, ранее, возможно, причащающийся монарх мог сам брать чашу в свои руки. Так во всяком случае описывает причащение Анны Ианновны при коронации (28 апреля 1730 г.) аббат Жюбе де ла Кур; мы цитируем это описание ниже (в примеч. 31).

[22]Ср.: "Кроме архиереев, пресвитеров и диаконов, в алтаре никто не причащается, потому что только эти три чина рукополагаются внутри алтаря, а прочие вне алтаря (Сим. Солун.; см. Нов. Скр., 262 стр.), за исключением Государя Императора, который во время его коронации проходит в алтарь царскими вратами к престолу и там причащается св. Таин..." (Булгаков, 1913, с. 794); отсюда можно понять, что в прочих случаях император причащался вне алтаря и, следовательно, как мирянин. См. еще: Лебедев, II, с. 139; Князев, 1988, с. 155, примеч. 104.

Исключение составляет причащение Павла I, который после возведения на престол причащался по особому обряду. Этот обряд будет специально рассмотрен ниже.

[23]Г.П.Георгиевский в своем описании праздничного богослужения в старой Москве сообщает, что великим постом "государь причащался св. таин по царскому чину, у св. престола в алтаре ... Перед причащением священнослужителей государь подходил к св. престолу и принимал причастие при открытых царских дверях" (Георгиевский, 1896, с. 41-42). При этом он ссылается на упоминавшееся выше описание причащения Алексея Михайловича в Великий четверг 1667 г. - по-видимому, воспринимая это как общее правило, т.е. не отдавая себе отчета в том, что способ причащения Алексея Михайловича в это время отличался как от предшествующей, так и от последующей традиции.

[24]Таковы описания Псевдо-Кодина (1966, с. 267-268) и Иоанна Кантакузина (I, с. 202) - текстуально близкие и восходящие, видимо к общему источнику (см.: Иоанн Кантакузин, 1982-1986, I, с. 270-271; ср. также: Псевдо-Кодин, 1966, с. 34), - а также описания коронации

Мануила II в 1392 г. (см.: Шрайнер, 1967, с. 78, 84; Маджеска, 1984, с. 432-433; ср.: Псевдо-Кодин, 1966, прилож. VI, с. 358-359; РФА, II, № 86, с. 275; Маджеска, 1984, с. 111). См. также чин венчания на царство из библиотеки Медичи: Лопарев, 1913, с. 6, 10.

[25]Р.Тафт, кажется, склоняется именно к такому толкованию соответствующих источников (см.: Тафт, в печати). Ср. также: Никодим, I, с. 559; Мэтьюс, 1971, с. 172-173; иначе: Брейе, II, с. 15; Мейнстоун, 1988, с. 235.

[26]Как уже отмечалось, показания Симеона Солунского относительно причащения императора вообще отличаются от свидетельств других источников и, может быть, не всегда достоверны. См. выше, примеч. 4.

[27]Так, например, Паисий Лигарид - если верно наше предположение о том, что именно от него были получены сведения о византийском ритуале, - мог рассказать царю, что византийский император причащался в алтаре как священнослужитель, не сообщив при этом никаких дополнительных данных.

[28]Приведем соответствующее место из Симеона Солунского в переводе Евфимия - в том виде, как оно читается в черновой рукописи с исправлениями переводчика: "Когда цр̃ь внѹтрь олтаря причащается [*исправлено из* : ωбщится], и какω. Цр̃ь же внѹтрь олтаря причащается [*исправлено из* : ωбщится], в' самое и токмω [*на полях*: едино] время помазанїя и нареченїя [*на полях* : поставленїя], обаче по дїаконѣхъ [...] Архїерее ѹбω первѣе и їерее и дїакωни по обычаю животворящемѹ [*исправлено из* : животворящагω] хлѣбѹ [*исправлено из* : хлѣба] и ω^{T} ωбычныхъ сщ̃енныхъ потирωвъ бж^{с}твеннѣй крови [*исправлено из* : крове] причащаются. По сихъ же пришедъ цр̃ь, стѣйшїй хлѣбъ рѹкою [*на полях* : в' рѹкѹ] ω^{T} патрїарха прїемле^{T} ѩкω дїакωни. и животворящїя крове ѹстнами ѩкω дїакωни ω^{T} самагω патрїарха причащается [*исправлено из* : ωбщится] ω^{T} ѹготованагω [*исправлено из* : ѹготованнагω] на сїе [*на полях* : ради того] сщ̃еннагω потира. И сїе бѣ ѹзаконено [*исправлено из* : ѹзаконенно] издревле. И сїю прїя [*исправлено из* : прїяше] честь ради хрїсма [*на полях* : помазанїѧ] цр^{с}твїя. ѩкω и депотата сщ̃енныя церкве мѣсто прїемъ, и дефенсωръ [*на полях* : защитникъ] тоя названъ. и ѩкω хрїстос г^{с}день [*на полях* : сиесть помазанъ], и хрїстоименитагω люда цр̃ь прорѹчествованъ, и всея селенныя, ѩкω бо бл̃гочестивъ, и клирѹ сочислися цр̃кве" (ГИМ, Син. 654, л. 194-194об., ср. л. 197; см. другой список - ГИМ, Син. 283, л. 195-195об., ср. л. 198; описание рукописей см. у Горского и Невоструева, II/2, №№ 179, 180, с. 486-496).

[29]В 1689 г. Софья посылала даже к вселенским патриархам с тем, чтобы получить санкцию на коронацию. См.: Туманский, VI, с. 255-259; Дело Шакловитого, III, предисл., с. 3-5; ср. также: Дело Шакловитого, I, стлб. 717.

[30]Соответственно, М.М. Щербатов, говоря о Елизавете или Екатерине II, может называть их в мужском роде "государем" (см.: Щербатов, II, с. 219; ср. в этой связи: Лотман, 1979, с. 100-101).

Точно так же в Византии и на Западе монархини могли носить мужской титул: так, византийская императрица Ирина (797-802), именовалась "императором" (βασιλεύ"); между тем до этого, будучи соправительницей своего сына Константина VI (780-790), она называлась "императрицей" (βασιλίσσα) (см.: Онзорге, 1975, с. 286; Геррин, 1987, с. 453-454; Дёльгер, 1943, с. 212, примеч. 15; Фольц, 1964, с. 110, примеч. 1). Аналогичным образом позднее венгерская королева Мария (1370-1395) называлась "королем" (rex); так же называли венгры и императрицу Марию-Терезу в XVIII в. (см.: Канторович, 1957, с. 80).

А.Мальцев полагает, что введение императриц в алтарь обусловлено их уподоблением диакониссам (подобно тому, как императоры уподоблялись дьяконам): "In diesem Vorzug der Kaiser und selbständigen Kaiserinnen, die Communion nach Art der Geweihten im Innern des Allerheiligsten zu empfangen, liegt vielleicht noch eine Erinnerung daran, dass nach altbyzantinischem Ritus durch die heilige Krönung und Salbung gleichzeitig der kirchliche Grad des Diakonates ertheilt ward. Dadurch würde auch die auffallende Erscheinung erklärt werden können, dass einer Frau, der sonstigen strengen kirchlichen Anordnung zuwider, der Zutritt zum Altar gestattet werden durfte. In

der altbyzantinischen Kirche empfingen nämlich die Diakonissen, welche im christlichen Alterthum bei der Kranken- und Armenpflege dienten und dem Priester zur Dienstleistung bei der Taufe weiblicher Personen beigegeben waren und auch das Orarion der Diakonen trugen, wie diese die heilige Communion nach der Priestern im Altarraume" (Мальцев, 1896, с. 181, примеч.). Не обязательно соглашаться с этим объяснением.

[31]Ср.: "По том Ея Величество Архиереискою рукою введена внутрь Олтаря и, стоя пред Святою трапезою на златом ковре, приняла от перваго архиерея Святых Таин, Тела и Крови Господни причастие по чину Царскому, т.е. как причащаются Священнослужители, и как прежде сего вси миряне причащалися, особь от Тела, и особь от Крове Христовы..." (Описание коронации 1730 г., с. 24). Замечательно, что этот порядок причащения впервые определяется как "чин царский": таким образом подчеркивается, что Анна причастилась так же, как и предшествующие ей цари; ссылка на то, что таким образом "прежде сего вси миряне причащалися", вероятно, сочтена была необходимой ввиду беспрецедентности введения в алтарь женщины. Эта фраза отсутствует в последующих описаниях коронации императриц (Елизаветы и Екатерины II); в то же время в описании коронации Екатерины II специально отмечается, что Екатерина причащалась таким же образом, как и ее предшественницы, т.е. Анна и Елизавета (ср.: Казинец и Вортман, 1992, с. 87).

Аббат Жюбе де ла Кур, присутствовавший при коронации Анны, не совсем точно описывает процедуру ее причащения, но вместе с тем сообщает некоторые любопытные подробности: "Quant ce fut le tems de la communion L'Imperatrice se présenta pour communier dans le calice que lui présenta L'Archevêque, & où est le pain & le vin consacré tout ensemble. Comme elle vouloit communier sans toucher le calice L'Archevêque lui dit de le prendre elle même, & de se communier, chose insolite, & qui fit murmurer contre lui" (Жюбе, 1992, с. 153). Жюбе безусловно ошибается, говоря, что в чаше были "le pain & le vin consacré tout ensemble"; это означало бы, что Анна причащалась не так, как причащаются священнослужители. По-видимому, Жюбе был недостаточно знаком с русским церковным обрядом; к тому же он едва ли мог видеть то, что происходило в алтаре: в лучшем случае он мог наблюдать происходящее через открытые двери, поскольку царские двери при причащении Анны были, возможно, открыты (см. ниже); в этом случае ему могло броситься в глаза лишь то, что Анна причащалась не со лжицы, как это он обычно наблюдал в русской церкви (ср. в этой связи: Жюбе, 1992, с. 125, 206). Большего интереса заслуживает указание на то, что Анна будто бы не решалась прикоснуться к чаше, но архиерей (Феофан Прокопович) предложил ей взять чашу в руки, что вызвало негодование в русском обществе. Скорее всего, негодование, о котором пишет Жюбе, было вызвано тем, что женщина оказалась в алтаре.

[32]Ср.: "Потом Ея Императорское Величество Архиереискою рукою Царскими дверьми введена внутрь Олтаря, и стоя пред святою трапезою на златом ковре соизволила принять от него перваго Архиерея святых таин тела и крове Господни причастие, по чину царскому, т.е. как причащаются священнослужители особь от тела, и особь от крове Христовы..." (Описание коронации 1742 г., с. 69; ср. то же: Церемониал коронации 1742 г., л. 9об.). То же почти дословно (с заменой лишь слова "ковре" на "парче") - в описании коронации Екатерины II (см.: Описание коронации 1762 г., с. 99-100, ср. с. 205-206; ср. то же: Церемониал коронации 1762 г., л. 9об.).

[33]См. примеч. 32. Н.Белозерская, описывая коронацию Екатерины II, цитирует (без ссылки) какой-то неизвестный нам источник: Екатерина после помазания "вошед своею только особой в царския врата и приступя к престолу, из потира изволила приобщиться Святых Тайн по царскому обыкновению" (Белозерская, 1896, с. 73). Таким образом, согласно данному источнику Екатерина не вводится архиерейскою рукой, а сама входит и при этом приступает к престолу; ни то, ни другое не подтверждается описанием коронации Екатерины. Мнение о том, что Екатерина "приступила к престолу" соответствует аналогичным слухам, относящимся к коронациям Павла I и Александра I (которые мы приводим ниже). Есть основания полагать, таким образом, что это описание коронации Екатерины II не современно

самому событию, а относится к более позднему времени (предположительно - к концу XVIII или началу XIX в.).

[34]Нам было недоступно официальное описание коронации Александра I (Чин действия каким образом совершилось ... Его Императорского Величества Коронование. М., 1801), о котором мы знаем лишь по библиографическим указаниям. Очень подробное описание происходившего дают М.Н.Макаров (Макаров, 1871), а также И.М.Снегирев (Снегирев, II, с. 5-10).

[35]Помазание на царство супруги императора также отличалось от помазания самодержавного правителя или правительницы. Если у самого монарха помазанию подлежали как чело, так и некоторые другие части тела (так, например, Александр III был помазан на челе, очах, ноздрях, на устах, на персях и по обеим сторонам рук; у Николая II еще были помазаны и уши), то у его супруги - при одновременной коронации с императором - помазывалось только чело.

При коронации Екатерины I в 1724 г. было совершено помазание на челе, на персях и на руках, но в целом обряд помазания на царство отличался в данном случае от обряда миропомазания (см. выше).

[36]Это указание не подтверждается другими источниками: так, Псевдо-Кодин (1966, с. 267-268) сообщает, что император причащался непосредственно после патриарха и, следовательно, перед всеми остальными священнослужителями.

[37]Такое понимание характерно именно для русской традиции, поскольку в Византии соответствующее название относилось к царю земному, а не к Царю небесному. Действительно, у греков "царскими дверями" (*βασιλικαὶ πύλαι*), как правило, называются средние западные двери, ведущие из храма в притвор, тогда как средние алтарные врата известны у них под именем "святых" (ἅγιαι) (см.: Серединский, 1871, с. 551, ср. с. 560; Беляев, II, с. 100-101; Голубинский, I/2, с. 198, примеч.). Это объясняется тем, что в константинопольском храме св. Софии в "царские", т.е. в средние западные двери мог входить только царь (василевс) и патриарх (см.: Штрубе, 1976, с. 53, примеч. 164, с. 68, примеч. 243; Тафт, 1978, с. 30, примеч. 76, с. 463; Тафт, 1979-1980, с. 284-285, примеч. 12; ср.: Беляев, II, с. 109), ср. у Игнатия Смольнянина в описании венчания на царство Мануила II в 1392 г.: "...и сниде царь с полаты и вниде в святую церковь предними великими дверми, иже зовутся царская" (РФА, II, № 86, с. 274; Маджеска, 1984, с. 107). Константинопольский храм св. Софии воспринимался как архетипический образ церкви, и остальные греческие храмы были моделированы по этому образцу.

Такое же значение отражается и в древнейших русских памятниках, см.: Срезневский, III, стлб. 1434, 1463, s.v. *царьскыи*, *цѣсарьскыи*, где соответствующее выражение определяется как "входные двери в церковь с паперти"; так, в частности, в Студийском уставе конца XII - начала XIII в. (ГИМ, Син. 330, л. 36, 247об. и др.; Горский и Невоструев, III/1, № 380, с. 244; ср.: Сл. др-рус. яз., II, с. 450, где цитата из этого памятника сопровождается неправильным толкованием - данное выражение неправомерно толкуется здесь как вход в алтарь, тогда как в действительности имеется в виду вход в церковь). Вместе с тем, средние алтарные врата могли именоваться на Руси "святыми" или же "райскими" (см.: Срезневский, III, стлб. 63, 309); последнее наименование отразилось, между прочим, и в румынском языке, где царские врата называются "uşa raiuluĭ".

По указанию Е.Е.Голубинского, алтарные двери начинают называться "царскими" в русских церквах "не позднее как со времени митрополита Киприана" (Голубинский, I/2, с. 198, примеч.); одновременно они продолжают именоваться "святыми". В интересующий нас период наименование "царские двери" было общепринятым, и при этом оно, как правило, относилось к входу в алтарь.. Исключительный случай, когда данное выражение означает вход в церковь, а не вход в алтарь - иначе говоря, употреблено в греческом, а не в русском значении, - представлен в "Повести о втором браке Василия III" (старшие списки которой относятся к началу XVII в.), где говорится о возможном венчании Василия III на царство:

согласно этой повести, Вассиан Патрикеев отговаривает Василия от развода с Соломонией Сабуровой, указывая, что он не сможет войти в церковь; оставаясь же в первом браке, Василий имеет право "ити в царские двери, взем свой царьский скипетр и царскую диадиму, рекше багряницу, и сердоликову крабицу и прапрародителя своего великого князя Владимира Мономаха ... шапку, да сести на престоле" (Зимин, 1976, с. 142; Бодянский, 1847, с. 3). Подобное словоупотребление становится понятным, если принять предположение о том, что автором данного сочинения был афонский монах (ср. в этой связи: Тихомиров, 1928, с. 92-93).

[38]Вход в алтарь через царские двери "дозволяется только архиереям, иереям и диаконам, во время богослужения изображающим собою Господа и премирные силы Божия"; по церковному уставу при архиерейском служении "никто же может внити посреде в царския двери, присутствующу архиерею, разве егда вси входят в малом и великом входе и по заамвонной молитве" (Никольский, 1907, с. 77).

[39]Ср.: "Вследствие рукоположения и миропомазания Императора надо считать чином священным не в смысле вступления в духовную иерархию, ибо он не получает благодати священства, но в смысле особого освящения лица, открывающего ему право на особые преимущества: входить в царские врата и причащаться наряду с священнослужителями; таким образом Царь при священнодействии ставится наряду со священнослужителями выше низшего клира и даже монашества. С этой точки зрения Царская власть является институтом не только государственного, но и церковного права" (Зызыкин, 1924, с. 174).

[40]В описании коронации Елизаветы Петровны говорится: "...Ея Императорское Величество соизволила указать, с того же поставленнаго с Императорскими регалиями стола подать Императорскую корону, которую первенствующему яко то вышеупомянутому Новгородскому Архиерею подал Канцлер, а оной поднес Ея Императорскому Величеству на подушке. Ту корону Ея Императорское Величество, приняв от Архиерея с подушки, изволила возложить на свою главу..." (Описание коронации 1742 г., с. 58). Между тем, в предварительно составленном церемониале коронации Елизаветы Петровны указывается, что корону возлагает на нее первенствующий архиерей, ср. здесь: "Помянутый же Архиерей корону императорскую благословив и поцеловав приемлет с означеннаго стола, и потом Ея Императорское Величество осенит тою короною, и поднесше оную Ея Величеству к целованию, возложит на главу Ея Величества, глаголя: «Во имя Отца и Сына и Святаго Духа, аминь»" (Церемониал коронации 1742 г., л. 6об.). Надо полагать, что церемониал коронации Елизаветы Петровны был составлен по образцу предшествующей коронации (ср.: Описание коронации 1730 г., с. 18); соответствующее изменение, таким образом, было внесено уже после его составления.

Возложение императором (императрицей) на себя короны повторяется затем при коронации Екатерины II (см.: Церемониал коронации 1762 г., л. 6об.; Описание коронации 1762 г., с. 86) и во всех последующих коронациях.

[41]См.: Церемониал коронации 1797 г., л. 7-8; Описание коронации 1797 г., л. 7-8. Далматик - одежда византийского императора, совершенно сходная по форме с архиерейским саккосом (но в отличие от саккоса не украшенная звонцами). Существенно, что на иконах в далматике изображался Иисус Христос как Царь и Великий Архиерей.

При коронации Елизаветы и Екатерины "порфира или императорская мантия" возлагается архиереем (но по распоряжению императрицы!), что же касается далматика, то он фигурирует только при коронации Павла: Александр I не следует примеру своего отца и не возлагает на себя далматика при коронации (см.: Снегирев, II, с. 9).

[42]В описании коронации Павла I читаем: "Потом Его величество соизволил стоя на Троне читать ... высочайше утвержденный Акт... По прочтении сего Акта соизволил Его Императорское величество Царскими вратами войтить в олтарь, и положить оный акт на Святом престоле в нарочно устроенный сребрянный ковчег для хранения его во все будущия времена в том же соборе на престоле" (Описание коронации 1797 г., л. 17об., 19). Любопытно,

что в предварительно составленном церемониале коронации Павла эти действия императора не были предусмотрены (см.: Церемониал коронации 1797 г.): так же, как и в случае коронации Елизаветы, изменения в ритуал возведения на престол были внесены уже после составления церемониала коронации (ср. выше, примеч. 40). Возможно, соответствующее решение было принято во время одной из репетиций, предшествующих коронации (см. о таких репетициях: Головкин, 1905, с. 144).

Акт о престолонаследии, зачитанный Павлом после возведения на престол, был написан им вместе с супругой (Марией Федоровной) в 1788 г., т.е. еще при жизни Екатерины II. Утверждение, что император российский является главой церкви, несмотря на свой откровенно неканонический характер, вошло затем в Основные Законы (Свод законов, 1892, ст. 42, с. 10); к истории вопроса см: Живов и Успенский, 1987, с. 98-99 (примеч. 54 и 55).

[43]В частности, он, по-видимому, считал себя вправе служить литургию и принимать исповедь и отказался от этого лишь тогда, когда Синод обратил его внимание, что по уставу православной церкви люди, вступившие во второй брак, не могут священнодействовать. См.: Живов и Успенский, 1987, с. 98-99; де Местр и Гривель, 1879, с. 5, 99-100; Головкин, 1905, с. 149; ср.: Порфирий, III, с. 619.

В какой-то мере Павел мог участвовать в богослужении и до коронации - после своего воцарения. Так, 4 апреля 1797 г. - накануне коронации - во время причащения своих детей он прислуживал во время литургии, ср.: "Его Императорское Величество Их Высочеств подводил к Святым иконам, а по прочтении причастных молитв изволил Их Высочеств привесть к Святому причащению и при подавании Святых Тайн изволил держать пелену" (Журналы камер-фурьерские на 1797 г., с. 18; обыкновенно все члены императорской семьи причащались в один день, но в этом случае, поскольку Павел и его супруга должны были причаститься после коронации и миропомазания, дети причащались отдельно, а именно накануне коронации). Обращает на себя внимание, однако, тот факт, что Павел в данном случае исполняет обязанности простого церковнослужителя (причетника); это разительно контрастирует с теми претензиями, которые появляются у него после возведения на престол.

[44]Очень выразительно в этом смысле и поведение Емельяна Пугачева, где подобные представления выступают как бы в утрированном виде. По воспоминаниям очевидцев, сохранившимся в устном предании, "идя походом из Казани на Пензу, Пугачев взял Алатырь. Прежде всего он велел отрубить голову городничему, а на утро следующего дня согнать народ в собор приносить присягу. Собрался народ, собор переполнен, только посредине дорожка оставлена, царские двери в алтарь отворены. Вошел Пугачев и, не снимая шапки, прошел прямо в алтарь и сел на престол; весь народ как увидел это, так и пал на колени - ясное дело, что истинный царь, тут же все и присягу приняли" (Крылов, 1942, с. 9). Такое поведение было, видимо, типичным для Пугачева; так, по показаниям М.А.Шванвича (Швановича), служившего у самозванца, после взятия Оренбургского форпоста "блиско города Оренбурга, в церкви Георгия Победоносца, Пугачев, при собрании своих разъбойников, садилъся на престол и плакал, говоря притом: «Вод, детушки! уже я не сиживал на престоле двенадцеть лет». Чему многия толпы его поверили, а другия оскорбились и разсуждали так: естлиб и подлинно он был царь, то не пригоже сидеть ему в церкве на престоле" (Пугачевщина, III, № 103, с. 214, ср. № 175, с.330). При всей абсурдности поведения Пугачева (которое явно обусловлено двусмысленностью выражений "царские двери" и "престол"), оно обнаруживает определенное сходство с поведением Павла I. И тот и другой проходит в алтарь царскими дверями для утверждения своей власти, и это в конечном счете обусловлено, по-видимому, обрядом поставления на царство.

[45]Соответственно, при вступлении Павла в Успенский собор он был встречен песнопением: "Бог Господь и явися нам...". См.: Макарий, 1857, с. 99; ср.: Живов и Успенский, 1987, с. 108-109.

[46]Едва ли свидетель коронации Александра мог написать, что тот причащался "наравне со всеми верующими", если он видел, что причащение имело место в алтаре и что монарх причащался по чину священнослужителей.

[47]Мы можем только догадываться о том, что император причащался со лжицы, как это делают миряне, хотя в текстах об этом говорится. Ввиду беспрецедентности рассматриваемого обряда не исключено, вообще говоря, что он причащался непосредственно из чаши, т.е. поглощал все содержимое.

[48]Далматик, как и корона, т.е. специфические элементы императорского облачения, несомненно, ассоциировались Павлом с одеждой священнослужителя: если далматик ассоциировался с архиерейским саккосом, то корона ассоциировалась с митрой. Ср. описание поведения Павла во время литургии 1 января 1798 г.: "Его Императорское Величество ... в продолжение литургии изволил слагать корону неоднократно и обратно надевал" (Журналы камер-фурьерские на 1798 г., с. 6): надо полагать, что Павел снимал с себя корону тогда, когда архиерею надлежит снимать митру. Уместно отметить в этой связи, что в православной церкви митра понимается (с XI в.) как царское украшение, которое даруется епископу потому, что он в служении изображает Царя Христа (см.: Никольский, 1907, с. 65; Барсов, 1896, с. 460).

Любопытно, что старообрядцы впоследствии могут ставить в вину Николаю I, в частности, то обстоятельство, что Николай "при короновании не надел далматика - одежды священной, в которую облачался его родитель" (Титов, 1885-1886, с. 133).

[49]До нас дошло еще одно описание причащения императора в этот же день; приведем его для сравнения: "Его Императорское Величество соблаговолил взойти Царскими вратами в алтарь к престолу и Высочайшею своею Особой соизволил взять сосуд с Пречистыми Тайнами, а причастясь оных, отойдя от оных с Коленопреклонением в алтаре принял от духовника антидор, а Теплоту подал Обер-Шенк Загряжской, Умывальницу подавал Гофмаршал Его Превосходительство Александр Львович Нарышкин; по исполнении всего Его Величество вышел с правой стороны из Северных дверей" (Журналы камер-фурьерские на 1798 г., прилож., с. 45).

[50]Духовником Павла и Марии Федоровны был Исидор Петрович Петров, протопресвитер московского Благовещенского собора (см. о нем: Здравомыслов, 1902). Можно предположить, что он имел какое-то отношение к рассматриваемому ритуалу причащения императора.

Отметим в этой связи, что духовник царствующей особы занимал в это время совершенно исключительное положение в церкви, что в ряде случаев находило особое формальное выражение. Так, 28 декабря 1786 г. Екатерина II пожаловала своему духовнику, о. Иоанну Памфилову, митру - награду, доселе неслыханную в белом духовенстве и возбудившую неудовольствие в среде архиереев (см.: Горчаков, 1902, с. 275; Знаменский, 1904, с. 338; ср.: Платон, 1870, с. 9, 11); это положило начало специфическому для русской церкви явлению митрофорных протоиереев. Духовнику Павла, о. Исидору Петрову, первому было присвоено (19 ноября 1796 г.) звание протопресвитера, и таким образом появляется странное - и, опять-таки, специфическое для русской церкви - противопоставление протопресвитера и протоиерея (см.: Здравомыслов, 1902, с. 682-683). По традиции, восходящей еще к XV в., духовником государя был протоиерей Благовещенского собора (см.: Снегирев, 1842-1845, с. 94; Маясова, 1990, с. 94); эта традиция сохранилась и в императорский период, и таким образом протопресвитер Большого придворного собора в Санкт-Петербурге числился также протопресвитером Благовещенского собора в Москве.

Введение особого звания протопресвитера было столь же беспрецедентным явлением, что и пожалование митрой представителя белого духовенства. В обоих случаях придворный духовник оказывается в исключительном положении, и это свидетельствует о его особой роли в церковной жизни.

[51]В древнейшее время порядок в этом случае был иным: первенствующий по рангу иерарх не сам брал причастие, а получал его от одного из сослуживших ему священнослужителей. См.: Тафт, 1979-1980, с. 118; ср. также: Горский и Невоструев, III/1, № 342, с. 5.

[52]Такого рода причащение также может именоваться причащением "по чину царскому" (см.: Журналы камер-фурьерские на 1798 г., с. 354). Ср. выше, примеч. 31.

[53] Ср. описание причащения Павла на Рождество 1797 г.: "По явлении же тех Даров, Его Императорское Величество благоволил снять с Себя орден и слушать читанную пред причастием духовником Его Величества молитву, после которой, взошед в Царския двери, изволил с Престола Божия принять с причастием чашу и из оной приобщаться Святых Христовых Таин, а по совершении сего, Его Величеству не выходя из Алтаря поднесли хлеб из находившихся в служении духовенства, теплоту вина Обер-шенк Князь Иван Васильевич Несвицкой, рукомойник с водою Обер-маршал Граф Николай Петрович Шереметев, а блюдо от онаго держал Граф Тизенгаузен, полотенце для утирания подавал Гофмаршал Граф Виельгорский, и когда Его Величество все после причастия учинил и из Царских деверей [sic!] вышел на свое место, тогда Ея Императорское Величество, подойдя к Царским дверям, изволила у оных приобщаться Святых Христовых Таин, которыя и подавал духовник Их Императорских Величеств, а хлеб и теплоту вина, воду и полотенце принимать изволила от тех же самых персон, которые подавали и Его Величеству" (Журналы камер-фурьерские на 1797 г., с. 1404-1405). Вместе с тем, 14 августа 1798 г. Павел, как мы видели, выходит из алтаря северными дверями (см. примеч. 49). Во всех остальных описаниях, имеющихся в нашем распоряжении, нет указания на то, каким образом происходит выход из алтаря.

[54] *Ср. описание причащения* Павла 9 *февраля* 1801 г.: "А по вынесении из алтаря Святых Христовых Таин, сошед все с стоявшаго Высочайшими Их Особами места, изволили за Духовником произносить причастную молитву, после которой Его Императорское Величество, быв в мундире, но без долматика и не входя в алтарь, а в самых онаго Царских дверях изволил от Духовника Своего приобщаться Святых Христовых Таин ..." (Журналы камер-фурьерские на 1801 г., с. 132).

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СОКРАЩЕНИЯ

Наименования учреждений

БАН - Библиотека Академии Наук (Санкт-Петербург). Отдел рукописей.

ГИМ - Государственный исторический музей (Москва)

РНБ - Российская национальная библиотека (бывшая Государственная публичная библиотека им. М.Е. Салтыкова-Щедрина) (Санкт-Петербург).). Отдел рукописей.

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Сб. ОРЯС - *Сборник Отделения русского языка и словесности Академии наук* (Санкт-Петербург/Ленинград).

ТОДРЛ - *Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы Института русской литературы АН СССР (Пушкинского дома)* (Ленинград/Санкт-Петербург).

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Russian and Tatar Genealogical Sources on the Origin of the Iusupov Family

ISTVÁN VÁSÁRY

Whether considered an "auxiliary" (*vspomogatel'nyi* in Russian) or "main" field of historical research, genealogy has always been an important branch and integral part of any scrutiny of the past. A period of some fifty years prior to 1917 was the golden age of Russian genealogical research, but in the Soviet period genealogy became the step-son of history. Anything connected with the aristocracy and gentry of old Russia was regarded as suspicious. It was only a few scholars who dared and could devote their efforts to Russian genealogy; suffice it to mention at this juncture the activities of S. B. Veselovskii (1876–1952) and A. A. Zimin (1920–1980).[1] From the 1970s onwards genealogy again gained citizenship in Russian-Soviet research,[2] and two years after the dissolution of the Soviet Union the first ever genealogical journal since the revolution of 1917 launched its series.[3] Among American scholars of Russian history, genealogy was extensively used by Nancy Shields Kollmann.[4] As a Turcologist also having a keen interest in Russian history and Tatar-Russian contacts, I found my way in no time to Professor Keenan, who himself has always encouraged me to pursue the charming field of *Turco-Russica* or properly speaking *Tataro-Russica*. It is to his honor that I dedicate this study on the Tatar background of the famous princely family of the Iusupovs.

The Iusupov family, together with the kindred Urusov family, took its descendance from the Nogay princes Yûsuf and his brother Ismail's son Urus, well-known actors on the Tatar-Russian historical scene in the mid–sixteeenth century.[5] By the imperial decree of 19 January 1799, the clan of the Iusupov

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[1] Cf. especially S. B. Veselovskii, *Issledovaniia po istorii klassa sluzhilykh zemlevladel'tsev* (Moscow, 1969) and A. A. Zimin, *Formirovanie boiarskoi aristokratii v Rossii vo vtoroi polovine XV–pervoi treti XVI v.* (Moscow, 1988), both of them posthumous works of their respective authors.

[2] Bychkova's textological research of the genealogical books is of special interest: M. E. Bychkova, *Rodoslovnye knigi XVI–XVII vv. kak istoricheskii istochnik* (Moscow, 1975); M. E. Bychkova, *Sostav klassa feodalov Rossii v XVI v. Istoriko-genealogicheskoe issledovanie* (Moscow, 1986).

[3] *Istoricheskaia genealogiia/Historical Genealogy*. A quarterly scientific journal, Number 1 (Ekaterinburg, 1993), editor-in-chief S. V. Konev.

[4] Nancy Shields Kollmann, *Kinship and Politics: The Making of the Muscvite Political System 1345–1547* (Stanford, 1987).

[5] For a general survey on the Nogays, see I. Vásáry, "Noghay," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. E. J. Brill. vol. 7 (Leiden, 1993): 85–86. For the genealogical literature on the

princes was registered as a Russian princely clan (*rossiisko-kniazheskii rod*), the highest layer of the Russian aristocracy, in the third section of the *Obshchii gerbovnik*. The Urusov princes were given the same status on 23 June 1801.[6] By the end of the nineteenth century the Iusupov clan died out on the filial line, while the line of the Urusovy is still alive.[7]

The first official Russian genealogical book, the *Gosudarev rodoslovets* "the Sovereign's Genealogical Book" (hereafter: *Gos. rod.*), compiled in 1555,[8] and its supplemented and rewritten version from 1687, the so-called *Barkhatnaia kniga* "Velvet Book" (hereafter: *BK*) published by N. I. Novikov a century later,[9] did not contain the genealogy of the Iusupovs and Urusovs since during the time of the book's compilation in the mid-sixteenth century Yûsuf and the other Nogay princes, though bound through many ties to the Russians, were not yet in direct Russian submission. Consequently, they could not be registered as an organic part of the Russian princely stratum. But interestingly enough, besides the Riurikovich and Gedyminovich princes, the most elegant and upper layer of the Russian aristocracy, the clans of the Astrakhan', Crimean, and Kazan' sovereigns were also registered. After the capture of Kazan' and prior to the siege of Astrakhan', the *Gos. rod.* described the different Tatar ruling elites at the first stage of a century-long transitional period that gradually resulted in their incorporation into the Russian elite. The Nogay princes were also planned to be included in the *Gos. rod.*; in the list of contents of the original copy of the *BK* it is written: "Rod Magnitskikh

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Iusupovy and Urusovy, see L. M. Savelev, *Bibliograficheskii ukazatel' po istorii, geral'dike i rodosloviiu Rossiiskogo dvorianstva*. 2nd ed. (Ostrogozhsk, 1897). 261, 241. On Yûsuf's and Ismail's roles in the Russian-Tatar interactions, see B.-A. B. Kochekaev, *Nogaisko-russkie otnosheniia v XVI–XVIII vv.* (Alma-Ata, 1988), 73–97; M. G. Safargaliev, "Nogaiskaia Orda vo vtoroi polovine XVI veka," *Sbornik nauchnykh trudov Mordovskogo pedinstituta im. A. I. Polezhaeva* (Saransk, 1949), 32–56.

[6] *Obshchii gerbovnik dvorianskikh rodov Vserossiiskiia Imperii nachatyi v 1797-m godu* [hereafter: *OG*], pt. 3 (1799): 2; part 6 (1801): 1; *Spiski titulovannym rodam i litsam Rossiiskoi Imperii*, Izdanie Departamenta gerol'dii Pravitel'stvuiushchogo Senata (St. Petersburg, 1892), 109, 86–87.

[7] It was Count Feliks Feliksovich Sumarokov-El'ston who in 1885 was authorized to adopt the name and title of his great-grandfather Prince Nikolai Borisovich Iusupov. N. P. Komaroff-Kourloff, *Titres nobiliaires 862–1917* (Paris, 1985), 257. For the Urusovy, see J. Ferrand, *Les familles princières de l'ancien Empire de Russie (en émigration en 1978)* 1 (Montreuil, 1979): 233–37; 3 (Montreuil, 1982): 70–72.

[8] It was N. P. Likhachev, *Razriadnye d'iaki XVI veka* (St. Petersburg, 1888), 405–415, who pointed out in a fine analysis that the version of the *Gos. rod.* compiled by the *d'iak* Ivan Elizarov must have come about after the conquest of Kazan' (1551) and before the capture of Astrakhan' (1556). The fact that the official genealogical book was compiled in the heyday of Tatar campaigns deserves special attention and study.

[9] *Rodoslovnaia kniga kniazei i dvorian rossiiskikh i vyezzhikh ..., i kotoraia izvestna pod nazvaniem Barkhatnoi knigii*, pts. 1–2 (Moscow, 1787).

kniazei Nagaiskikh. Ne pisan."[10] Their omission must have been quite accidental, for according to Likhachev's view no authentic clan register was at hand during the time of the compilation.[11] Yet a very nice compilation of the genealogy of the Nogay princes has been preserved in a private genealogical book compiled at the beginning of the seventeenth century, probably during the reign of Tsar Vasilii Shuiskii.[12] It begins like this: "Mangit sil'nyi Edigei Kniaz' Nagaiskoi," so the evident forefather of the clan of the Iusupovy, as in all other contemporary and later sources, was the famous Tatar warlord of the Mangit tribe called Edige or Edigü (1356–1419).[13] Yûsuf is the fifth generation after Edige, in the following way: I. Edige (?) —> II. Nûraddîn (1)—> III. Oqas (1)—> IV. Mûsâ (1)—> V. Yûsuf (5). Nûraddîn, Oqas, and Mûsâ are all first-born sons of their fathers, while Yûsuf, the progenitor (*rodonachal'nik*) of the Iusupovy was the fifth son of Mûsâ (the Arabic numbers in parentheses following the names indicate the cardinal number in male births from the same father).

Naturally enough, not all the noble families were included in the *Gos. rod.*, so immediately on the very same day of abolishing the "precedence" system (*mestnichestvo*) on 12 January 1682, Tsar Fedor Alekseevich ordered to complement the official genealogical book and to submit new genealogical registers (*rospisi*) to the *Razriad.* Even the persons to fulfill this task were appointed at the same date, and further personnel changes were substantiated on 26 January 1686 and 1 September of the same year. The new *Palata Rodoslovnykh Del* set to work, but actually only the first task, namely the complementation of the old *Gos. rod.*, was accomplished, the result of which was the famous *Barkhatnaia kniga*. The second task, namely the compilation of the genealogical registers of those families that were not included in the

[10] V. V. Rummel', "Neskol'ko slov o «Barkhatnoi Knige» i o pechatnom eia izdanii," *Izvestiia Russkogo genealogicheskogo obshchestva* 1 (1900): 68.

[11] N. Likhachev, "Gosudarev rodoslovets i Barkhatnaia kniga," *Izvestiia Russkogo genealogicheskogo obshchestva* 1 (1900): 56–57.

[12] It belongs to the "redaction of the beginning of the seventeenth century" type of the genealogical books, designated as *Sinodal'nyi II* and is now preserved in Moscow, in the Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Muzei, Sinodal'noe sobranie, No. 860 (Bychkova, *Rodoslovnye knigi*, 111). For its edition see *Vremennik Imperatorskogo Moskovskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh* 10 (1851): 1–130. The rather detailed genealogy of the Turkish and different Chingisid ruling houses in the above synodic copy deserves special attention. The call of the one-time publisher ("Zhelatel'no by bylo, chtoby orientalisty obratili vnimanie na sei rodslovets i poverili ego s svoimi istochnikami," *Vremennik* 10 [1851]: IV) has remained a *pium desideratum* for more than 140 years; in the near future I will try to do this job.

[13] On his personality, see Sh. F. Mukhamed'iarov, "Edigei," *Sovetskaia istoricheskaia èntsiklopediia* 5: 474; M. G. Safargaliev, *Raspad Zolotoi Ordy* (Saransk, 1960), 176 ff., 226 ff.

Gos. rod. into a new genealogical book, has never been accomplished.[14] The exact number of *rospisi* submitted to the *Razriad* at the end of the seventeenth century cannot be established. Most probably there were 600 to 750 family registers by the end of the seventeenth century. But there were even more *rospisi* compiled in the seventeenth century that have never reached the *Razriad*, and they were hiding in rough or fair copies in different family archives of the descendants. For example, the genealogical registers of the Rtishchev family were deposited in N. N. Kashkin's archives in Nizhne-Priskovsk.[15] N. Novikov, in the second volume of his edition of the *Barkhatnaia kniga* in 1787, compiled and edited a list of those families whose genealogical registers were given in the *Razriad* at the end of the seventeenth century. Later, Novikov's list gained a special importance, since most of these documents were demolished during the war of 1812. At present, registers of only 161 families have been preserved from the former *Palata Rodoslovnykh Del* in 163 units of preservation in the Rossiiskii (former: Tsentral'nyi) gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov (hereafter: RGADA): fond 210 (Razriadnyi prikaz), opis' 18, 163 ed. khr. It is certain that the family documents of the Iusupov clan and four related families (Urusovy, Sheidiakovy, Baiterekovy, and Kutumovy) having their origins also from different branches of the same tree of the Nogay princes (all of them being Edigü's offsprings) were lost in 1812, but Novikov testifies to their presence in the *Razriad* prior to that period: "Iusupovy Kniaz'ia. Proizoshli ot Kniazei Nagaiskikh. Nazvanie priniali iz roda ikh, nazyvavshegosia Iusup. Rodoslovnaia ikh pod No 500. V toi zhe rospisi napisany: Baiterekovy, Kutumovy, Urusovy, Sheidiakovy."[16]

Despite the loss of many original family documents given to the *Razriad* in the seventeenth century, several of them have been preserved in eighteenth-

[14] For the history of these events, see A. Iushkov, *Akty XIII–XVII vv. predstavlennye v Razriadnyi Prikaz predstaviteliami sluzhilykh familii posle otmeny mestnichestva*, pt. 1: *1257–1613 gg.* (Moscow, 1898), 3–15; Rummel', "Neskol'ko slov," 63–66; M. E. Bychkova, "Iz istorii sozdaniia rodoslovnykh rospisei kontsa XVII v. i Barkhatnoi Knigi," *Vspomogatel'nye istoricheskie distsipliny* 12 (Leningrad, 1981): 90–109.

[15] N. V. Miatlev, *Izvestiia Russkogo genealogicheskogo obshchestva* 4 (1911): 518. According to M. Bychkova's kind information the above material can currently be found in St. Petersburg, in the Institut istorii Rossii: *arkhiv Rtishchevykh* (chernoviki rodoslovii XVII v.), in the *fond Kashkina*.

[16] *Rodoslovnaia kniga*, ed. N. Novikov, vol. 2: 407. For the Urusovy, Sheidiakovy, and Baiterekovy, see ibid., 392, 402–403, 283, all of them under no. 500 together with the Iusupovy. The Kutumovy (ibid., 335) had a separate genealogy under no. 75. For the bibliography of these, by now extinct, families of Nogay princely descent, see L. M. Savelev, *Bibliograficheskii ukazatel'*, 241, 253, 64, 157, although there is not much written on them. Their genealogies must be compiled drawing on original archival material, mainly the Nogay fond (fond 127) of the RGADA.

century copies made in the *Gerol'dmeisterskaia kontora*, successor to the *Razriad* and founded in 1722 (called simply *Gerol'diia* from the 1760s onwards),[17] and in different family archives. Fortunately enough, two genealogical registers of the Iusupov family have been preserved in their family archives (now in RGADA) and edited by N. Iusupov in 1867.[18] The first one is a scroll (*stolbets*) compiled by a certain Tatar Kul'sheev Abdul on 12 December 1654 (7162). The other one is a generation register (*pokolennaia rospis'*) to be given in the *Razriad* by Prince Ivan Dmitrievich Iusupov on 19 May 1686 (7194).[19] Probably it is the rough copy of the one that was later submitted to the *Razriad* and lost in 1812. Below I will give the complete text of the *stolbets*, then the first part of the *rospis'* extending to Mûsâ, Yûsuf's father:

STOLBETS OF 1654

Родство Абубеккирево что был пос‹ле Магом›ета пророка как оной представился и на его ‹месте› надо всеми мюсюльманны владел и ведал весь мюсюльманской род.

А у Абубеккиря было четыре сына. По двемя большими сыны сын был зовом Магаметем, тот же был Магамет в Дамаске царем. А Магаметев сын солтан Кегап в Домаске был царем же. А от Кегапа родися сын солтан Гирмез и был царем в Египте. А от него родися сын солтан Халеб и был царем в Сарсарех. А от него родися сын солтан Залид и был царем в Сарсарех. А от него родися сын солтан Кыяые и был царем в Сарсарех же, а от него родися сын солтан Кулед и был царем в Сарсарех же. А от него родися сын солтан Абулгазы и был царем в Антиохее. А от него родися сын солтан Селим и был царем во Антиохее же. А от него родися сын солтан Сыддык и был царем в Антиохие же. А от него родися сын солтан Абдюлхак и был царем в Медоине. А от него родися сын солтан Усманор и был царем в Медоине жь. А от него родися сын солтан Джаляляддин и был царем в Констянтине граде. А от него родились два сына: первой сын Адгем а другой сын Бабатюкляс был. А Бабатюкляс был в Кегае царем а Мекка тоже. А Бабатюклесов сын Термес родися межу Волги и Яику. А от него родися сын межу Яика и Волги

[17] See especially fond 286, opis' 1, ed. khr. 241: *Vypiski iz rodoslovnoi knigi*, 1196 listov; ibid., ed. khr. 241a: *Delo o prisylke svedenii o rodoslovnykh*, 1741–1747, 185 listov; fond 199 (Portfeli G. F. Millera), opis' 1, 1–1475 ed. khr.; and the excellent manuscript guide to the genealogies of the RGADA compiled in the past century by A. Zertsalov: *Ukazatel' rodoslovnykh dvorianskikh rodov sostavlennyi A. N. Zertsalovym* (No. 375).

[18] *O rode kniazei Iusupovykh. Sobranie zhizneopisanii ikh, gramot i pisem k nim rossiiskikh gosudarei, ...* pt. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1867): 3–5, 343–47.

[19] This *rospis'* was given by him in the name of nineteen members of the Iusupov clan some of whom also signed the *rospis'*, see *O rode kniazei Iusupovykh* 2 (St. Petersburg, 1867): 343.

Карапчи. А от Карапчия родися сын Исламкая межу Яика и Волги. А от Исламкая родися сын Кадылкая межу Яику и Волги. А от Кыдылкая родися сын Кутлукая, взял взятьем Кумкент и учинися в Кумкеньте государем, а от него Кутлукая родися сын Эдиги Князь, и взял Эдиги бек взятьем у Джанбека царя юрт и учинися на его месте Государем.

А у Эдигия Князя родися сын Нурадын Мурза. А от Нурадына Мурзы родися сын Окас Князь. А у Окаса Князя родися сын Муса Князь. А у Мусы Князя родися сын Юсуф Князь, а у Юсуфа Князя родися сын Иль Мурза.

А у Бабатюклеся были четыре сына: первой сын был в Каг(б)е царем а другой сын похоронен подле Кагбе. Третий сын в Юргенче погребен. Четвертой сын в Крыму погребен. А у Кагбинского царя у Бабатюклеся было три сына: первой Аббасом зовом, по правой стороне Каабы погребен, а другой сын Абдурахман Хозя погребен в Кагьбе же. А третей сын Термя, что был межу Яику и Волги.

ROSPIS' of 1686

Родство Абабук Киреева. Владел и ведал весь мюсюльманский род после Магомета.

А у Бабекира сын Магомет был в Дамаске царем. А Магометов сын Султан Кегаб в Дамаске ж был царем. А Кегапов сын Султан Гирмис был в Египте Царем. Гермесов сын Султан Халид был в Сарсаре Царем. А Халидимов сын Султан Кулюд был в Сарсаре Царем. А у Кулюда сын Султан Абулгази был в Антиохии Царем. А и Абулгази сын Селим был в Антиохии Царем. А у Селима сын Султан Сыддык был в Антиохии Царем. А и Сыддыка сын Султан Абдельхак был в Медоиме Царем. А у Абдельхака сын Султан Осман был в Медоиме ж Царем. А у Османа сын Султан Ждаляледдин [recte: Джаляледдин] был в Константине граде Царем. А у Джаляледина два сына: первый Адгем, второй Бибатюкляс был в Кехбе Царем, а Мекка тож. А у Бабатюкляса три сына: первый Аббасом зовут, второй Абдурахман, третий Термя был меж Волги и Яика. А у Термя сын Карапчи. А у Карапчая сын Сламкай. А у Сламкая сын Каддыркай. А у Каддыркая сын Кадлукай, и взял Кадлукай взятьем Кункент, и учинися в Кункенте Государем. А у Кадлукая сын Иддигей Князь, и Иддигей Князь взял у Джанибека Царя юрт, и учинися на его месте Государем.

А у Идигия Князя сын Народык-Мурза. А у Народык-Мурзы сын Акас Князь. А у Акаса-Князя сын Муса Князь. ...

It is quite evident that the "Stolbets of 1654" is a more original and reliable source, while the "Rospis' of 1686" has more corruptions in rendering the proper names, the most disturbing being the transformation of the Arabic name "Abubekir" into "Ababuk Kirei" thereby making the faint impression as if the Iusupovy had connections with the Crimean Tatar dynasty of the Gireys which, of course, is nonsense. Both genealogies go back to the Tatar family traditions of the Iusupovy and they can be found also in Tatar historical sources. No researcher of Russian history has hitherto noticed that the Tatar

historiographer Qâdir 'Alî-bek Calâyirî, who wrote his work in Kasimov in 1602,[20] has a passage on Edige's descent, which, by and large, is the prototype of the Russian genealogy of the Iusupovs.[21] In his *Câmi'u't-tavârîh*, after the *Dâstân-i Ḥâccı Girey ẖân* and before the *Dâstân-i Uraz Muḥammad ẖân ibn Undan* there is a short fragmentary passage without any heading, evidently recounting Edige's genealogy.[22] It reads as follows:

... **atlığ irdi. Bu Terme İdil Cayıqda ḥâṣil boldı. Anıñ oğlı Qarıçı, ol ham İdil Cayıqda ḥâṣıl boldı. Anıñ oğlı İslâm-Qaya, ol ham İdil Cayıqda ḥâṣil boldı. Anıñ oğlı Qâdir-Qaya, ol ham İdil Cayıqda ḥâṣil boldı. Anıñ oğlı Qutlu-Qaya, ol ham Qumkentde ḥâṣil boldı. Anıñ oğlı İdige biy**, raḥmatu'llâhi 'alayhim acma'în. Qutlu-Qayanı Urus-ẖân şahîd qılıbdur. **Ama Baba-Tüklesniñ tört oğlı bar irdi: biri Ka'bada pâdşâh boldı, biri Ka'banıñ yanında yatur va biri Ürgençde yatur, biri Qırımda** Üç-Ötlükde. Bir rivâyat bilen **Baba-Tüklesniñ ma'lûm üç oğlı bar irdi: biriniñ atı 'Abbâs, Ka'banıñ oñ yanında, biriniñ atı 'Abdu'l-raḥman ẖoca turur, ol dağı Ka'bada yatur, va biriniñ atı Terme turur, ol İdil Cayıqda ḥâṣıl boldı.** Payğampar [sic!] (ṣallâ'llâhu 'alayhi va sallama)nıñ qabrlarıdın Sayyid-Naqıbqa avaz biribdür, ikinçi 'âlim Murtażâ-Sayyid, üçünçisi 'azîz karâmat‹lı› Baba-Tükles-ata turur. Özbik-ẖân musluman bolğanda Özek-çoranı Ka'ba-yi şarîfga yiberibdür. Anda bu üç irni alıb kilib musluman bolubdur. Ama İdige-bik Toqtamiş-ẖânnıñ ulusın avval bildi, anıñ hikâyatları öz ‹d›âstânıda her yerde şarḥga tilese kilür. Bi-mavżi' (162) İdil boyunda ötti. Tâ anıñ uruğı tâ ğâyatqa digeç munşa'ib uruğ bolub öttiler. Tâ akṣar bu zaman üküşrek andın paydâ boldı. Ama İdige-bik altmış üç yaşında vafât tabdı, Qâdir-Birdi-ẖânnıñ uruşında zaḥm ...

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[20] On Qâdir 'Alî-bek and his work, see M. A. Usmanov, *Tatarskie istoricheskie istochniki XVII–XVIII vv.* (Kazan', 1972), 33–96.

[21] Half a year after I had finished and sent my article to the publishers in June 1994, an excellent book came out from Devin DeWeese's pen entitled *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde. Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition* (University Park, PA, 1994). In addition to delving into all aspects of the Baba-Tükles story, he also treated the Yusupovs' Nogay genealogy (396–407). Though there are slight differences in our treatment of the subject it is definitely reassurring that two scholars, independently of each other, have arrived at approximately the same conclusions. In every aspect of the Baba-Tükles legend, I may refer the reader to DeWeese's monograph but I did not deem it necessary to rewrite my article since our approaches are different. His work, as its subtitle indicates, tries to place the theme in the broader context of the "Conversion to Islam" story in the Golden Horde in historical and oral tradition, whereas my contribution aims at elucidating the process how a Tatar genealogical tradition could be incorporated in the genealogy of a Russian aristocratic clan of Nogay origin. (My only remark here is that the Russian Ishboldin family's alleged descent from Edige's great grandson Alchaghyr is rather dubious and needs further proofs. But this question is of secondary importance and without relevance to our theme.)

[22] I. N. Berezin, *Sbornik letopisei. Istoriia mongolo-tiurkov, na tatarskom iazyke* (Kazan', 1851), as vol. 2.1 of *Bibilioteka vostochnykh istorikov.* Edige's genealogy on pp. 161–62.

... was his name. This Terme appeared in the Volga and Ural [region]. His son Qarıçı appeared also in the Volga and Ural [region]. His son İslâm-Qaya appeared also in the Volga and Ural [region]. His son Qâdir-Qaya appeared also in the Volga and Ural [region]. His son Qutlu-Qaya appeared also in Qumkent. His son [was] İdige-biy, the mercy of Allah be with him. Urus Khan made Qutlu-Qaya a martyr [i.e., killed him]. But Baba-Tükles had four sons: the first has become sovereign in Ka'ba, the other one lies [i.e., buried] at one side of the Ka'ba, the third one lies in Ürgenç, the fourth one in the Crimea in Üç-Ötlük. According to hearsay, Baba-Tükles is known to have had three sons: the name of the first is 'Abbâs, he lies at the right side of the Ka'ba, the name of the other is 'Abdu'rraḥman-ḫoca, he lies also in the Ka'ba, and the name of the third is Terme, he appeared in the Volga and Ural [region]. From his tomb the Prophet (may Allah protect and save him) [first] gave voice to Sayyid-Naqıb, secondly to the scholar Murtazâ-Sayyid, thirdly to the holy wonder-worker father Baba-Tükles. When Özbek Khan became a Muslim, he sent Özek-çora to the Holy Ka'ba. There he took these three men [with him] and became a Muslim. But formerly İdige-bik knew [i.e., was in command of] the appanage (*ulus*) of Toqtamış Khan, and his stories are expounded throughout his own *dâstân*. He passed away in the Volga region. His offspring was extremely ramified, then passed away. Nowadays even more of them have appeared. But İdige-bik died at the age of sixty-three. In a battle with Qâdir-Birdi Khan [he was] wounded ...

The parts of the Turkic text that have their direct translation in the "Stolbets of 1654" are set in boldface. They clearly indicate that more or less the same Tatar genealogy lies at the basis of both Qâdir 'Alî-bek's and the Russian version. The initial and final part of the *Câmi'u't-tavârîḫ* are missing in the MS published by Berezin, but there is a complete, yet unpublished variant in Kazan',[23] which probably contains the same data as those in the Russian texts.

Drawing on the evidence of the above Tatar and Russian genealogical sources, *three* phases can be established in the history of the Iusupov family. Proceeding in retrograde order, the first phase extends from Yûsuf, forefather and founder of the Russian family, to Edige, founder of the Nogay Horde (five generations). The second phase comprises Edige's direct ancestry to Baba-Tükles (six generations), while the third phase is represented by Baba-Tükles's ancestors to Abû Bakr, who lived in Prophet Muḥammad's time (fifteen generations).

The first phase yields no problem. Yûsuf's descent from Edige is amply documented also from other sources.[24] Yûsuf's father Mûsâ, who was among the first Nogay princes to send envoys to the Russian grand prince Ivan III in

[23] For the MSS of the *Câmi'u't-tavârîḫ*, see Usmanov, *Tatarskie istochniki*, 35–38.
[24] Cf. note 12 above and Kochekaev, *Nogaisko-russkie otnosheniia*, 48 ff.

November 1489, plainly refers to his ancestor as "ded moi Edigei kniaz'."[25] Mûsâ's father and Edige's grandson, Oqas (or Vaqqâs in some Muslim sources), played an instrumental role in forging an alliance of his Nogay Horde with the "nomadic" Uzbeks of the Shibanid Abû'l-hayr khan and was one of the major actors in the political events in 1430–1450.[26] The final consolidation of the Nogay Horde (or the Mangit Yurt, as it was called in the Muslim sources) as a separate political unit probably took place under Oqas' rule.[27] Oqas, like all his descendants and successors (Mûsâ, Yûsuf, and others), bore the title *biy* (Arabic *amîr*, Russian *kniaz'*), which meant he was the nominal head of the loose confederation of Nogay *murzas*. Oqas's father and Edige's son, Nûraddîn, took the first steps in this direction, but, according to Nogay genealogies, he did not acquire the rank of *biy*, for he was only a *murza*.[28]

The historicity of the second phase is a bit problematic. Though most historical sources call Edige's father Qutlu-Qaya, according to the Persian historiographer Mu'înu'd-dîn Naṭanzî, Edige's father was Baltıçaq.[29] At any rate, Edige's descent from the Turco-Mongolian Mangit tribe can be taken for granted,[30] despite the uncertainties concerning his father's person and the fact that his ascending line cannot be corroborated from other sources. So his lineage from Qutlu-qaya to Terme, even if not proved exactly from elsewhere, seems possible and acceptable. Taking twenty-five to thirty years for a generation, Terme (if he was a real ancestor of Edige) must have been born some time between 1210 and 1230.

The third phase of the genealogy, including Baba-Tükles's person and his lineage from Abû Bakr, is more than problematic: it is merely a falsification. Edige was evidently a Tatar warlord of the Mangit tribe, and his family's descent from Muslim Arabic background can by all means be excluded. Moreover, it must have also appeared rather queer to the contemporary Tatar world. The question automatically emerges: in whose favor and on what

[25] *Posol'skaia kniga po sviaziam Rossii s Nogaiskoi ordoi 1489–1508 gg.*, ed. by M. P. Lukichev and N. M. Rogozhin (Moscow, 1984), 28.

[26] B. A. Akhmedov, *Gosudarstvo kochevykh uzbekov* (Moscow, 1965), 45–46, 63–64, 93.

[27] See Safargaliev, *Raspad*, 229.

[28] *Vremennik Imperatorskogo Moskovskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh* 10 (1851): 30.

[29] For a good survey of the historical sources concerning Edige's father, see V. V. Bartol'd, "Otets Edigeia," in *Sochineniia* 2.1: 797–804. For Natanzî on Edige's descent, see V. G. Tizengauzen, *Sbornik materialov, otnosiashchikhsia k istorii Zolotoi Ordy,* vol. 2 (Moscow–Leningrad, 1941), 133, 237–38. For Qutlu-Qaya's resident town Qumkent, which lay near Vazîr in Khwarezm, see DeWeese, *Islamisation*, 390, 485.

[30] See DeWeese, *Islamisation*, 344.

ground was this pious Muslim genealogy fabricated? Edige was an all-powerful warlord of the Golden Horde, like Nogay or Mamay in the Horde or Timur Lenk in the fourteenth century in Central Asia. The phenomenon of strong warlords who often were the actual rulers of a confederation or empire can frequently be observed in the Turco-Mongol world, especially in the Chingisid era. But these warlords and commanders-in-chief could never ascend to the kaghan's throne, since the universal claim to and belief in the divine right of Chingis's descendants to rule made it impossible for any pretender to usurp the khan's power. The best known example is Timur Lenk, who never assumed the title of the khan but had to be content with that of the *gürkân.* Here lies the clue to Edige's "Muslim" genealogy. He had to "legalize" his *de facto* power by *de iure* evidence. Since he could not pretend to be a Chingisid, his other choice was to draw back his family lineage to equally "elegant" Muslim predecessors. In addition, a false claim to be a Chingisid could have been detected with ease in the Turco-Mongolian world of the Golden Horde, while the descent from remote Muslim sovereigns of the Middle East was less controllable.[31] On the other hand, Edige's derivation from Muslim rulers of the Middle East is a sound proof for the fact that, by the 1400s, Islam had taken such a firm ground in the Golden Horde that a high-ranking "Islamic" genealogy (descent from the Prophet's time) could serve almost as an equivalent to a Chingisid extraction. But I stress the word *almost* since nothing could substitute for a real Chingisid descent.

Edige's genealogy from a saintly Muslim clan must have come about on Tatar soil some time after Edige's lifetime (later I will return to the possible date of this legend of descent), and it has become firmly rooted in Tatar folklore. The Nogay epic concerning Edige and its Kazak, Karakalpak, Crimean, and Siberian Tatar versions all know that Edige's forefather was Baba-Tükles.[32] Baba-Tükles, or in some Turkic versions Baba-Tükdi, is a key figure in Edige's genealogy.[33] He was a half-legendary Muslim saint. Qâdir 'Alî-bek calls him "the holy wonder-worker father Baba-Tükles" (*'azîz karâmat<lı> Baba-Tükles-ata*) (see above). In the Kazak epic he is "the saint (*'azîz*) Baba-Tükdi-Çaçdı."[34] According to Melioranskii's research,[35] the figure

[31] This thought was first put forward by Usmanov, *Tatarskie istochniki*, 83.

[32] For the Turkic epic on Edige, see V. M. Zhirmunskii, *Tiurkskii geroicheskii èpos* (Leningrad, 1974), 198–99, 221–31. On different versions and editions of this folk epic, see P. M. Melioranskii, *Skazanie ob Edigee i Toktamyshe* (St. Petersburg, 1905), 17–18.

[33] On Baba-Tükles see DeWeese, *Islamization*, passim, esp. 67 ff., 321 ff.

[34] Melioranskii, *Skazanie*, 2 (the Kazak text). For more on Baba-Tükles, see Utemish-khadzhi, *Chingiz-name*, facsimile, translation, and transcription by V. P. Iudin, ed. by Iu. G. Baranov, commentary by M. Kh. Abuseitova (Alma-Ata, 1992), 156 n. 71.

[35] Melioranskii, *Skazanie*, 10.

of the legendary wonder-worker Baba-Tükles is partly based on and partly mixed with the historical figure of H̱oca Aḥmad Yasawî, the best-known Turkic saint of Turkestan in the twelfth century.[36] In the Nogay version of the epic, Edige's son Nûr 'Âdîl (*recte*: Nûraddîn) calls himself the "son of the Turkestan wonder-worker saint H̱oja Aḥmed Baba-Tükli-Şaşlı Barẖâ'î" (*karâmatlı Turkestanda Qocı Ahmad Baba-Tükli-Şaşlı 'azîz Barẖâ'î*), and in a Crimean Tatar version collected by W. Radloff, Nûraddîn also calls his forefather *Şaşlı-Tüklü Qoca Amet.*[37] Consequently, in Turkic folklore Edige's pious Muslim forefather may have been identified with Aḥmad Yasawî, the famous and popular mystic of Central Asia venerated by all peoples of the region, whose mausoleum in Yası (now: Turkestan) was erected just in Timur's (and Edige's) time and to the *gürkân*'s order. But DeWeese has a different opinion and asserts that the semilegendary Baba-Tükles was formed from another famous saint and namesake of the founder of the Yasawî order, Sayyid Aḥmad, known as Sayyid Ata, who was a contemporary of Özbek Khan.[38] His assumption is reasonable since it places the conversion to Islam into the real historical setting of Özbek Khan's reign and court when and where the first Baba-Tükles story recorded by Ötemiş Ḥaccı takes place. On the other hand, it creates an additional difficulty: how to explain away the chronological confusion in Edige's genealogy caused by placing Baba-Tükles in Uzbek's time, namely, the six generations between Edige and Baba-Tükles would be too much for such a short time-span. Obviously enough it was a rather thorny task for the compiler(s) of Edige's genealogy to explain how Baba-Tükles, who allegedly was a ruler in Ka'ba and Mekka, got to the Ural-Volga region. The appearance of Baba-Tükles in that region is connected with Özbek Khan's conversion to Islam. Özbek Khan sent his man Özek-çora (unknown from other sources) to the the Holy Ka'ba to call three pious men to his country: Sayyid-Naqıb, Murtazâ-Sayyid (two persons unknown from other sources) and Baba-Tükles-ata. (The third one's Turkic name clearly displays his origin in Central Asia and/or the Ural-Volga region and his total disconnection with the Arabic world of Mekka.) The connection of Edige's genealogy with Baba-Tükles, who converted Özbek Khan to Islam, led to a total chronological confusion. Özbek Khan ascended the throne in 1312; consequently, Baba-Tükles must have lived around that time. But in Edige's

[36] M. F. Köprülü, "Ahmed Yesevî," *İslam Ansiklopedisi,* 2: 210–15; K. Eraslan, "Ahmed Yesevî," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi,* 2: 159–61.

[37] G. Osmanov, *Nogaisko-kumytskaia khrestomatiia* (St. Petersburg, 1883), 43, 9. The word *Barẖâ'î* cannot be interpreted. W. Radloff, *Proben der Volkslitteratur der Türkvölker*, vol. 7 (St. Petersburg, 1896): 161–62. For Baba-Tükles's figure in the Turkic folklore, see DeWeese, *Islamisation*, 409–483.

[38] DeWeese, *Islamization*, 483–90.

genealogy Baba-Tükles is Edige's forefather in the sixth generation, so he had to be born some time between 1176 and 1201 (taking twenty-five to thirty years for one generation counting back from 1356, the time of Edige's birth). The latter date fits Aḥmad Yasawî well, but is absolutely wrong if Baba-Tükles was Özbek Khan's contemporary. Be that as it may, most probably we have to reckon with a contamination of the figures of the two famous Aḥmads, Yasawî and Sayyid Ata. Now, whether Baba-Tükles was a really existing Muslim saint or just a folklore figure whose identity melted with that of Aḥmad Yasawî and/or Sayyid Ata cannot be ascertained. In any event, forms of his name like *Tükli-Çaçlı* and the like (their meaning being "hairy") clearly indicate their folk etymological origin.[39] The above contradictions underline the special difficulties in interpreting the historicity of Baba-Tükles who has, after all, become the mythic Muslim forefather of Edige's clan.

Baba-Tükles's legendary character is further corroborated by the confusion about his offspring. According to one version he had four sons (without names): two in Ka'ba, one in Ürgenç (Khwarezm), one in the Crimea. According to another hearsay ("bir rivâyat bilen" according to Qâdir 'Alî-bek) he had three sons: 'Abbâs, 'Abdu'l-raḥman, and Terme (again the third one's Turkic name is the connecting link between Arabia and the Volga region). Evidently, Qâdir 'Alî-bek accepted the latter version, since it assured the transition from Baba-Tükles' Mekkan stay to the Volga-Ural region through Terme's person. Yet it remains uncertain whether Baba-Tükles or his son Terme was the first to appear in the Volga-Ural region. The Russian "Stolbets of 1654" gives both (the four-son and three-son) versions without explaining them. The "Rospis' of 1686" mentions only the three-son version. All in all, it is absolutely apparent that the legendary Muslim-Turkic saint Baba-Tükles's connection with Edige's genealogy and the alleged descent of the former from the Caliph Abû Bakr[40] are parts of an intentional "falsification," the objectives of which have been elucidated formerly.

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[39] Melioranskii, *Skazanie*, 10 n. 2 puts forward an interesting idea concerning the origin of this folk etymology. According to him, the phrase *Baba-Tükles Şaşlı 'azîz* originally meant "B.-T. the saint of Şaş" (Shash was the name of the town and region near today's Tashkent), from which later *şaşlı* was falsely interpreted as "hairy" and *tükles* was accordingly changed into the synonymous word *tükli* or *tükdi* meaning also "hairy." There is direct evidence to the existence of this folk etymology in Ötemiş-hacci's historical work, the *Çingiz-nâme*. In recounting a miraculous event in Özbek Khan's time the chief hero of which is Baba-Tükles it is noted that all his limbs were covered with hairs: *tamam a'zâlarını tük basıb erdi* (Utemish-khadzhi, *Chingiz-name*, 133 [text], 106 [Russian translation]). For the possible linguistic interpretations of the name Baba-Tükles, see DeWeese, *Islamization*, 323–36.

[40] It is quite irrelevant to discuss whether the Abû Bakr of the genealogy was identical with the Prophet's father-in-law, later caliph or with Abû Bakr ibn Rayok, commander-in-chief of the Caliph Al-Râdî (934–940) as was suggested by N. Iusupov, *O rode kniazei*

There is one question left unanswered concerning Edige's genealogy: when was Edige's pious Muslim descent fabricated? Evidently the need to fabricate a Muslim genealogy to counterbalance the lack of a Chingisid lineage may have risen already in Edige's lifetime, but there is no firm evidence to that effect. Moreover, legends are more prone to full blossoming after the lifetime of the person to whom they refer. So most probably it was immediately after Edige's death in 1419 that the first versions of his Islamic descent took shape. A modern Kara-Nogay version of the Edige epic seems to corroborate this assumption: Edige's son Nûraddîn (Nuradil in the text) speaks this way: "the fact that I am not of Chingis Khan's lineage is of little consequence, for I am of the tribe of the glorious Turk hero Khochakhmat Babatukli."[41] Though Nûraddîn's popularity, comparable to his father Edige's, is indisputable in later Nogay and Tatar folklore,[42] Safargaliev's assertion that it was Nûraddîn who gave the order to compile his father's Muslim genealogy lacks any hard evidence. My guess is that the final molding into shape of Edige's Muslim genealogy, though going back to Nûraddîn's time, may have taken place during Oqas's reign when Oqas and his Mangits became firm allies of Abû'l-ḫayr and his Uzbeks. Baba-Tükles, the Islamizer of the Chingisid Özbek Khan and his Golden Horde, seemed to be a worthy ancestor for Oqas's grandfather Edige. In ideological garb it expressed the political equality of the two allies, Oqas and Abû'l-ḫayr.

The Iusupovy, already in Russian service, took over the genealogy of their Tatar predecessors together with its evident Islamic bias, and it was accepted as their authentic genealogy. As was mentioned above, the authenticity is indisputable between the Yûsuf-Edige line, is disputable between the Edige-Terme line, and indisputably fictive between the Baba-Tükles-Abû Bakr line. It is well known how many fictive genealogies were in circulation in Russia, especially in the initial "legend" part of the genealogies, where numerous fictive "emigrations" (*vyezdy*) took place. To invent a distinguished ancestor, according to Gustave Alef, "was a common manifestation among the untitled clans by the sixteenth century. No one wanted to be known as being originally Russian. Even the tsar claimed descent from the imperial pagan Roman line."[43] Having an elegant Tatar princely lineage, the Russian Iusupovy were

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Iusupovykh 1: 12. Since it is a falsified genealogy, it is similarly of no point to scrutinize the persons of the Abû Bakr—Baba-Tükles line of the genealogy.

[41] G. Anan'ev, "Karanogaiskiia narodnyia istoricheskiia predan'ia," *Sbornik materialov dlia opisaniia mestnostei i plemen Kavkaza*, vol. 27, section 3 (Tiflis, 1900): 12. First referred to by Safargaliev, *Raspad*, 229, n. 1 (with slightly different bibliographical data), then by DeWeese, *Islamization*, 440.

[42] See DeWeese, *Islamization*, 348.

[43] G. Alef, "Aristocratic Politics and Royal Policy in Muscovy in the Late Fifteenth and

not compelled to invent a fictive forefather. Yet their forefather Edige's fictive "Islamic" genealogy was also incorporated into the Russian genealogy. Moreover it became even more popular and known than their descent from Edige's Nogay princely line. By the seventeenth century, their fictive extraction from Abû Bakr had become more important for the Russian Iusupovy than their real descent from Edige. Their genealogy was called "rodstvo Abubekirevo" and their clan is stated to have reigned over all the Muslims (see the initial parts of the *Stolbets* and the *Rospis'* above). In the *Obshchii Gerbovnik* of 1799 mention is made of their origin from Nogay princes, then is added: "Predok sego roda Ababek-Kerei syn Dok[44] byl vladetelem. Potomki sego Ababeka v drevneishie vremiana v Egipte i v drugikh mestakh byli tsariami."[45] So among the ancestors of the Iusupovy there were sovereigns (*vladetel'*) and emperors (*tsar'*). Moreover, in Novikov's genealogical list attached to the edition of the *Barkhatnaia kniga* the Princes Kutumovy (kindred to the Iusupovy) are said to have originated from the Prophet Muḥammad: "Oni proizvodiat svoi rod ot Magometa Proroka..."[46] Though Edige was a mighty warlord and prince (*amîr* in Arabic, *bek/biy* in Tatar, *kniaz'* in Russian) of the Golden Horde and founder of the Mangit-based Nogay Horde, he never became a sovereign (*khan* in Tatar, *tsar'* in Russian). The endeavor of the Russian "Stolbets of 1654" to make him a sovereign who sat on Cânibek Khan's throne ("uchinisia na ego [i.e., Cânibek] meste Gosudarem") is a mere distortion of facts. Consequently, Edige biy was less "elegant" in a genealogy than the rulers of the Middle East, and the snobbish atmosphere of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries placed him in second place in his post-mortem rivalry for primacy with Abû Bakr's fictive successors. One might also ponder that Edige's highly negative image (and rightly so) in Russian history might have also contributed to his eclipse in the genealogy, but it was not so. Once a Tatar prince entered into Russian service his pagan past was forgiven him. The fact of having a high-ranking ancestor was more important than his one-time political background.

In sum, the Russian genealogies of the Iusupov family totally relied on the Tatar genealogies of the Nogay princes, which are authentic in their part extending to Edige, founder of the clan. Edige's genealogy is dubious, while

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Early Sixteenth Centuries," *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 27 (1980): 96 n. 110.

[44] The name *Dok* cannot be explained in a proper way. Most probably it is the result of some scribal error. N. Iusupov's idea (*Rayok* > *Dok*) is as improbable as N. A. Baskakov's suggestion (*Dok* < Turkic *toq, doq* 'full, satiated'). (*O rode kniazei Iusupovykh* 1:13 n. * and *Russkie familii tiurkskogo proiskhozhdeniia* [Moscow, 1979], 114, 188).

[45] *OG* 3 (St. Petersburg, 1799): 2.

[46] *BK* 2: 335.

the connection of his ancestry, with a "double Islamic twist," both to Baba-Tükles, semi-legendary saint of Central Asia and to the early Islamic rulers of the Middle East is an evident "ideological" falsification. The Russian genealogies took over both the real and the fictive parts of the Tatar genealogies without any criticism, and propagated the doubly elegant origins (Nogay princes + rulers of the Middle East) of the Iusupov clan.

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"Anatolii's Miscellany": Its Origins and Migration

DANIEL CLARKE WAUGH

Unlike the seasonal movement of Siberian cranes, the migration of manuscripts follows no predictable paths and they rarely return to their place of origin.[1] Like that of cranes, however, manuscripts' very survival may be threatened by the destruction of habitat, a phenomenon that seems to have accelerated in the modern world. In the Russian case, manuscripts which had survived the vicissitudes of fire and invasion over the centuries came under threat as their keepers ceased to value their preservation or as even scholars (heaven forbid!), with allegedly lofty motives and cynical but not always misguided views particularly with regard to the responsibility of clerical repositories, stole or dismantled them.[2] Come the revolutions of the twentieth century, collections even in well-established institutions were under siege. As in the previous century, the repositories of the Church were particularly vulnerable. The result is that much indeed disappeared, but that manuscripts do turn up in quite unexpected places. A good example is the manuscript containing the "Reply to Rokyta" attributed to Tsar Ivan IV, which ended up in the Kilgour Collection of Harvard's Houghton Library.[3] "Anatolii's Miscellany" (*Anatolievskij sbornik*) offers another interesting example; the manuscript is of interest as well for its origins and content. What follows here is a preliminary sketch of its history.

The name used to designate this miscellany is that bestowed on it by the noted scholar and then professor at Kazan' University, Konstantin Kharlampovych, who seems to have been the first to discuss the manuscript

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[1] On Siberian cranes and their fate, see George Archibald, "The Fading Call of the Siberian Crane," *National Geographic*, Vol. 185, No. 5 (1994), 124–36.

[2] I have in mind, for example, Pavel Stroev, who claimed to be saving the manuscript legacy of old Russia from being lost while at the same time, on the Archaeographic Expeditions he organized under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences, he used every opportunity to enrich his own collection, in part by theft. See my "K izucheniiu istorii rukopisnogo sobraniia P. M. Stroeva," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury* (hereafter *TODRL*), XXX (1976), 184–203; XXXII (1977), 133–64.

[3] The manuscript appears to be the presentation copy actually given to Rokyta when he left Moscow in 1570. It was discovered among discarded books in an attic at the Seminary in Szelm, from which it was removed to Galicia in 1916 and in 1921 sent to the United States. Now as MS Russian 19, it shares shelf space in the Houghton Library with the sole surviving copy of Ivan Fedorov's 1574 *Azbuka*. For the history of the MS, see Valerie Tumins, ed. *Tsar Ivan IV's Reply to Jan Rokyta* (The Hague and Paris, 1971), esp. 14–15. *Pace* Tumins, there is no compelling reason to attribute the text to the Tsar himself.

in print. In 1919, he published an article revising the history of the first printing of newspapers in Russia.[4] The key new source which he used was an early eighteenth-century manuscript that had been donated to the Kazan' Theological Academy library in 1916 by its retired Rector, Anatolii Grisiuk. Kharlampovych indicated that he and Professor P. P. Mindalev of Kazan' University were preparing a description of "Anatolii's Miscellany," which was "rich in historical and literary materials."[5] A few years later, Kharlampovych published additional interesting material from the manuscript, but with no reference to any planned description of it.[6]

I first learned of the manuscript from Kharlampovych's articles when working on my dissertation about Muscovite information on the Turks; I was particularly interested in the large collection of early newspapers and the several apocryphal correspondences with the Sultan which the manuscript contained. Kharlampovych's material enabled me to piece together and publish in 1978 an incomplete description, in which I noted that the manuscript's present location was unknown "but presumably in collections in the Soviet Union."[7] When I received soon thereafter A. I. Mazunin's description of MS. Inv. No. 35176, a recent (1974) acquisition of the Alisher Navoi Public Library of the Uzbek SSSR in Tashkent, I failed to connect the two manuscripts.[8] It was Mazunin's description which brought me to the Rare Book Division of the Alisher Navoi Library in 1991, while in Tashkent on an exchange program. Only somewhere in the middle of "rediscovering" the "America" Kharlampovych had found concerning the early printed newspapers did I realize the two were one and the same.[9]

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[4] K. V. Kharlampovich, "'Vedomosti Moskovskogo gosudarstva' 1702 goda," *Izvestiia Otdeleniia russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti Rossiiskoi akademii nauk*, XXIII/1 (1918; printed in 1919), 1–18.

[5] Ibid., 6 n. 1.

[6] Kostiantyn Kharlampovych, "Lystuvannia zaporoz'kykh kozakiv iz sultanom," *Zapysky istorychno-filolohichno viddilu Vseukraïns'koi Akademiï nauk*, IV (1923), 200–212. It is possible that Kharlampovych's papers contain his apparently unpublished description. There is a collection of his papers in the Nezhin branch of the Chernihiv regional archive (see *Lichnye arkhivnye fondy v gosudarstvennykh khranilishchakh SSSR. Ukazatel'*, comp. E. V. Kolosova et al., II [M., 1963], 271).

[7] *The Great Turkes Defiance: On the History of the Apocryphal Correspondence of the Ottoman Sultan in its Muscovite and Russian Variants* (Columbus, O., 1978), 275.

[8] A. I. Mazunin, "Slaviano-russkie rukopisi nauchnoi biblioteki Tashkentskogo universiteta i respublikanskoi biblioteki imeni Alishera Navoi," *TODRL*, XXXII (1977), esp. 380–82. Mazunin did not attempt a really thorough description of the manuscript, and what he did provide, which gives at least a reasonably thorough idea of its contents, is badly in need of correction and supplement. To do a thorough description here would occupy more space than is available.

[9] Even with Mazunin's description in hand, actually locating the manuscript was not straightforward. Users of his descriptions (ibid., and his earlier "Rukopisnye i

We will probably never know how the manuscript arrived in its present location. There was no information available concerning the transaction by which the library acquired the book, and an examination of the other rare Cyrillic books acquired in the same year provided no clues.[10] The acquisitions had probably been made in a local bookstore; there is no obvious connection suggesting that the individual items formed part of a single collection. I have not yet attempted to study the fate of the library of the Kazan' Theological Seminary, although we know that the Collection of the Solovki Monastery, which had been transferred there during the Crimean War, was obtained in 1928 by the Leningrad Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library via Tsentrarkhiv.[11] Since many of those sent to Central Asia as teachers in the early Soviet period were Kazan' Tatars, and for others Central Asia was a place of exile or, during World War II, of refuge, there are many possible ways the manuscript could have found its way to Tashkent.[12]

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staropechatnye knigi Gosudarstvennoi biblioteki imeni Alishera Navoi v Tashkente," *TODRL*, XXVI (1971), 349–51) should be aware that the collection was reorganized since Mazunin worked in it. There is no proper catalogue of the Cyrillic manuscripts. I had to read through the manuscript "Inventarnaia kniga No. 4" to locate the items I wished to see. The handlist there is in the order in which the books were re-processed. The old inventory numbers are given first, in the form "74-35176" (where the first digits indicate the year of acquisition and the last the old inventory number). Mazunin's No. 1 (inv. no. 35176) is now designated as **Пи 9250**. I am grateful to the staff of the Rare Book Division, headed by Rakhim Faizullaev, which was most solicitous of my many requests.

[10] I examined the following items in the current collection:

Пу 8820 (Inv. No. 74-35177), a printed nineteenth-century Chasoslov;

Пя 9271 (Inv. No. 74-35180), a printed early twentieth-century Kanonik;

Пу 9255 (Inv. No. 74-35175) (=Mazunin, *TODRL*, XXXII, p. 382, No. 5), which contains an inscription, "На молитвенную память послушнику Феодору от собрата послушника Георгия 18 марта 1961 года в память совместной жизни в Троице-Сергиевой лавре." The back end paper bears a price notation of six rubles.

Пи 9267 (Inv. No. 74-35174)(apparently Mazunin's No. 4, *loc. cit.*)

Пе 9268 (Inv. no. 74-35167) (Mazunin No. 2), which contains inscriptions, "Вознесения что за Волгою церкви 1830 года," "1830-го года ноября," "Сия книга церкви Вознесения Господня, что за Волгою." A modern hand has added in ballpoint pen a price of three rubles.

Пи 9263 (Inv. No. 74-35166) (although he looked at this, Mazunin did not publish its description), eighteenth-century MS, 4^{o}, containing, according to Mazunin's note, "философские размышления о душе и теле (пер. с французского)," and with inscriptions "1905 мар. 10," "1888 году Аркадий Хлебников," "29 июня 1888 года."

Пи 9266 (Inv. no. 74-35179) (Mazunin No. 3) could not be located.

[11] See "Komplektovanie fondov Otdela rukopisei Gosudarstvennoi publichnoi biblioteki v 1917–1941 gg.," *Trudy Gosudarstvennoi publichnoi biblioteki imeni M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina*, Vol. VIII (11) (1960), 272.

[12] Cf. the notes by Mazunin on the peregrinations of the Tashkent library's copy of the 1581 Ostroh *Bible* published by Ivan Fedorov (A. I. Mazunin, "Rukopisnye i staropechatnye knigi," 351 n4).

"Anatolii's Miscellany" is a large folio book, largely handwritten by various scribes (there are a few printed sheets) in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. As we shall see, there is ample evidence that the book was assembled in one place and largely by a single individual. The manuscript opens with a "Kozmografiia" and extracts from Polish chronicles. A chronicle with a focus on local events follows; then there are copies from published books and leaflets beginning with items about Peter I's victory over the Turks at Azov. As Kharlampovych pointed out, the collection is remarkable especially because it contains so many copies from the Petrine *Vedomosti*, Russia's first printed newspapers. In addition to the *Vedomosti*, the book contains copies of other news reports concerning the Northern War, extracts from various other Petrine printed books, copies of important decrees, examples of what we might term "documentary belles lettres," a few contemporary notations made apparently by the editor/compiler of the manuscript, and finally extracts from several books of religious content.

A careful examination of the manuscript enables us to establish a great deal about its provenance, an issue that neither Kharlampovych nor Mazunin addressed. There can be no doubt that the compilation occurred in Viatka (Khlynov, Kirov), and apparently was the work largely of one individual attached to the staff of the local bishop.[13] Various indicators point in this direction, among the more interesting being chronicle extracts with Viatka information, including notations on the first bishops (through Dionisii, who occupied the see from 1700 to 1718) (fols. 63 ff., 595). There is some debate in the literature as to when the so-called "Tale about the Viatka Land" (Повесть о стране Вятской) was compiled, with one of the most prominent specialists on the history of Viatka arguing for there having been no serious history writing in the town before the 1720s.[14] Quite apart from textual considerations, which need to be explored further, the fact that "Anatolii's

[13] The same copyist was at work on texts or wrote inscriptions on fols. 31v–38, 88v, 292, 334, 374, 376, 376v, 381v, 435, 531, 539–539v, 556, 569–70, 574–75v, 578–86, 593–96, 600v. His dated inscriptions are between 1704 and 1714. We cannot be certain that the current order of works in the manuscript was his responsibility—they have been organized thematically, with the result being that inscriptions of the earliest date come late in the book.

[14] See P. N. Luppov, *Istoriia goroda Viatki* (Kirov, 1958), esp. 41–43, where he questions the views of A. A. Spitsyn and A. S. Vereshchagin, who argued for an earlier dating. I have not yet had the opportunity to read Luppov's "K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii 'Povesti o strane Viatskoi'," *Zapiski Udmurtskogo nauchno-issledovatel'skogo instituta istorii, iazyka, literatury i fol'klora*, vyp. XII (1949), 70-82. For a critique of Luppov's views and reaffirmation of the earlier dating, see A. V. Emmausskii, *Istoricheskii ocherk Viatskogo kraia XVII-XVIII vekov* (Kirov, 1956), 205–207.

Miscellany" likely was completed soon after 1715 suggests we may need to re-examine the history of these interesting chronicle texts.[15]

A variety of other evidence also points to Viatka. The manuscript includes a copy of a proclamation, dated December 28, 1711, by the local "Камендат [*sic*] Вятцкий князь Иван Иванович" concerning the marriage of Tsarevich Aleksei Petrovich (fol. 540).[16] One of the news items from 1713 has a heading, "Список которой получен на Вятке марта 5-го 713-го году" (fol. 553). The still anonymous compiler of the manuscript, whose hand appears at various points throughout and in several dated inscriptions, at one point noted having received one text "у Афонасья Максимова Неволина 704-го августа 1 день" (fol. 600v). We find Afanasii Maksimov syn Nevolin recorded in the 1710 census for the town as a forty-two-year-old подьякон "во дв. архiерейской."[17] Finally, we note on fol. 587 a diagram of a "Церковь Стретения Господня," which contained a chapel labeled "Церковь великой мученицы." The diagram is accompanied by measurements that were verified on May 15, 1710. A Church of the Presentation of the Lord with a chapel dedicated to St. Paraskeva had existed at least from the early seventeenth century in Viatka. Between 1705 and 1709 several petitions were filed with the bishop for permission to re-build the church in stone; the new construction was completed in 1712.[18]

There is ample evidence to connect the compiler with the bishop's court. Several items are taken from books of religious content, in some cases copied by the same individual who wrote inscriptions regarding the sources for material that forms the bulk of the manuscript. Among works of interest to this copyist/editor were a table of contents to a compilation of teachings of Saint John Chrysostom (fol. 569), extracts from a Moscow edition of 1700 entitled *Сборник, си есть собрание слов нравоучительных и торжественных, собрание от учителей восточныя церкви, святих*

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[15] The item with the latest date is a "Relation" published in St. Petersburg on November 28, 1715 (fols. 567–567v; the original is that listed in *Opisanie izdanii grazhdanskoi pechati 1708–ianvar' 1725 g.* [hereafter abbreviated *OIGP*], comp. T. A. Bykova and M. M. Gurevich [M.-L., 1955], No. 109, p. 156).

[16] Presumably the local commandant referred to here is the *voevoda* Prince Ivan Ivanovich Shcherbatov. See Aleksandr Veshtomov, *Istoriia viatchan so vremeni poseleniia ikh pri Reke Viatke do otkrytiia v sei strane namestnichestva, ili s 1181 po 1781-i god chrez 600 let* (Kazan', 1907) (=*Izvestiia Obshchestva arkheologii, istorii i etnografii pri Imperatorskom Kazanskom universitete*, Vol. XXIV, vyp. 1–2), 122.

[17] *Viatka. Materialy dlia istorii goroda XVII i XVIII stoletii* (Moscow, 1887), 61.

[18] See A. Spasskii, "Istoricheskoe opisanie tserkvei g. Viatki," an appendix to his article "Postepennoe razvitie vneshniago vida goroda Viatki i zaniatii ego naseleniia," in *Stoletie Viatskoi gubernii 1780–1880. Sbornik materialov k istorii Viatskogo kraia*, I (Viatka, 1880), esp. 195–96.

отцев... (fol. 578), and extracts from Lazar Baranovych's *Мечь духовный* (fol. 586). It is worth noting that our compiler had at least a passing interest in Latin, as evidenced by interlined Latin and Russian texts (fols. 588–89) that include some basic vocabulary. We might conclude from this that he was a beginner in the language (someone in Viatka undoubtedly knew some Latin), rather than one of the learned Ukrainians who were assuming the important positions in the Orthodox Church. The compiler of the manuscript was also the scribe who recorded the short chronicle of Viatka bishops (fol. 595), and who jotted down notes in 1705 that are worth quoting in extenso concerning the New Year's Day celebration he very probably witnessed in the suite of his bishop in Moscow:

1705-го года летоначатца ианнуариа 1-го числа. В новой год Великий Государь был у Воскресенской церкви у литоргии в Кадашеве и у молебна архиереи прилучившиися на Москве все были. В них был и вятцкий и архимандриты и собор весь. И бояря все и сам Государь на правом крылосе с певчими своими пел бас а на левом крылосе пели патриарши певчие.

После литоргии изволил кушать Государь на Царицыне лугу в светлицах, и царевич и архиереи, откушал Государь во 3-м часу нощи. Царицы и царевны кушали тут же. И тут в светлицах за царевым обедом была потеха неудобно сказаема и играли в скрипицы и арганы и на трубах. И в тех светлицах прохлаждалися до 15 часов нощи. На розезде сам Государь из светлиц вышел и царевич и архиереи все и бояря, и изволил сам Государь выпалить из мартира и такие огни розсыпалися неудобно человеческому разуму сказать.

И изволил сам Великий Государь изрещи будити отцы святии здаровы и весь народ, и почал сам Государь своими руками в тот мартирь вливать ренсково два ушата ведро вотки и сам Государь выкушал про свое здоровье два ковша золотых, и почину царевичь и бояря и митрополиты // и архиереи по ковшу и весь освященный собор.

И изволил сам Голсударь выговорить про освященный чин и про поповых детей и церковников, не будет де впред по трое у церкви, чтоб был един дьячек он и пономар он и сторож. (fols. 374-374v)

The occasion was of special interest because of Peter's decree forcing "excess" clerics into service; the attitude of the scribe is quite clear from the passage which then follows:

И известие о том, что будет де на Вятку столник выбирать салдатов поповых детех и церковных причетников от лица губернатора Александра Даниловича Меншикова жестокой человек. А состоялся о том государев указ на Москве и во всех городех поповых детей и у дьячков и у пономарей и у просфирниц детей брать в салдаты: у кого трое, у тово взять двоих, и у которой церкви трое дьячков и пономарей и тут взято будет двое, а суде два сторожа и тут взять одново. И тот государев указ к Вятке будет вскоре, и по тому указу все переписаны будут вскоре.

Да еже де ныне состоялся государев указ по всем городам и на Вятку будет ис приказов и из Земской избы подьячих всех переписать и высланы будут к Москве.

Смотр им будет у Александра Даниловича Меншикова и которые прожиточные люди будут и тем подьячим отпуск будет на вечное житье в городы в Питербурх а иные будут сосланы в Юревец Ливонской и в ыные новозавоеванные городы в Ливонии. (fol. 374v)

While modern historians give the impression that Viatka was a cultural backwater until the arrival of its Ukrainian bishop Lavrentii Gorka in 1733, "Anatolii's Miscellany" offers interesting evidence that suggests we should not simply dismiss provincial towns as out of touch with the publications and events of the wider world.[19] We can learn a lot from this one example about the nature of those contacts and the range of materials available to our local cleric/editor.

The reader is impressed by the extent of communication between Moscow or St. Petersburg and the provinces. While the news reports for events prior to 1702 are fragmentary, the series of copies made from the published Petrine *Vedomosti* begins with the first unnumbered issues of December 1702 and continues with a complete set for 1703 and the first two months of 1704. It is possible that this collection was an already completed unit when it was copied, for we find that for the remainder of 1704 and for succeeding years up through 1715, the coverage is fragmentary, albeit interspersed with various other copies of printed pamphlets on significant events of the Northern War and news items concerning especially the activities of Peter's Field Marshal Boris Petrovich Sheremetev.[20] The quantity of the Sheremetev material

[19] Cf., for example, Emmausskii, *Istoricheskii ocherk*, 214–16, which is merely a Soviet Marxist version of the same sentiments expressed by the first serious historian of Viatka back in the early nineteenth century, Veshtomov (*Istoriia viatchan*, 152).

[20] The coverage simply for the *Vedomosti* (that is, the usually numbered newspapers) can be seen from the following table, in which the references are to the standard catalogues of Petrine editions compiled by T. N. Bykova and M. M. Gurevich (*OIGP*; *Opisanie izdanii napechatannykh kirillitsei 1689–ianvar' 1725 g.* [Moscow-Leningrad, 1958] [here abbreviated *OINK*]):

1702 *OINK*, Item 24, Nos. 1–2 (all published)
1703 *OINK*, Item 31, Nos. 1–39 (all published)
1704 *OINK*, Item 42, Nos. 1–8, 18, 20, 22, 25 (of 35)
1705 *OINK*, Item 53, Nos. 30–32 (of 46)
1706 *OINK*, Item 57, No. 24 (of 28)
1707 *OINK*, Item 62, Nos. 18–19 (of 27)
1708 *OINK*, Item 69, Nos. 5, 6, 10–15 (of 15)
1709 *OINK*, Item 79, Nos. 3–5, 11, 12 (of 13)
1710 *OINK*, Item 86, No. 1 (of 2);
OIGP, Item 47, Nos. 2–5, 7, 11–15, and one unnumbered (of

suggests that a correspondent in Viatka may have had a direct connection with someone in Sheremetev's chancery or household. One of these letters (fol. 229), dated June 25, 1703, is addressed to a certain Iosif Titovich, upon whom Sheremetev rather generously bestowed booty from a recent victory. The compiler of the manuscript noted on another Sheremetev item (fol. 381v): "Списана у пристава Матвея Кунгурцова, привез ис Москвы тетратку 706 мaия 15-го." It is a reasonable hypothesis that the compiler made a consistent effort to obtain copies of news as it arrived in the chancery of the local governor, which presumably would also have been the source of Petrine decrees, among them the one establishing the new calendar (December 21, 1699) and the Law of Entail (March 24, 1714).

One of the noteworthy features about this collection of news is that it contains unique or very rare copies from certain of what had originally been published texts. The very first Petrine *Vedomosti* are known only from this manuscript; at least one of the later numbers found here in a manuscript copy also escaped the attention of A. Pokrovskii, when he prepared the nearly complete edition of the texts.[21] A long sequence of texts relates to events leading up to and including the Battle of Poltava. Two of the rarer items are copies from the Tsar's proclamations printed in Ukraine in connection with Hetman Mazepa's "treason." [22] The second of these follows extracts from Ioan Maksymovych's explication of the Lord's Prayer, which he published in Chernihiv in August 1709 and dedicated to Peter and Hetman Skoropads'kyi.[23] The sequence also contains copies of a pamphlet about the battle itself and two descriptions of festivities celebrating the victory.[24]

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1711 *OIGP*, Item 54, Nos. 2, 7 (two different items are numbered 7), 8–10, 12 (of 16);
OINK, Item 90, No. 11 (of 14, only 4 of which extant)
1712 *OIGP*, Item 65, No. 2 (of 13)
1713 *OIGP*, No. 74, Nos. 3, 6 and 3 unnumbered (of 22, several unnumbered)
1714 *OIGP*, No. 138, unnumbered (of 5)
1715 *OIGP*, No. 177, unnumbered (of 11).

[21] See Kharlampovich, "Vedomosti." The edition is *Vedomosti vremeni Petra Velikogo*, 2 vols. (Moscow, 1903–1906).

[22] The texts are on fols. 415–17 and 441–47v. The text of the first has been published in *Pis'ma i bumagi Imperatora Petra Velikogo* IX, vyp. 1 (M.-L., 1950), 38–41, from one of multiple copies in the "Malorossiiskie dela." For some reason, this edition is not recorded in *OINK* (it is not identical with item 70 there; thus presumably it is not item 845 listed in Iakim Zapasko and Iaroslav Isaevych, *Pamiatky knyzhkovoho mystetstva. Kataloh starodrukiv, vydanykh na Ukraïni* II, pt. 1 [1701–1764] (L'viv, 1984), 24). The second text is that described in *Opisanie izdanii napechatannykh pri Petre I. Svodnyi katalog. Dopolneniia i prilozheniia*, comp. T. A. Bykova et al. (L., 1972), No. 328, p. 86.

[23] See Zapasko and Isaevych, *Pamiatky*, No. 848, p. 24, and V. P. Grebeniuk, ed.,

We know the names of several individuals from whom the compiler obtained his material. In 1704, he copied from a certain Osip Tepliashin texts celebrating victories of Peter—in one case a description of triumphal gates erected in 1703 that were decorated with various mythological figures, and in the second case an allegorical theatrical presentation given in Moscow at Shrovetide 1704.[25] In 1704 he also copied a tale about a miraculous appearance of the Virgin Mary in Solikamsk from a manuscript of the text owned by Afanasii Maksimov *syn* Nevolin, who, as noted above, a few years later was a "подьякон" in the court of the bishop. In 1706, our compiler copied "у ратушского подьячего Михаила Автамонова ис Хорошево" the "Arithmetic" published for Peter in Amsterdam in 1699 by Tessing (fol. 88v).[26] While he does not specify the individuals who provided him with texts in other cases, the same copyist left an inscription as late as July 16, 1714, on a copy from a decree published in St. Petersburg a month earlier.[27]

In summary, we can see from the example of "Anatolii's Miscellany" the value of examining closely the cultural life of Russia's provinces in the Petrine era, a study that means we must examine provincial chanceries and libraries and track down the materials they once contained which have since been dispersed. A study of Church administration in Viatka during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, with an examination of the manuscript hands and paper used by the various secretaries, likely will enable us to identify the compiler of "Anatolii's Miscellany," who wrote in a distinctive cursive. At a time when the archbishop was allegedly distinguished for his lack of education, at least one individual working for him seems to have had rather broad interests and even (by the standards of the day in Muscovy) some pretense of learning. Church and secular administration seem to have worked closely together, in the interest of keeping well informed about the news and sharing books. It may turn out on close examination that even the condemnation of Bishop Dionisii as "ill-educated and unenterprising" will have to be revised.[28]

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Panegiricheskaia literatura petrovskogo vremeni (M., 1979), 58–59.

[24] These texts are on fols. 425–34v, 448–49v, and correspond to *OINK*, Nos. 72–74.

[25] See inscriptions on fols. 292, 334. Note that Mazunin, "Slaviano-russkie rukopisi," 381, mis-read the year in both inscriptions as 1709. The texts are from the books described in *OINK*, Items 28, 32.

[26] The book is that described in *OINK*, App. I, 279–81.

[27] "Списано июля 16" (fol. 556). The text is the decree listed in *OIGP*, No. 109, p. 156.

[28] The characterization is that by Emmausskii, *Istoricheskii ocherk*, 214.

Pre-Petrine Law and Western Law: The Influence of Roman and Canon Law*

GEORGE G. WEICKHARDT

What is the relationship between pre-Petrine law and Western law, if any? Two legal systems may be compared in terms of both influence and similarity. In other words, one can analyze both the extent to which pre-Petrine law borrowed legal concepts from the West (or vice versa) and the extent to which pre-Petrine law, with or without Western influence, resembled Western law or developed in the same way as Western law. Indeed, with or without borrowings from each other, two legal systems may resemble each other because they grew from the same roots or shared common influences. This study will conclude that, while Western law had negligible direct influence on pre-Petrine law, both nonetheless developed in the same way, so that by the seventeenth century, they were similar in many important respects. These similarities probably stem chiefly from the influence on both of Roman legal concepts which, in both cases, arrived through canon law. In Russia the absorption of Roman legal concepts was much later and much less thorough than in the West.

Many meaningless and poorly focused questions have been posed about whether pre-Petrine civilization was "Western" versus "Eastern" or "European" versus "Asian," or whether it was a unique Slavic-Orthodox civilization.[1] Western law, however, has some fairly distinct characteristics, and it is feasible and meaningful to ask to what extent another legal system shares or has borrowed these characteristics. One can address these questions without having to resolve the ultimate and probably meaningless question of whether Rus' law was "essentially" Western, Byzantine, or something else.

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[1] For example, the term "Western" can have any number of meanings which vary, depending on whether one is speaking of religion, social organization, political concepts, or technology. Moreover, many cultures, such as Japan, have borrowed extensively from the West and yet have remained unique. Indeed, Western civilization itself, as it arose in the Middle Ages, was a unique combination of Classical, Christian, and Teutonic elements. Rus' civilization was, likewise, a unique combination of Slavic, Byzantine, Scandinavian, Mongol, and Western components, and it would be a futile exercise to determine whether it was "essentially" or "predominantly" derived from one or another.

"Western law," as used here, refers to the legal systems and concepts developed in the Roman Catholic portion of Europe in the pre-Reformation period. The legal systems of the peoples and nations of this portion of Europe went through a fairly similar evolution in the eleventh through the fourteenth centuries. One of the few attempts to enumerate the distinctive features of Western law as developed in this period is that of Harold Berman[2] in his controversial but influential *Law and Revolution*, which may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. Law and legal institutions and processes are separate and sharply distinguishable from religion, politics, custom, and morality. By contrast, Islamic law has remained embedded in religion, and traditional Chinese civil law was indistinguishable from custom and Confucian morality.

2. Legal institutions and processes are entrusted to a special corps of legal specialists: lawyers, judges, legislators, and legal scholars.

3. Legal professionals are specially trained in a distinct body of higher learning with its own literature and schools.

4. Law includes not only legal institutions, legislation, and legal decisions, but also what legal scholars say or theorize about law.

5. Law is conceived of as an integrated and consistent body or system which develops or grows over time by its own internal logic, but which also adapts the old to the new.

6. Law is conceived of as binding on the state itself. While a monarch may make law, he may not make it arbitrarily, and, until he has remade it lawfully, he is bound by it.

7. Diverse legal jurisdictions and systems coexist and, to some extent, compete. In the medieval West, royal law coexisted with canon law, urban charters, the law merchant, feudal law, and manorial law.

While one may find one or more of these features in other legal systems, this particular combination of features, according to Berman, was peculiar to

[2] Harold J. Berman, *Law and Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), 7–10. Berman is certainly not beyond criticism for his approach. For a critical review, see Edward Peters, "The Origins of the Western Legal Tradition," *Harvard Law Review*, 98, No. 3 (Jan. 1985): 686–96. Richard Helmholz, "Harold Berman's Accomplishment as a Legal Historian," *Emory Law Journal*, 42 (1993): 475–96, on the other hand, concludes that Berman's work was a major and seminal development in the study of Western legal history and recommends that it be used as a paradigm for the study of other legal systems. After reviewing the vast critical treatment of Berman's work, as well as scholarship derived from it, Helmholz concludes that most of Berman's major conclusions have been accepted, in particular the importance he attributes to canon law in the development of Western legal theory. Those who question Berman's approach will find that the essential unity of Western law and the strong influence on it of canon law are accepted in even more traditional approaches to Western legal history such as O. F. Robinson, T. D. Fergus, and Wm. Gordon, *An Introduction To European Legal History* (London: Abington, 1985), 1–207.

the West and was one of the distinctive features of Western civilization. Berman also sees a distinctive pattern of evolution in Western law. Much of Berman's study is devoted to how Western law developed modern concepts of crime and punishment, and rational methods of adjudication, in the Weberian sense. While wergild and trial by ordeal, combat and compurgation still prevailed in 1050, Western law thereafter developed the concept of the felony and rational methods for determining the facts, such as documentary evidence and eyewitness testimony.[3] Berman emphasizes the strong influence of canon law on these developments.

Pre-Petrine Russia clearly lacked law schools, legal scholars, legal theory, and true lawyers. Thus, it also lacked the dialectic relationship between theory and practice which distinguished Western law. While there were thinkers and statesmen in Russia who considered the overall role of law in statecraft,[4] law never became a distinct body of higher learning. Several provisions of substantive law also distinguished Muscovite law from Western law. Muscovite law on dishonor, clan redemption, "red handed" evidence, service land, and the strict dichotomy between a civil trial and criminal investigation had only few and distant analogs in the West, although analogs there were.[5] But there were substantial regional variations among Western legal systems, such as the well-known preference of the English for judge-made (common) law versus the continental preference for codification of legal rules. Even with these acknowledged differences, Western and pre-Petrine law were still similar in the other fundamental ways outlined by Berman.

The present study will analyze these fundamental similarities and how they came about, demonstrating that they were more than coincidental. Because a study of this length cannot hope to cover all areas of the law, the focus here will be on criminal law and the law of evidence or modes of proof. Three common influences on pre-Petrine and Western law will be considered: folk law, Christianity, and Roman law. The folk law traditions of Rus' and Western Europe were similar, but Western law became very Romanized in the

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[3] There was of course much that was rational about ordeal and compurgation in practice as there was likewise much that was irrational about the early use of eyewitness testimony, but there was in later practice a shift away from modes of proof based on divine intervention and to modes of proof based on evidence.

[4] George G. Weickhardt, "Seventeenth Century Political Thought," *Russian History*, 21 (fall 1994): 316–337.

[5] For "redhanded evidence" and the dichotomy between civil trial and criminal investigation, see George G. Weickhardt, "Due Process and Equal Justice in the Muscovite Codes," *The Russian Review*, 51 (October 1992): 463–80. For clan redemption and service land, see idem, "The Pre-Petrine Law of Property," *Slavic Review*, 52, No. 4 (winter 1993): 663–79. For dishonor, see Nancy Shields Kollmann, "Honor and Dishonor in Early Modern Russia," *Forschungen zur Osteuropaischen Geschichte*, 46 (1992): 131–46.

eleventh through fourteenth centuries, largely through the medium of canon law. In Rus', Byzantine law, a cousin or child of Roman law, was imported and preserved by the Orthodox Church, which championed its adoption in secular practice. The principal differences were that the evolution of Russian law from folk law to modern rational law lagged several centuries behind the West and the adoption of Roman legal principles was only partial.

The Soviet-era works of Shchapov have traced the incorporation of Byzantine legal texts into the Pilot's Book (*Kormchaia kniga*), the Rus' compilation of canon law, during the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries. Shchapov, however, recognizes that the impact of these Byzantine texts on secular law came only later.[6] Daniel Kaiser[7] and the author[8] have already traced much of this evolution, and the slow and selective absorption of Byzantine norms has been extensively described by the pre-Revolutionary scholars Tiktin and Benemanskii.[9] Kaiser, Benemanskii, and Tiktin all emphasize the role of the Rus' Church in the adoption of Byzantine legal norms. The Church adopted these norms for its own canonical courts, and churchmen pressured secular authorities to adopt them, as well. The churchmen gradually succeeded in doing so only over the course of several centuries. Rus' borrowings from Byzantine law were, however, discrete. As we will see, borrowing was not as immediate and pervasive as was the case with Roman law in the West, but it was a matter of gradual and highly selective use of sources which had been known and available long before any borrowing occurred.[10]

The first great codification of law in Rus' was the Rus' Law (*Russkaia Pravda*), which exists in a short version dating from the eleventh century and an expanded version dating from the twelfth century.[11] The Rus' Law is a

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[6] Ia. N. Shchapov, "Drevnerusskie kniazheskie ustavy i tserkov' v feodal'nom razvitii Rusi v X–XIV vv.," *Istoriia SSSR* 15, No.3 (May–June 1970): 125–36; idem, "Tserkov' v sisteme gosudarstvennoi vlasti drevnei Rusi," in A. P. Novosel'tsev et al., *Drevnerusskoe gosudarstvo i ego mezhdunarodnoe znachenie* (Moscow: Nauka, 1965); idem, *Kniazheskie ustavy i tserkov' v drevnei Rusi. XI–XIV vv.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1972); idem, *Vizantiiskoe i iuzhnoslavianskoe pravovoe nasledie na Rusi v XI–XIII vv.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1978); idem, *Gosudarstvo i tservkov' Drevnei Rusi X–XIII vv.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1989).

[7] Daniel H. Kaiser, *The Growth of the Law in Medieval Russia* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980).

[8] George G. Weickhardt, "Due Process and Equal Justice"; idem, "Pre-Petrine Law"; for the substantial influence of Byzantine law on Russian property law see idem, "Legal Rights of Women in Russia, 1100–1750," forthcoming in *Slavic Review*.

[9] Mikhail Benemanskii, *Zakon Gradskii. Znachenie ego v russkom prave* (Moscow: Pechatnia A. Snegirovoi, 1917); N. I. Tiktin, *Vizantiiskoe pravo kak istochnik Ulozheniia 1648* [sic] *goda i novovkaznykh statei* (Odessa: Tip. Shtaba Okruga, 1898).

[10] Tiktin, 17–22; Kaiser, 165–74; Benemanskii, passim.

[11] *Rossiisskoe zakonodatel'stvo X–XX vekov* 1, *Zakonodatel'stvo Drevnei Rusi* (henceforth, *RZ*), O. I. Chistiakov, ed., (Moscow: Iuridicheskaia literatura, 1984), 47–129; *The Laws of Rus'—Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries*, trans. and ed. Daniel H. Kaiser (Salt Lake City: Charles

species of what have been called the "barbarian" codes (*leges barbarorum*). These codes compiled the folk law of the Teutonic and Slavic peoples after their conversion to Christianity. Other examples are the Salic Law (*Lex Salica*) of the Frankish King Clovis (A.D. 495),[12] the Burgundian Code of Gundobad (ca. 500),[13] the Code of the Anglo Saxon King Ethelred (ca. 1000),[14] and the Edict of the Lombard King Rothair (643).[15] In Scandinavia, there were at least twelve regional barbarian codes, some of which took form as early as the eleventh century. The most comprehensive, however, were the Gulathing Law and the Frostathing Law of the late thirteenth century.[16] The barbarian codes shared many common features and provisions, of which the two most prominent were the elaborate specification of money payments in composition of the bloodfeud and irrational modes of proof.

The Rus' Law represents a somewhat earlier phase of legal evolution, where the blood feud or blood vengeance was partially condoned. Certain male relatives of a murdered man were still given the right to kill the murderer, but these same relatives were entitled to receive money payments from the murderer "if there were no vengeance." Payments varied widely depending on the class, rank, gender, or occupation of the victim and the type of injury. Like the other barbarian codes, the Rus' Law treated crimes, even murder, like torts in modern law. The payment to the family of the victim was thought to make it whole by restoring its honor. Theft was likewise an offense for which the thief was to pay monetary compensation in specified amounts to the victim. Even the most serious crimes were not treated as an offense against the crown or state requiring punishment.

The barbarian codes also shared provisions for adjudicating guilt or liability by ordeal, battle, or compurgation. A compurgator in the West, like the *posliukh* in the Rus' Law, gave an oath which typically referred to his belief

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Schlacks, 1993), 14–40. For an excellent history of the development of the Rus' Law, see L. V. Cherepnin, "Obshchestvenno-politicheskie otnoshenia v drevnei Rusi i Russkaia Pravda," in A. P. Novoselvtsev et al., *Drevnerusskoe gosudarstvo i ego mezhdunarodnoe znachenie* (Moscow: Nauka, 1965), 128–278.

[12] Katherine Fischer Drew, *The Laws of the Salian Franks* (Philadelphia, Penn.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991).

[13] Katherine Fischer Drew, *The Burgundian Code* (Philadelphia, Penn.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949).

[14] Agnes J. Robertson, ed., *The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1925), 45–134.

[15] Katherine Fischer Drew, *The Lombard Laws* (Philadelphia, Penn.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1973).

[16] T. K. Derry, *A History of Scandinavia* (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1979), 56; Laurence M. Larson, trans., *The Earliest Norwegian Laws* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935).

in the honesty or good reputation of a party rather than to observed facts or events.[17]

The money payments for composition were called wergild in the Salic Law and *vira* in the Rus' Law. The word *vira* was probably derived from the Old Norse word *verr* (man). This, along with some evidence of common legal formulas, has caused some scholars to suggest Scandinavian influence on the concept of wergild as developed in Rus'.[18] Other persuasive evidence militates against Scandinavian influence.[19]

Other scholars believe that the similarity of the Rus' Law to earlier barbarian codes like the Salic Law is, in fact, so close as to indicate either derivation of both from a common folk law source or outright borrowing. This approach has been explored in depth by the Soviet scholar Sverdlov[20] and, to some extent, by Bartlett.[21] Sverdlov notes similarities between articles 1–18 of the Short version of the Rus' Law and certain provisions of the Salic Law and contends that the Salic Law was the source of these articles. While Sverdlov's argument is generally persuasive, he pushes it too far. The purportedly similar provisions—which concern payments in compensation for theft of horses, pigs, sheep, beehives, boats, dogs, falcons, hay, slaves, weapons, as well as provisions concerning wounds, plowing another's land and the so-called confrontment or *svod*—bear various degrees of similarity ranging from close to vague. Bartlett argues that the concept of trial by ordeal spread from the Salian Franks to the periphery of Europe, including Rus'.

The substantial number of similar provisions suggests some use of the Salic Law (or other Teutonic codes similar to it) as a source for the Rus' Law, but the degree of similarity is, in general, too remote to posit borrowing in any but the loosest and most selective sense. The Salic Law is, moreover, a much larger and more complex code than either the Short or Extended version of the Rus' Law, and very few of its many sections have analogs in the Rus' Law. In the final analysis, we can only speculate about influence and borrowing. Other explanations of similarity besides borrowing are, of course, possible. Many primitive dyadic legal systems are similar, and composition of the blood feud is, in fact, a feature of non-Indo-European primitive legal

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[17] Berman, 58–59; Kaiser, 130–32.

[18] W. K. Matthews, *Russian Historical Grammar* (London: University of London, The Athlone Press, 1960), 140. George Krugovoy, "A Norman Legal Formula in Russian Chronicles and 'Slovo o polku Igoreve'," *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, 11, no. 4, (1969): 497–514.

[19] Henrik Birnbaum, "On Old Russian and Old Scandinavian Legal Language, Some Comparative Notes on Style and Syntax," *Scando-Slavica*, 7 (1962): 115–40, especially 116.

[20] M. V. Sverdlov, "K istorii teksta Kratkoi Redaktsii Russkoi Pravdy," *Vspomagatel'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, 10 (1978): 135–59.

[21] Robert Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water* (Oxford UK: Clarendon Press, 1986), 44–47, 59, 93.

systems, as well. A tribal or clan-oriented society at some point typically seeks to find a way to terminate the endless cycle of murders which blood feuds engender. It is not necessary to assume that the Slavs would need to borrow from the Germans, or anyone else, to arrive at the solution of composition. Similarly, trial by ordeal or battle is common in primitive legal systems.

The important point, nevertheless, is that Rus' written law began with a codification of folk law similar to those of the Teutonic tribes in Western Europe. The principal difference was one of timing. The Rus' Law was some six or seven centuries later than the barbarian codes of Germany, France, England, and Italy. This difference in timing is obviously related to the fact that Christianization (and the introduction of literate culture) was likewise at least four or five centuries later in Rus' than among Teutonic tribes like the Franks and Lombards.

Rus' not only enacted a secular code similar to the barbarian codes of the West, but also, as did Western legal systems, made a key distinction early in its legal development between secular and canon law. In Rus' as in the West, canon law not only focused on different subjects, but the Church also had its own system of courts staffed by clerics. These courts possessed jurisdiction over lay people only as to particular subjects such as the family, marriage, and sexual offenses, but they exercised exclusive jurisdiction over Church people as to all subjects. This division of jurisdiction had been made in the West even in the Dark Ages, and became even sharper and more pronounced in the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries.

The secular/canon law dichotomy had immense significance for the development of Western and Russian law. In many cultures, law has remained embedded in religion. Separating secular and canon law meant, essentially, that secular law regulating crimes, contracts, property, and torts could become autonomous from the institution of the Church. Where law remains embedded in religion, as in Islam and in Hindu law, a vastly different type of legal system is likely to result. It should, however, be borne in mind that the dichotomy between secular and canon law in the West did not mean that Christianity had no influence on secular law. To be sure, it had fundamental and seminal effects on concepts of justice and punishment. Nonetheless, secular law could develop in the hands of laymen and focus more on the concerns of this world.

The birth of canon law in Rus' coincided roughly with the Rus' Law. The Statute of Vladimir,[22] which probably dates originally from the eleventh

[22] *RZ*, 139–40; *Laws of Rus'*, 42–44; Ia. N. Shchapov, ed., *Drevnerusskie kniazheshie ustavy XI–XV vv.*, (Moscow: "Nauka," 1976).

century, defined the jurisdiction of the Church courts in Rus' to include adultery, rape, abduction of women for marriage, folk healing (medicine was theoretically under the control of the Church), witchcraft, heresy, and domestic violence. The Church courts were also given jurisdiction over all matters relating to Church people, such as priests, monks, sacristans, etc. The Statute of Vladimir also specifically prohibited the secular authorities and courts from interfering with canonical jurisdiction.

The Statute of Iaroslav,[23] which dates according to various authorities from the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries, provides for payments similar to wergild for composition of certain offenses within clerical jurisdiction. This aspect of early canon law, like the Rus' Law, thus had a distinctly folk-law rather than Byzantine cast. But the Statute of Iaroslav did provide that offenses such as consensual sexual relations between Church people, incest, sexual relations between related persons, sexual relations between one person and two brothers or two sisters, bigamy, and polygamy were punishable by a payment to the metropolitan, penance, punishment, or all three. In subsequent centuries, canonical jurisdiction expanded as the Church acquired substantial landed property. Peasants and artisans residing on such property became subject to the jurisdiction of Church courts.[24]

Little of Byzantine law can be found in the specific provisions of either the Rus' Law or the Statutes of Vladimir and Iaroslav. Perhaps the most immediate influence of Byzantine law on the law of Rus' at this point in its development was not the borrowing of specific provisions of Byzantine codes, but the distinction between canon and secular law, which presumably came about when the early (Byzantine) prelates of the Rus' Church demanded that the prince allow them to have their own courts, as they had at home.

By the time Rus' had codified its folk law, the West was already entering a revolutionary new phase of legal development. This legal revolution transformed Western law from folk law into the sophisticated system described by Berman. This legal revolution had several aspects.

First, and perhaps most important, was the rediscovery, study, and "acceptance" of Roman law. In the late eleventh century, the *Corpus Juris Civilis* of Justinian became part of the curriculum of study at Bologna. The *Corpus Juris*, compiled in 534, consisted of thousands of pages, including a code (*Codex*), new decrees (*Novellae*), a summary of legal principles or institutes (*Institutionum*), and legal commentaries by Roman scholars or digests (*Digesta*). This monumental compendium of Roman law contained not only a comprehensive system and theory of jurisprudence, but also the concept

[23] *RZ*, 168–70; *Laws of Rus'*, 44–50.

[24] See works cited in note 6, above.

of a law-based society. Moreover, the *Digesta* was a discussion of legal principles which demonstrated legal reasoning, analysis, and argument.

Detailed study of the *Corpus Juris* was taken up in other universities throughout Catholic Europe, including Paris in the twelfth century, Oxford in the thirteenth century, Heidelberg, and Karlovy (in Prague) and Cracow Universities in the eastern part of Catholic Europe in the late fourteenth century. In a lengthy curriculum of study, Greek dialectical reasoning was applied to resolving the various contradictory points in the *Corpus Juris*. To understand the vast *Corpus Juris* required nothing less: those who have attempted to grapple with it soon understand that it is difficult to understand any of it without understanding all of it. It contains many unstated assumptions and seeming inconsistencies. The graduates from the law faculties of these new universities became lawyers and legal scholars throughout Catholic Europe. The first and most direct impact of the rediscovery of Roman law was on Western canon law, which became an elaborate structure of written codes, papal decrees, scholarly treatises, and legal institutions and processes.[25]

The second important aspect of this legal revolution was the establishment of royal courts and the development of the concept of the felony. By the thirteenth century, Roman law had exercised a substantial impact on secular law. While there was little distinction between criminal and civil law in the barbarian codes, Roman law had clearly distinguished public prosecutions (*publica iudicia*), for such things as murder, from private actions (*actio*), for such things as compensation for damage to property.[26] The Christian concept of mortal sin also had significant effect on the development of the concept of felony, which, simply stated, conceived certain crimes as morally repugnant. Christianity, with its focus on sin, guilt, and penance, demanded that immoral acts be punished. Canon law also came to focus upon the degree of fault and moral blameworthiness of criminal behavior. The distinctions between premeditated, intentional but unpremeditated, reckless, negligent, and justifiable conduct became well-developed. The idea also developed that particularly heinous conduct, such as murder and robbery, was an offense not only against the victim, but also against the king and his "peace." During the reigns of Henry II in England (the Assize of Clarendon of 1167), Phillip Augustus of France (1180–1223), and Roger II of the Norman Kingdom of

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[25] For a concise summary of the study of Roman law in medieval Europe, see Charles Donahue, "Law, Civil—Corpus Juris, Revival and Spread," in Joseph Strayer, ed., *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1986), 7: 418–25; for general histories of law in Western Europe, see J. M. Kelly, *A Short History of Western Legal Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) and Robinson, Fergus and Gordon, *European Legal History,* chaps. 1–4.

[26] *Imperatoris Justiniani Institutionum* (Latin text and English translation by J. B. Moyle) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916), 627–60.

Sicily, royal courts were established for the prosecution of felonies. Murder became a crime punishable by state authorities.[27]

Third, irrational methods of adjudication (trial by ordeal and battle) were replaced by reliance on documentary evidence and examination of witnesses with firsthand knowledge of the facts. The Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 prohibited the participation of priests in ordeals, which were essentially eliminated as a trial technique. Trial by battle was abolished by statute in France in 1268, and by roughly 1300, irrational modes of proof had been drastically limited in England, as well.[28] In England and Denmark ordeal was initially replaced by group inquests (originally called juries in England).[29] At first, these inquests resembled compurgation, but eventually the technique of examining individual witnesses as to their knowledge of the facts was adopted from canonical procedure.[30] In other jurisdictions new modes of proof were introduced, such as torture, which were thought of as rational at the time (at least torture did not depend on the principle of divine intervention as did ordeal).

Rus', which had enacted its first barbarian code in the eleventh century, missed most of this revolution, or at least experienced it only much later. It entirely missed the rediscovery of Roman law and its disciplined study at universities. Not only did Christianity and the barbarian code phase of legal development come to Rus' later, but Russia also developed the law of crimes and rational procedures for determining guilt and liability several centuries later than the West.

These developments in Russian law were produced at least in part by the absorption of Roman legal principles, which had been imported through Byzantine law. Byzantine law also developed from the *Corpus Juris*, but in a different direction. While Western Europe attempted to understand the *Corpus Juris* in all its complexity, the later Byzantine emperors of the Isaurian and

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[27] For Berman's treatment of this subject, see Berman, 165–254 and 404–519. The classic work on the influence of canon law on concepts of fault in criminal procedure is Stephan Kuttner, *Kanonistische Schuldlehre* (Vatican City: 1935); for general treatment of influence of canon law on Western constitutional law, see Brian Tierney, *Religion, Law and the Growth of Constitutional Thought, 1150–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); for the influence of canon law on procedure, see Kelly, *Western Legal Theory*, chap. 4 and Robinson, *European Legal History*, chaps. 5 and 7.

[28] The disappearance of trial by battle and ordeal and the introduction of rational modes of proof was, of course, a complex evolution, described by Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water* and Kenneth Pennington, *The Prince and the Law: Sovereignty and Rights in the Western Legal Tradition 1200–1600* (Berkeley-Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982), chap. 4.

[29] Bartlett, *Trial*, 103–166.

[30] John P. Dawson, *The Oracles of the Law* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978), 180. For a succinct description of canonical procedures, see Robinson, *European Legal History*, 148–50.

Macedonian dynasties (eighth and ninth centuries A.D.) instead attempted to simplify the complex body of law they had inherited from Justinian. Indeed, the law school in Constantinople was closed for most of the last quarter of the first millennium.[31]

The two codifications which had the greatest impact on Rus' law were the *Ecloga* ("Selections") of Leo III, the Isaurian (A.D. 739)[32] and the *Procheiros nomos* ("Law Manual") of Basil I, the Macedonian (ca. A.D. 869).[33] As opposed to the thousands of pages of the *Corpus Juris*, the *Ecloga* covers only ninety pages and the *Procheiros nomos* only about a hundred pages in modern printed editions. These are statutes, pure and simple, and contain no discussion of legal principles such as one could find in the *Digesta* and *Institutionum*. The preamble to the *Procheiros nomos* specifically states that its goal is to simplify the law. Both statutes were, nonetheless, derived almost entirely from the *Corpus Juris*. They were, however, in Greek, rather than Latin. Both were also mostly devoted to such subjects as betrothal, marriage, divorce, wills, inheritances, and property transactions such as sales, leases, and deposits.[34] While these portions of the two statutes had influence on Rus' canon, family, property, and commercial law,[35] they will not be considered here. Instead, this study will focus on the chapters in each statute on testimony and on crimes and punishments, both of which had considerable influence on Rus' law.

The two Byzantine statutes were quite similar in their penal and testimonial provisions. The chapters on crimes and punishments (chapter 17 of the *Ecloga* and 39 of the *Procheiros nomos*) each defined a wide variety of crimes and prescribed a punishment for each. The *Ecloga* enumerated sixty-one crimes and the *Procheiros nomos*, eighty-six. The punishments were somewhat lighter in the earlier statute and Leo, in fact, claimed in his preamble that his goal was to Christianize the law. Both statutes distinguished between intentional and unintentional murder, as well as murder in self-defense, and distinguished as

[31] It was reopened in 1045. Robert Byron, *The Byzantine Achievement* (London and New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1929), 116–21.

[32] *Ekloga, vizantiiskii zakonodatel'nyi svod VIII veka*, intro. and trans. into modern Russian by Ye. E. Lipshits (Moscow: Nauka, 1965), 63–64. For an English translation of a close equivalent of the *Ecloga*, see Edwin H. Freshfield, *A Revised Manual of Roman Law, Founded upon the Ecloga of Leo III and Constantine V of Isauria, Ecloga Privata Aucta* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927). Citations to the *Ecloga* will be to the latter edition.

[33] Edwin H. Freshfield, *A Manual of Eastern Roman Law, The Procheiros Nomos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928).

[34] For a good description of Byzantine law in practice, see Rosemary Morris, "Dispute Settlement in The Byzantine Provinces in the Tenth Century," in Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre, *The Settlement of Disputes In Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 125–48.

[35] For an analysis of the influence of Byzantine law on Russian law relating to women's property rights, see Weickhardt, "Legal Rights of Women."

well between negligent and accidental harm. The *Procheiros nomos*, for example, punished willful murder by death, while manslaughter was punishable by exile (*PN* 39:79, 86).[36] The *Ecloga* distinguished between death in a fight where dangerous weapons were used, which was punishable by the cutting off of a hand, from death occasioned by a "lighter missile," punishable by flogging (*E* 17:47). A property owner was not liable for damage to adjoining property by a fire started accidentally, but he was for a fire starting due to his carelessness. Intentional arson was punishable by death (E 17:41). Both statutes dealt, as well, with treason, theft, battery, and a variety of sexual crimes (rape, incest, etc.). In general, the most serious crimes were punishable by death, mutilation (cutting off of hands, nose slitting), and flogging. Others were punishable by fines and exile. In the case of theft, the *Ecloga* specified more severe punishments for second-time offenders (*E* 17:50). The concepts of complicity, conspiracy, and aiding and abetting were also employed (*PN* 39:24, 36, 37). In sum, the two Byzantine statutes were based on Roman concepts of crime and punishment. Under Roman law, punishment was harsher for intentional crimes and for crimes causing greater injury. This is in contrast to the wergild principles of the barbarian codes, where the intent and punishment are not relevant. Russian law would eventually absorb these Roman concepts.

The chapters on testimony (chapter 15 in the *Ecloga* and 27 in the *Procheiros nomos*) were also similar to each other. They each required testimony from trustworthy and unbiased witnesses (*E* 15:1; *PN* 27:1, 8). The *Ecloga* required a preliminary determination by the judge as to the reliability and objectivity of the witnesses (*E* 15:1, 5). Various provisions in the statutes barred testimony from ignoble persons or persons "not of honorable rank," slaves, paupers, and adulterers (*E* 15:1, 6; *PN* 27:1, 26). Both statutes also barred hearsay and compelling a witness to give testimony against himself (E 15:4, 15; *PN* 27:18, 31). The *Procheiros nomos* required debts to be proved by a writing witnessed by five persons (*PN* 27:3). The *Ecloga* required a minimum number of witnesses for all cases (5 or 2–3, depending on the matter to be proved) (*E* 15:18, 19). The *Procheiros nomos*, on the other hand, emphasized the credibility rather than the number of witnesses (*PN* 27:13). Perjury was made a crime (*PN* 39:65). Eventually, Russian law was to absorb the *Ecloga*'s scheme of requiring a minimum number of witnesses of certain minimum social status. More importantly, it was to adopt, eventually, the

[36] Citation to the *Procheiros nomos* will be by the abbreviation "*PN*," followed by the chapter number, a colon, and then the article number. Citation to the *Ecloga* will be by the abbreviation "*E*" and the same notation as to chapter and article.

more general Byzantine concept of resolving factual disputes by testimony of competent and reliable witnesses.

Kaiser has observed that these two Byzantine statutes represent a different phase in Byzantine law than the *Corpus Juris,* one might even say a retrogression.[37] One might say that they bear the same relation to Roman law, as compiled in the *Corpus Juris*, as Byzantine art bears to classic Greek and Roman art. Later emperors found the highly elaborate and sophisticated provisions of the *Corpus Juris* unsuitable. While it would take professional lawyers to understand the vast *Corpus Juris*, the *Ecloga* and *Procheiros nomos* were much simpler and shorter statutes which laymen could more easily understand and administer.

At the same time, both the *Ecloga* and *Procheiros nomos* retained many of the advanced features of the *Corpus Juris*. Unlike the Rus' Law and like the Roman law, the *Ecloga* and *Procheiros nomos* clearly distinguished criminal law from civil law and codified a system of state-imposed punishments and rational evidentiary procedures. The evidentiary provisions in many ways represent an advance in clarity and utility over the *Corpus Juris*. Evidence and trial procedure were, in fact, not even discussed in the *Institutionum*, and were given scant and scattered attention in the *Digesta*.[38] While the Byzantines also continued to use professional lawyers as judges,[39] the *Ecloga* and *Procheiros nomos* performed the invaluable service of stating a simplified but rational procedure for examining witnesses which could be understood by an official who had no elaborate legal training. The simplification of the law in these statutes was to have great significance for the development of Russian law. No universities or lengthy curricula of study would be necessary to understand these statutes. It was thus unnecessary for a nation which chose to "accept" them to create a caste of professional legal scholars or lawyers.

There is considerable diversity of opinion as to when the two Byzantine statutes became available in Rus' in Slavonic translation. A recent study has argued persuasively from linguistic evidence that the *Ecloga* was translated into a form of Slavonic similar to that in the Rus' Law as early as the eleventh century.[40] Most earlier scholarship dates the arrival of Slavonic

[37] Kaiser, 173–74.

[38] Even the vast *Digesta* devotes relatively little space to witnesses: *Corpus luris civilis* (Berlin: August Raabe, 1954) 1:327 (bk. 22, pt. 5).

[39] Edwin Hanson Freshfield, *Roman Law in the Later Roman Empire, The Isaurian Period, Eighth Century, The Ecloga* (Cambridge, UK: Bowes & Bowes, 1932), 23–25, 48–55.

[40] L. V. Milov, "O Drevnerusskom perevode vizantiiskogo kodeksa zakonov VIII veka (Eklogi)," *Istoriia SSSR* 1976, no. 1: 142–63.

translations of the Byzantine statutes from the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries.[41]

By the thirteenth century, a substantial collection of Byzantine canon law had been compiled in the Pilot's Book.[42] All editions of the Pilot's Book included Slavonic translations of the so-called nomocanon (the canons of the early ecumenical councils of the Christian Church) and at least certain parts of the *Ecloga* and the *Procheiros nomos*. A later version of the *Kormchaia*, which was available in south Rus' by the end of the thirteenth century, contained virtually the entire *Ecloga* and *Procheiros nomos*. The two Byzantine statutes were also available in a guide for procedure in the canonical courts called the *Merilo pravednoe*, which had appeared by at least the fourteenth century. The chapters on testimony and crimes were also loosely translated and abbreviated as chapters (entitled "O poslushekh" and "O kaznakh," respectively) of the so-called Law Books (*Knigi zakonniia*), which appeared, according to various scholars, sometime in the thirteenth through the fifteenth century.[43] Thus the initial use of Byzantine law by the Rus' was in canonical matters, and the two Byzantine statutes were essentially incorporated into the compendia of canon law.

Through the medium of canon law, Byzantine concepts of crime were available to the Rus' perhaps as early as the eleventh century and by the fifteenth century at the latest. Daniel Kaiser has already traced the evolution of the wergild or "dyadic" system of Rus' into a "triadic" system of crimes prosecuted and punished by the prince.[44] Benemanskii has traced the influence of the *Procheiros nomos* on this evolution. Only a brief summary of Kaiser's and Benemanskii's more elaborate descriptions will be provided here. As in the West, Roman law (in its Byzantine variant) and canon law played a key role in this process. As noted above, the Statute of Iaroslav contained the concept of treating certain conduct as morally offensive to and punishable by the Church, and even the Rus' Law required the composition payment for a crime to be made to the prince in certain circumstances. Early on, the Rus' Church courts also employed corporal punishments against both Church people and laymen.[45]

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[41] See works by Schapov cited in note 6.

[42] The most readily available edition in Western libraries is *Drevne-Slavianskaia Kormchaia XIV Titolov bez tolkovanii:* 1, V. N. Beneshevich, ed., St. Petersburg: (Spbg: Tip. Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1906); 2, Ia. N. Shchapov, ed., (Sofia: Izd. Bolgarskoi AN, 1987). This edition does not contain the *Ecloga* and *Procheiros nomos*. For a study of the Kormchaia, see P. Ivan Zuzek, *Kormcaja Kniga* (Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1964).

[43] Benemanskii, *Zakon Gradskii*, 36–93; Kaiser, 18–39.

[44] Kaiser, 62–93.

[45] Benemanskii, 144–47.

Berman's paradigm of the sponsorship of Roman legal norms by the clergy (as well as the initial resistance of the Rus' to these norms) is perfectly illustrated by the following entry for 996 in the Primary Chronicle:

> While Vladimir was thus dwelling in the fear of God, the number of bandits increased, and the bishops, calling to his attention the multiplication of robbers, inquired why he did not punish them. The Prince answered that he feared the sin entailed. They replied that he was appointed of God for the chastisement of malefactors and for the practice of mercy toward the righteous, so that it was entirely fitting for him to punish a robber condignly, but only after due process of law. Vladimir accordingly abolished wergild and set out to punish the brigands. The bishop and the elders then suggested that as wars were frequent, the wergild might be properly spent for the purchase of arms and horses, to which Vladimir assented. Thus Vladimir lived according to the prescriptions of his father and his grandfather.[46]

We know from the later compilation of the Rus' Law that wergild was not eliminated; it was probably only suspended. Obviously, however, punishment was a concept somewhat alien to Vladimir but fundamental to the Byzantine clerics mentioned in this passage.

Among the early indications of Byzantine influence on secular law were several compilations of law by the Church that contained Byzantine norms. Perhaps the most widely distributed compilation of Byzantine inspiration in Rus' was the Court Law for the People (*Zakon sudnyi liudem*).[47] This compilation was of South or West Slavic origin, but was heavily influenced by the *Ecloga*. The earliest surviving Rus' version, from Novgorod, dates from 1280, but it is not clear that this compilation was ever adopted as a binding code in any part of Rus'. One thoughtful interpretation of the Court Law concludes that the Church promoted it as a model for the reconstruction of Rus' after the Mongol invasion.[48] If this is correct, then the Court Law is one of the best pieces of evidence we have of the sponsorship of Byzantine legal norms by the Church. In contrast to the wergild system of Rus', the Court Law, like the Byzantine statutes, treated particularly heinous conduct as

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[46] Translation by Samuel H. Cross, *The Russian Primary Chronicle* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1930), 210–11.

[47] M. N.Tikhomirov, *Zakon sudnyi liudem, kratkoi redaktskii* (Moscow: Akademii nauk SSSR, 1961), 104–109; *Zakon sudnyi Ljudem (Court Law for the People)*, trans. H. W. Dewey and A. M. Kleimola, Michigan Slavic Materials No. 14 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Dept. of Slavic Languages and Literatures, 1977), 1–51.

[48] Ann M. Kleimola, "Law and Social Change in Medieval Russia: The *Zakon Sudnyi Lyudem* as a Case Study," *Oxford Slavonic Papers* 9 (1976): 16–27.

criminal, rather than merely tortious. It defined numerous offenses such as murder, brigandage, arson and sexual relations with animals as crimes. The types of punishment provided include death by sword, flogging, enslavement, and mutilation, which again showed heavy Byzantine influence. It was also clear that the prince was to be the judge in such cases. While there is little evidence that the Court Law was the actual and specific source of later Russian penal law, subsequent codifications similarly began to treat certain heinous conduct as crimes.

After the Rus′ Law, the next great codification in Rus′ was the Pskov Judicial Charter,[49] most of which was compiled in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It treated some offenses as crimes. Theft was punishable by death for the third offense or when committed in the kremlin of the city. Spies, horse thieves and arsonists were also to be put to death (sections 7 and 8). A princely fine was also payable for tearing another's beard.

The Pskov Charter, however, was only of regional applicability. The Rus′ Law remained in effect in most Rus′ lands. It was not in any event until the Muscovite Code (*Sudebnik*) of 1497[50] that the concepts of crimes and royal courts were fully developed. The 1497 Code provided the death penalty for murder, kidnapping, arson, spying, temple robbery, and second time thievery (1497: 9, 11). It also specified the death penalty for a "notorious" (*zavedomyi*) thief (1497: 8). One perhaps sees in these provisions the influence of the Byzantine concept of stricter punishment for recidivists, found in the *Ecloga*, and the Christian concept of stricter punishment for "evil" persons. Special procedures were provided for prosecuting theft, including torture and testimony from a certain number of petty nobles or peasants. The Byzantine concept of commanding the defendant to appear by a summons issued by the court was adopted, and we also see for the first time a clear specification of the personnel of secular courts. The 1497 Code specified that boyars and *okol'nichie* were to serve as judges. Boyar and *okol'nichii* were the two highest ranks in the tsar's service and were reserved for certain families. The boyars and *okol'nichie*, of which there were perhaps a dozen at the time, also served as generals, local administrators and eventually as chancellery chiefs in the tsar's central administration. They were thus not judicial specialists but governmental generalists.

The clergy clearly supported the introduction of Byzantine (and Christian) concepts of crime and punishment. The view of Joseph of Volokolamsk was emblematic. He strongly advocated the death penalty for the Novgorod Heretics, and the Church in fact employed death, torture, and imprisonment

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[49] *RZ*, 1: 331–43; *Laws of Rus′*, 86–105.

[50] *RZ*, 2: 113; the 1497 Code will be cited here as "1497:[section number]."

against heretics in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[51] The growing influence of Byzantine law is not surprising when one considers that the Byzantine Empire was one of the few foreign powers, other than the Mongols, with whom Northeastern Rus' had close relations in the period 1250–1450. Indeed, the metropolitan during this period continued to be Greek as often as Russian.

Most of the penal provisions of the 1497 Code were also incorporated in the Code of 1550.[52] There was also somewhat more detail about trials. Judicial power was extended to secretaries (*d'iaki*), the officials who were eventually to become the closest thing in pre-Petrine Russia to a legal professional. Unlike the boyars and *okol'nichie*, the secretaries did not serve as field commanders and local governors, but they did have administrative responsibilities in addition to their judicial duties. They were, thus, not purely legal specialists, but they came close. A secretary was also to record trial testimony (1550:28). Thus, a system of royal courts manned by personnel who were, to some extent, judicial specialists and charged with prosecuting serious crime did not solidify itself in Russia until at least two or three centuries later than in the West.

The final and most remarkable developments in Muscovite criminal law came with the Law Code of 1649,[53] which will be considered later after we have surveyed the development of evidentiary procedure. But even prior to the 1649 Law Code, Russian law was developing in the same direction as Western law. Canon and Byzantine law played an important role in this process. This is certainly not surprising inasmuch as the clergy played an important role in everything which required literacy and learning. The development of Russian law, however, lagged considerably behind Western law.

The transition from irrational to rational methods of adjudication has likewise been described in great detail by Kaiser, at least through the fifteenth century, and by Benemanskii. Kaiser quite correctly observes that rational adjudication had not completely displaced irrational methods of adjudication even in the 1497 Code, despite clerical opposition to judicial duels. If, however, one traces the history of the Russian law of evidence and civil

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[51] Benemanskii, 157; David M. Goldfrank, "Theocratic Imperatives, the Transcendent, the Worldly, and Political Justice in Russia's Early Inquisitions," in Charles Timberlake, ed., *Religious and Secular Forces in Late Tsarist Russia* (Seattle, Wash.: Univ. of Washington Press, 1992), 30–47.

[52] *RZ.*, 2: 192–95. The 1550 code will be cited here as "1550:[section number]."

[53] Richard Hellie, *The Muscovite Law Code, The Ulozhenie of 1649* (Irvine, Calif.: Charles Schlacks, 1988). The Ulozhenie will be cited by "*U*," followed by the chapter number, a colon, and the article number.

procedure through the 1649 Law Code, it is apparent that, by that time, judicial duels and compurgation no longer played a role in Russian law. Of all the aspects of the Western legal revolution to find parallels in pre-Petrine Russia, this was the most delayed, lagging almost four centuries after the triumph of rational procedures in the West.

In tracing this long transition to rational procedures in Rus′, one must start again with the Rus′ Law. Although it provided that some matters be settled by ordeal or compurgation, it also referred occasionally to objective evidence, such as catching a murderer in the act or catching a thief with stolen goods. Likewise, when an accused thief maintained that he had purchased the allegedly stolen goods, he and the victim confronted his seller in a procedure known as a *svod*. This seller could, in turn, confront the person from whom he purchased the goods until the thief was identified. Business partners could resolve disputes about their shares through an investigation (*izvod*) of twelve men, although Kaiser believes that these were character rather than fact witnesses.[54] One scholar sees Byzantine influence behind the development of the *izvod*.[55]

As indicated above, the *Ecloga* and *Procheiros nomos* each contains more or less rational procedures for eliciting eyewitness or first-hand testimony. These Byzantine norms initially appear to have had little influence on procedure in secular courts in Rus′. The canonical courts received them more readily, and there is reason to believe that they had become the standard guide for canonical procedure by the fourteenth century. They were incorporated in such Church compilations as "On Witnesses" and the *Merilo pravednoe*, mentioned above. By the same point in time, the canonical courts had also been organized into territorial units arranged in a hierarchy of which the metropolitan was the highest instance.[56] As in the West, the churchmen in Rus′ took a great interest in the law of evidence and procedure. The spiritual interest of the Church in any type of oath, sworn testimony, and perjury was natural, as was its spiritual interest in arrangements which a parishioner made for passing from this world. It also had a material interest in wills, testaments and deeds involving gifts of property to the Church. Indeed, the Church was, along with the government, one of the principal guardians and promoters of writing, and churchmen were among the few literate elements of the population (although not all churchmen were literate). Churchmen in Rus′ also obviously regarded judicial duels as inappropriate for their own courts, especially duels between churchmen, for there is no mention of duels in the

[54] Kaiser, 131.

[55] Milov, 162–63.

[56] Shchapov, *Kniazheskie ustavy*, 311.

various Church statutes. Even in the secular legislation, a priest, nun or monk was allowed to hire a fighter if it were necessary to duel.[57]

The influence of Christian and Byzantine concepts can be seen in the provisions of the Court Law for People relating to evidence and procedure. It required a prince or judge to conduct a thorough investigation (*ispytanie*) among reliable and unbiased witnesses. Hearsay testimony was inadmissible, but, as in the *Ecloga,* a minimum (but greater) number of witnesses—eleven for major disputes—was required. Gradually, the churchmen began to exert some effect on secular procedure.[58] Already in 1410, the Church had taken the position that those who died in judicial duels were not entitled to a Christian burial.[59] Maksim Grek, likewise, expressed sharp criticism of judicial duels and cross-kissing (the type of oath used for the Russian version of compurgation).[60]

While reserving an important place for judicial duels, the Pskov Charter and the Muscovite Codes of 1497 and 1550 made some progress in developing rational methods of adjudication. The Pskov Charter relied on written deeds in litigation relating to ownership of land, and the two Muscovite codes relied upon writings not only for trial records and judgments, but also for manumission of slaves, promissory notes, receipts, and summonses (1497: 15–28, 35, 40, 42, 66; 1550: 36, 41, 76–77). While the provisions of the Muscovite codes on dueling are much more elaborate than the provisions on testimony, both did require witnesses to tell the truth and testify only to what they had seen. The 1550 Code also did not allow a matter which could be resolved by a document or testimony to be resolved by dueling (1550: 15).

The 1497 Code also provided for taking the testimony of five or six *deti boiarskie* or peasants in theft and robbery cases to determine whether the accused was a "notorious" (*zavedomyi*) thief (1497: 8, 13). This procedure, which eventually developed into the general investigation (*povalnyi obysk*), had several possible origins. One possible source is the *Ecloga,* which, as indicated above, provides for an inquiry among well-to-do people in the community and requires a minimum number of witnesses (*E* 15:1, 18–19). The general investigation could have also been derived from the Byzantine inspired sections of the Court Law for the People which required the judge or prince to conduct a thorough investigation and locate eleven trustworthy

[57] For the Church statutes, see *Laws of Rus'*, 41–65; for clerical duels see Pskov Charter 21; 1550:17, 19.

[58] Kaiser, 144–48.

[59] V. S. Nersesants, ed., *Razvitie russkogo prava v XV–pervoi polovine XVII v.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1986), 238–41.

[60] Benemanski, 175.

witnesses. Another possible source was the *izvod* in the Rus′ Law. Other possible sources are Western law or common folk law traditions of the Slavic and Teutonic peoples. As noted above, an inquiry in the community was also used in England, France, Germany, and Italy. While it is not possible to rule out any of these sources, the similarity to Byzantine precedents is quite striking.

In any event, the investigation was further developed in Russia in the 1550 Code, where it was first called *obysk.* An *obysk* required the testimony of fifteen to twenty peasants and was directed at determining whether the accused was an evil *(likhii)* man (1550: 52, 58). (This is perhaps another example of Christian concepts of good and evil appearing in the law.)

The next important codification was the Law Code of 1649. This study cannot hope to resolve the contentious issue of how many provisions in the 1649 Law Code were borrowed directly from the *Procheiros nomos* or the *Ecloga.* We have precious little evidence about how the 1649 Law Code was drafted, and absolutely none about how earlier Muscovite legislation was compiled. For most Code sections a scholar's only recourse is to compare the language of each Muscovite provision to its presumed source. Using this approach, Benemanskii claimed that 122 of the 967 articles of the 1649 Code were direct borrowings from the *Procheiros nomos,* while Tiktin claimed an even higher number of borrowings. Tiktin employs more than textual similarity to support his theory of borrowing. He cites earlier research which enumerated twenty-five articles which the manuscript copy of the Law Code identifies as "from the *Procheiros nomos*" (*iz gradskikh zakonov*).[61]

Richard Hellie has carefully examined Tiktin's assignments of direct borrowing and persuasively demonstrated that Tiktin's conclusions are highly exaggerated.[62] They are often based on little more than some vague resemblance in subject matter between provisions of the Law Code and their presumed source. Hellie considers that no more than fifty articles (about five percent of the total) are direct borrowings, but he considers in excess of one hundred additional articles to be indirect borrowings. The areas of direct borrowing in Hellie's opinion are the provisions on crimes against God, the Church, the tsar, and the state; military service; relations between and liabilities of adjoining property owners; and certain business transactions (these provisions are found in chapters 1, 2, 3, 7, and 10 of the Law Code). He further believes that all but a few of the provisions of the penal chapter (22) were either direct or indirect borrowings. Because all of these provisions

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[61] Tiktin, L. The sections are *U* 1:1, 2:4, 7:20–29, 10:171, 224–28, 233, 259–60, 272–73, 275–78, 17:15, 22:1.

[62] Richard Hellie, "Byzantine Law in Muscovy," unpublished manuscript.

cannot be considered here, we shall again limit the present focus to Byzantine influence on concepts of crime and evidentiary procedure.

While Tiktin's claims of direct borrowing are probably exaggerated, both he and Benemanskii do pose the issue of borrowing from Byzantine sources by the draftsmen of the Law Code more broadly in terms of concepts.[63] While specific articles, for example providing the punishment for a particular crime, may not have been directly borrowed or copied from the Byzantine statutes, the draftsmen of the 1649 Law Code were probably influenced in more fundamental ways. Certainly their underlying concept of a crime or felony as an offense against the state and punishable by the state owed much to Byzantine influence, as did the idea of a separate chapter of the Code containing a lengthy enumeration of crimes and penalties. Both the Byzantine statutes contained such a chapter, as noted above. Moreover, penalties scaled to the seriousness of the crime, such as punishing murder with the death penalty and robbery with knouting and mutilation, had appeared as punishments in Muscovite legislation long before the 1649 Law Code, largely due to Byzantine and clerical influence. Likewise the idea that recidivists be more harshly punished than first time offenders had been introduced to Russian legislation as early as the Pskov Judicial Charter.

More importantly, the 1649 Law Code made several important innovations in the definition of crimes according to intent or the degree of fault. One article (*U* 21:72) introduced the concept of intentional murder. This relatively sophisticated concept was borrowed from either the *Ecloga* (*E* 15: 46–47) or the *Procheiros nomos* (*PN* 39:79). Both the Byzantine statutes punished intentional murder with death, while they punished murder committed in a fight (what would be considered either second degree murder or manslaughter in modern parlance) less harshly. The 1649 Law Code generally made this same distinction. While intentional murder was punishable by death, unintentional murder of a boyar's slave or peasant was not. The murderer, instead, was knouted and had to replace the peasant or slave with one of his own (*U* 21:93). Other articles as well scale the punishment to the degree of fault. Article *U* 22:17 also provided a severe punishment, merciless knouting, for a homicide caused by reckless conduct, while Article *U* 22:20 clarified that there was no punishment for an accidental death. The 1649 Law Code also borrowed Byzantine concepts of justifiable homicide, such as exonerating one who killed a thief in one's home (see *U* 10:200 vs. *PN* 39:4) or a slave who killed in defense of his master (*U* 22:21 vs. *PN* 39:39).

Relying on Byzantine norms, the 1649 Law Code also introduced the concepts of conspiracy, aiding and abetting, and other types of complicity,

[63] See, for example, Tiktin, 56–78.

including ordering another to commit a crime, harboring a thief, etc. (see *U* 21:23, 61, 63; *U* 22:12, 16, 19, 26; PN 39:14, 36, 37, 64). The concepts of more stringent punishments for recidivists and for crimes committed with intent were also further elaborated (*U* 21:72, 73; 22:9, 10, 12). Thus, by the time of the Law Code, Russian law had absorbed sophisticated Roman (and Christian) concepts of intent, degree of fault, and complicity.

Byzantine influence is also explicitly evident in a comprehensive revision of the chapters in the Law Code dealing with criminal procedure (21) and criminal penalties (22), which appeared in 1669, the so-called *novoukaznye stat'i.* This revision contains 128 articles, of which eighteen specifically cite the *Procheiros nomos* either as a source or as providing a parallel but slightly different rule. Most of the latter eighteen articles deal with criminal penalties.[64]

Lastly, the 1649 Law Code, for the first time, adopted for secular litigation a procedure based upon the longstanding clerical rules on evidence and testimony. Hearsay testimony was made inadmissible (*U* 10:172), and documentary evidence was required for certain matters. To collect a debt, the plaintiff had to present a written note (*U* 10:189), and to prevail in a dispute over ownership to land, the plaintiff usually had to produce a deed which had been properly recorded with the Service Land Chancellery (e.g., *U* 17:34). Witnesses were to be designated in advance by each party, and if the parties designated the same witness or witnesses, the testimony of that witness or witnesses would determine the outcome (*U* 10:158–160, 167). If one party designated reputable witnesses and the other party designated none, the former would prevail (*U* 10:158). In the event no common witnesses were designated, the judge ordered an investigation among at least twenty members of the community (*U* 10:161, 162, 167). The party for whom most witnesses testified initially, prevailed (*U* 10:161). However, the losing side could challenge the majority, in which event the matter was resolved by the credibility of a few trustworthy witnesses (*U* 10:162). The investigation appears to have evolved into an inquiry into fact, because no mention is made of determining whether the accused is an evil person. One who lied in a general investigation was also subject to severe sanctions (*U* 10:162). The 1649 Law Code thus expanded the use of the *obysk* or investigation to all civil trials, and established a more or less rational procedure for adjudicating facts which seems similar in a number of important respects to the Byzantine codes. No mention was made of judicial duels.

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[64] Articles 28, 44, 79, 84, 85, 86, 88, 93, 99, 102, 105, 106, 108, 109, 111, 112, 116 and 123. *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii* (St. Petersburg, 1831) 1:774–800 (item 431).

While only the provisions on hearsay, documentary evidence of debts, and credibility can be directly traced to the *Ecloga* and *Procheiros nomos*, the scheme of utilizing eyewitness testimony and documentary evidence follows the Byzantine practice in a general way.

Byzantine law was, however, not the only foreign source of the 1649 Law Code. The other important foreign source was the Lithuanian Statute of 1588.[65] Hellie has concluded that between 170 and 180 articles of the 1649 Law Code owe their origin to the Lithuanian Statute, including many of the penal provisions in chapters 1, 2, 3 and, again, 22, as well as provisions on military service. He found, at the same time, that borrowing from the Lithuanian Statute was not slavish but highly selective, and that Lithuanian norms were often creatively adapted to Muscovite needs.[66] He further believes that some Byzantine legal norms may have entered Russia via the Lithuanian Statutes.

As indisputably important as the Lithuanian Statute was, the concept of crime in the 1649 Law Code bears greater resemblance to the Byzantine concept than to the Lithuanian concept. The 1588 Lithuanian Statute, while it specifies punishments for crimes, also retains a primitive feature, namely a payment in the nature of wergild called *golovshchina*. The eastern Rus' had long outgrown this institution by the time of the 1649 Code, which contains no trace of it (other than in the provision for dishonor payments). Indeed, the eastern Rus' had absorbed the Byzantine concept of crime as an offense against the tsar or prince (versus a tort against another subject of the tsar) long before the Lithuanian Statute. The Lithuanian Statute is also less elaborate than both the 1649 law and the Byzantine statutes in distinguishing between degrees of fault. See, for example, *LS* 1588, 12:1, 2, which make murder punishable by death, but which do not in any way distinguish intentional, unintentional, or negligent murder. (*LS* 1588, 14:21 does, however, exonerate one who murders a thief in his home, and *LS* 1588, 1:3 dealt with intent to kill the sovereign.)

The case for Byzantine versus Lithuanian influence on the 1649 Law Code is further strengthened by the fact that the evidentiary procedures in the 1588 Lithuanian Statute are markedly different from and more primitive than those in the Law Code. Under the 1588 Statute, each side was to produce witnesses. If one side successfully discredited the testimony of the other side's witnesses, the side offering those witnesses had an opportunity to produce

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[65] I. I. Lappov, *Litovskii statut v Moskovskom perevode-redakstii* (Moscow, 1909). This edition is based on a Russian translation of the statute which dates from the 1630s. It is cited in the text as *LS* 1588, followed by chapter number and article number.

[66] Richard Hellie, "Early Modern Russian Law: The Ulozhenie of 1649," *Russian History*, 15, nos. 2–4 (summer fall winter 1988): 164.

additional witnesses. The 1588 Statute is not specific as to how a litigant is to impeach or discredit the other side's witnesses, but at one point it does indicate that a witness should be disqualified if it could be shown that he could not have been present to witness the events in question. If the defendant unjustly discredited the plaintiff's witnesses, he had to pay compensation to them. (*LS* 1588, 4:76–79.) Another provision specified that at least two or three good witnesses were deemed sufficient to prove a fact (*LS* 1588, 4:81). At the same time, the 1588 Statute recognized that some matters could be settled by documents, such as disputes over title to land (*LS* 1588, 4:82). Only when factual evidence was unavailable was a matter to be settled by oaths of the litigants. The procedural scheme of the 1588 Lithuanian Statute thus differs dramatically from that of the 1649 Muscovite Code (and also from the Byzantine statutes).

Thus the evidentiary and penal provisions in the Muscovite 1649 Code bear greater resemblance to the Byzantine statutes than to the 1588 Lithuanian Statute. The Muscovites were, nevertheless, probably influenced by the heavy reliance of the Lithuanian Statute on deeds in land disputes. There was also heavy Lithuanian influence in many other areas, as indicated by Hellie. And, in a more general way, the Lithuanian Statute of 1588 was influential in holding up to the Muscovites a model of adjudication where factual testimony and documents, rather than duels, were used to resolve disputed issues. Lithuanian procedure in the 1588 Statute clearly appears to be designed to elicit factual testimony rather than formulaic incantations about the character of the parties. The 1588 Statute was also an important influence on the general idea of having a lengthy and comprehensive published and printed code covering all important issues of procedural and substantive law. In a modern printed edition, the 1588 Statute covers almost four hundred pages and the section on civil procedure takes up almost one-fourth of this total. The Muscovites attempted a similar level of comprehensiveness and detail in their 1649 Code.[67]

[67] Because of its pervasive influence on Muscovite law in these and other areas, it is important to ask to what extent the Lithuanian Statute was a "Western" influence. This is a major issue itself which could be the subject of an entire separate study. Only a few observations can be made here. The Lithuanians had been converted to Roman Catholicism in 1387 (they were one of the last European nations to be Christianized). In 1385, Lithuania also entered into a dual monarchy with Poland, another Catholic nation which was to experience both the Renaissance and the Reformation. The three Lithuanian Statutes (1529, 1566, and 1588), however, clearly relied upon the Rus' Law and other Rus' legal devices and concepts as a major source. K. I. Iablonskis, ed., *Statut velikogo kniazhestva litovskogo, 1529 goda,* (Minsk: Izdat. Akademii nauk BSSR, 1960). They contain provisions on dishonor, redhanded evidence, wergild, and clan redemption, which are similar to Muscovite legislation. The influence of Lithuanian folk law is also pervasive. V. I. Picheta, "Litovskii statut 1529 g. i ego istochniki," in

One could hypothesize that the Russians did not borrow concepts of intent from the Byzantines, but independently invented modern concepts of crime and punishment. This, however, would seem highly unlikely in view of the similarities of Muscovite legislation to Byzantine concepts of degrees of fault. Here the comparative law approach is particularly useful in discerning common patterns of development and influence. In the West, where we know much more about the origins of criminal law, the modern concept of intent arose only after Roman law became widely known and "accepted" and only after canon law had articulated the concept of punishment.

If Benemanskii, Tiktin, Kaiser, and the present study are correct that a substantial part of Muscovite evidentiary law and substantive criminal law are of Byzantine inspiration, why was Byzantine influence so delayed? Slavonic translations of the chapters from the *Ecloga* and *Procheiros nomos* had been available for several (perhaps as many as six) centuries before their norms were substantially absorbed into Muscovite law. Why were they not readily "accepted" when they first arrived in Rus'? Why were these norms not fully absorbed into secular legislation until the sixteenth and seventeenth century? Shchapov gives the standard Marxist analysis. Byzantine law, he says, was appropriate to an ancient slaveholding society, while medieval Rus' was a feudal society.[68] This explanation makes little sense because Justinian's even more Roman *Corpus Juris* was readily and widely accepted by the "feudal" societies of Western Europe.

Iablonskis, *Statut*, 13–30.

But the Lithuanian Statutes also show the influence of Polish law in the area of procedure. Polish law was clearly a part of Western law. Poland had a Western-style law school in Cracow (founded in 1364), and Polish legislation was, in fact, promulgated in Latin. The most recent Polish codification prior to the first Lithuanian Statute had been Casimir's Statute of 1468. Numerous similarities have been noted between this statute and the first Lithuanian Statute, particularly in the areas of grants of judicial immunity to local landowners, certain crimes of violence against landed property and persons, procedure for suits concerning land, harboring thieves, punishment of thieves, and individual responsibility for crime. See I. P. Starostina, "K voprosu ob evolutsii prava velikogo kniazhestva Litovskogo v kontse XV – nachale XVI veka (na primere sopostavleniia Sudebnika Kazimira 1468 i I Litovskogo Statuta)," *Pervyi Litovskii Statut 1529 goda* (Vilnius: Ministerstvo vysshego i srednego spetsial'nogo obrazovaniia Litovskoi SSR, 1982). Moreover, it has been claimed that one of the draftsmen of the 1529 Lithuanian Statute was F. Skorina (Skaryna), a Ruthenian biblical and legal scholar, and that his Western humanist ideas about the relationship between moral and juridical law, objectivity of triers of fact, natural law, and a compact between ruler and ruled as a source of law are apparent in the 1529 Lithuanian Statute. V. M. Konon, "Gumanisticheskie istoki statuta velikogo kniazhestva litovskogo 1529 goda," *Pervyi Litovskii Statut.* It is, however, difficult to trace any indirect influence of these Western or Polish ideas on the 1649 Law Code via the 1588 Lithuanian Statute.

[68] Ia. N. Shchapov, *Vizantiiskoe i iuzhnoslavianskoe pravovoe*, 3–8.

Benemanskii gives a more commonsensical interpretation: when the Rus′ first became familiar with the Byzantine Empire's legal system, their customs and folk law were quite primitive in comparison with the highly sophisticated and mature Byzantine norms.[69] This type of resistance can be seen in the portion of the Primary Chronicle quoted above. The Byzantine legal system, moreover, presupposed a literate and culturally enlightened corps of legal administrators. Kaiser would presumably say that Rus′ was still in the dyadic phase of legal development when it first became familiar with the Byzantine triadic system. A people with folk institutions like wergild, ordeal, and trial by battle were unprepared to recognize the desirability of more sophisticated norms like criminal penalties and an objective system of evidentiary procedure. It was not until Christian concepts of justice had been fully absorbed and a corps of legal semi-professionals—the *d'iaki*—began to administer the Muscovite legal system that the desirability of these Byzantine norms was recognized.

The Muscovites were, however, highly selective in their borrowings from Byzantine law. For example, they clearly rejected the Byzantine norm of inheritance, whereby a father would divide his property equally among his wife and all his children, including daughters.[70] Most Russian legislation provided that landed property be left to sons only. Daughters received landed property only when there were no surviving sons, and widows received only a portion as a life estate.

While there was little direct borrowing by Russia from Western law, Russian law had, by the seventeenth century, developed most of the characteristics of Western law described by Berman, with the exception of law schools, true legal professionals, and the recognition of law as a distinct field of higher learning. The present study would suggest that the failure of Russian law to develop these features of Roman and Western law was attributable to the fact that Roman law arrived in Rus′ in a highly simplified version, i.e., the *Ecloga* and *Procheiros nomos* versus the *Corpus Juris*. But the characteristics which Russian law shared with Western law are probably due to Byzantine influence. Many of these common characteristics have been described elsewhere.[71] Russian law was characterized by elaborate and comprehensive secular legislation. This legislation, enacted or approved by princes and assemblies representing various elements of society, was

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[69] Benemanskii, 140.

[70] See *Ecloga* chapters 2, 3 and 5; *PN* 30:2.

[71] The similarities in the areas of due process, equal justice, property rights, and women's rights have been addressed in Weickhardt, "Due Process"; idem, "Pre-Petrine Law"; idem, "Legal Rights of Women."

thoroughly autonomous from religion and canon law. While there was no bar in the Western sense, the legal system was administered mostly by specialized judicial officials (*d'iaki*), who made a lifelong career of adjudication and who advanced along a formalized career path of on-the-job training.

While there was no legal scholarship, law nonetheless grew and developed as a body or system. The above account demonstrates that codifications built upon earlier codifications and steady borrowing from Byzantine sources to develop a rational system of adjudication. While these codifications were not entirely consistent, an effort at systemization and consistency is certainly evident. This is particularly striking in large-scale amendments to the 1649 Law Code enacted in the second half of the seventeenth century.[72] These amendments attempted to elaborate and remove inconsistencies from the provisions on criminal law and land ownership. The ultimate codification of Muscovite law, the Law Code of 1649, was also conceived as binding on the state itself. It was, by its own terms, to govern all cases and be binding on all judges.[73] The tsar, with the approval of the boyars, could change or amend it, and did so many times, but it was the law until it was changed. There were also diverse and competing jurisdictions in Russia including at least royal law, canon law, and manorial law.[74]

There can be no contention, however, that Roman legal concepts influenced Russian law as pervasively as they did Western law. If we rely on a purely quantitative approach, we can perhaps trace only one article in twenty in the 1649 Law Code directly to a Byzantine model and another one in ten to indirect influence. But any such quantitative measure of similarity or difference between Byzantine or Western and pre-Petrine law is ultimately not very useful or meaningful. It is more meaningful to look, as outlined above, to the influence of broader Byzantine concepts of crime and punishment and of Byzantine concepts of adjudication by testimonial and documentary evidence. By these standards, Byzantine influence is quite pervasive.

Other legal systems, including the Chinese and Islamic, evolved from the bloodfeud to develop criminal penalties and, to a lesser extent, rational evidentiary procedures. The evolution from dyadic to triadic litigation is also typical of many legal systems. But only in Russia and the West did legal development follow the schema of written barbarian codes along with the secular/canon dichotomy, and the subsequent absorption of Roman and

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[72] *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii* (S. Peterburg, 1830), I: 774–800; II: 110–138.

[73] Hellie, *The Muscovite Law Code*, preamble, 1–2.

[74] For competition between Church and state courts, see Shchapov, *Gosudarstva i tserkov*, 113–23. "Manorial" law means the jurisdiction of the owner of land to decide criminal and civil cases of the people living on his land. By numerous "immunity charters" such owners received jurisdiction to decide all criminal cases except murder, robbery, and theft.

Christian legal concepts via canon law. Thus, while evolution from wergild to criminal law and from irrational to rational procedures is, to some extent, characteristic of the development of all major mature legal systems, only in the case of Russia and the West did Roman and canon law play a prominent role. Of the various features of legal systems outlined by Berman, the one which most distinguished Russian and Western law from other legal systems was the autonomy of law from custom and morality (not true in Chinese civil law) and religion (not true in Islamic and Hindu law).[75]

While Russian and Western law resembled each other in this important respect, the absence of true legal professionals and legal scholars in Russia was, nonetheless, a significant difference. The absence of these groups meant that there was no group with a vested interest in the rule of law (or at least in a sophisticated legal system), as there was in the West. What this ultimately meant was that law would be a weaker tradition in Russia than in the West. It may even be more appropriate to speak of pre-Petrine Russia developing not so much the rule of law, as rule by law.

Law is one of the most basic of human institutions, and any comparison of Russian and Western civilization cannot neglect this key area of human and state activity. Using criminal law and the law of evidence as examples, this study has shown that there is a remarkable parallel between the growth of law in the West and in Russia. They both started from similar barbarian codes and, under the influence of Roman and canon law, progressed to a system of criminal law and rational procedure. This development occurred in Russia much later than in the West, but *before* the great acceleration of Westernization starting in the eighteenth century.

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[75] Robert Lingat, *The Classical Law of India*, trans. J. Duncan and M. Derrett (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1973); Joseph Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1964). For a good summary of Ch'ing Dynasty criminal law see Derk Bode and Clarence Morris, *Law in Imperial China, Exemplified by 190 Ch'ing Dynasty Cases* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967).